THE HISTORY OF PHILIP DE COMMINES Knight, Lord of *Argenton*.

The third Edition.

To which is now added out of the lateſt and beſt French Copy, A Preface to the ſaid Hiſtory, The Life of *Angelo Cattho* Arch-Biſhop of *Vienna*, and two Epiſtles of *John Sleiden* relating to the ſaid Hiſtory never before publiſhed.

LONDON,
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TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD *Burghley*, Lord Treasurer of *England* Knight of the honorable Order of the Garter, and Master of her Majesties Court of Wards and Liveries.

IT is now, Right Honorable many years since, I presented to your Lordship, and the late Earl of *Leicester* my Lord and Master, the History of COMMINES rudely translated into our vulgar tongue, the which of later times, at the request of the late Lord Chancellor Sir *Christopher Hatton*, I perused a new, and enlarged with such Notes and Pedegrees, as seemed necessary, as well for explanation, as (in some few places) for correction of the *History*. Since his death certain Gentlemen, to whose hands the Booke hapned to come, took so great pleasure and delight therein, that they determined to put it to the press; supposing it a great dishonour to our Nation, that so worthy an *History*, being extant in all Languages, almost in Christendome should be suppressed in ours. Notwithstanding their resolution, they forbare of Courtesie to put it in execution till their purpose should be made known to me. And albeit that I alledged many reasons, why, in my conceit, Books of this nature, treating of Princes secrets, were unfit to be published to the vulgar sort, the rather because the Authour in some places, seemeth to be of that opinion himself: yet none of my reasons could prevail, but they continued in their former determination: adding thereunto, that others besides my selfe had taken pains in this History, and though I of peevishnesse would suppress my labors, yet they would

not ſuppreſſe theirs. So that would I nould I to the preſs the Book muſt go, being already warranted by publick authority thereunto. I ſeeing the matter advanced thus far, thought it no time to draw back any longer, but in the end took the burthen upō my ſelf, doubting if I had done otherwiſe, both the blemiſhing of the Hiſtory, wherein I may boldly ſay, that I have more travelled than any man, that hath intermedled therewith; and alſo that the work ſhould be preſented to ſome Patron, that had no intereſt therein. Wherefore having again examined it, and freed it from ſome faults, that I thought fit to be reformed: I have preſumed to publiſh it under the protection of your Lordſhips honourable name, to whom of right it appertaineth in many reſpects. Firſt, becauſe the Author thereof was a Noble-man, one of your own coat, the wiſeſt, and the beſt acquainted with all matters of State of any man in his time. Whereunto I adde, that he continued a Counſellor ſucceſſively to ſo many French Kings, that he was reputed one of the ancieneſt Counſellors in Chriſtendome at his death, wherein your Lordſhips fortune is not only correſpondent, but hath alſo ſurmounted his. Secondarily, your Lordſhip hath the aiſne title to it, and laſtly, the right of ſurvivor caſteth it upon you by courſe of common law. Wherefore all theſe circumſtances well conſidered (my particular duties alſo not forgotten) I thought it a kind of ſacriledge to ſuffer your Lordſhip to be robbed of your right. May it therefore pleaſe you to receive this Hiſtory into your honorable protection, as your own, as well in regard of the Author, being a man of ſuch condition as above is rehearſed; as alſo of the Work treating of that ſubject, wherewith your Lordſhip, at this day is better acquainted than any man living: and laſtly in reſpect of your own title thereunto. Which no whit doubting, but that your Lordſhip will moſt willingly vouchſafe to do. Beſeeching the Almighty long to preſerve you to the great ſtay of this flouriſhing eſtate, moſt humbly, I take my leave, this firſt of *November*,

Your Lordſhips moſt humble and

obedient to command,

THOMAS DANET.

The Life of *Philip de Commines* Knight, Lord of *Argenton*, gathered out of divers good Authors, together with a brief answer on his behalf to certain accusations, wherewith JACOBUS MEYERUS a Flemming in his Annals of *Flanders*, chargeth very unjustly both *Commines* History, and his Life

PHILIP DE COMMINES Author of this present History, was born at *Commines*, a Town in *Flanders*, being a Gentleman of a very ancient House, and joyned by blood and alliance to the best of that Nation. His firname was *Clytus*, his Father and Uncle had been both of them under Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy* chief Governours of *Flanders*, called by *Meyer*, *Summi Prætores Flandriæ*; and to them he giveth this Title: *Domini Ruscurii, Buscurii, & Watenenses*: Whereby appeareth of how great Nobility and goodly revenues *Commines* was, not onely in *Flanders*, but also in *Haynault*. In his youth, namely, from the nineteenth year of his Age, and the year of our Lord 1464, till the 27. of his Age, and the year 1472, he served *Charls* Duke of *Burgundy*, and afterward *Lewis* the eleventh of that name King of *France*, who employed him in his weightiest and secretest affairs. He was of tall stature, fair complexion, and goodly personage. The French tongue he spake perfectly and eloquently, the Italian, Dutch, & Spanish reasonably well. He had read over very diligently all Histories written in French, especially of the Romans, and bare them all in memory. He much acquainted himself with strangers, thereby to increase his knowledg. He had great regard to the spending of his time & abhorred all idleness. He was of an excellent yea incredible memory: for he often indited, at one time to four Secretaries several letters of weighty affairs appertaining to the state, with as great facility & readiness, as if he had but one matter in hand. A vertue so rare, that I have not read the like of any but of *Julius Cæsar* and him. Nothing more grieved him, than that in his youth he was not trained up in the latine tongue, which his misfortune he often bewailed. After he was entred into the service of K. *Lewis*, he was highly in his favor, and during his raign bare great sway in the Realm. The said King also greatly advanced him: for he made him first one of his privy chamber, then of his privy Council, Seneschal of *Poictu*, and Lord of *Argenton*. He married being of good years a gentlewoman of the House of *Montsoreau* upon the borders of *Anjou*, named *Helena*. But after K. *Lewis* his death he fell into great troubles: for because he was a stranger, many envied his prosperity, so far forth, that at the length his enemies caused him to be imprisoned in the Castle of *Loches* in the Dutchy of *Berry* (a place appointed onely for those, that are attached of high treason) where he was very extreamly handled, as himself in his History reporteth. Notwithstanding his wife, by earnest and continual sute, in the end obtained so much favour, that he was removed thence and brought to *Paris*: where when he had remained a certain space, he was led to the Parlament house to be arraigned. He had many enemies and those mighty, and of so great

authority at that time in *France*, that for fear of them no Counſellour durſt plead his cauſe: wherefore neceſſity enforcing him to defend himſelf, he pleaded there by the ſpace of 2 hours, being very attentively heard by the whole audience, and in the end ſo acquit himſelf, that by the Judges ſentence he was diſcharged. Among other things, he rehearſed at the bar how ſundry troubleſome and dangerous voiages he had ſuſtained for the King, and the Commonwealth. How highly King *Lewis* both had favored him, and for his faithful ſervice rewarded him: for his own part, he ſaid, he had never done any thing covetouſly, ambitiouſly, nor cruelly: & further, that if he had ſought only to advance and enrich himſelf, he might have had as goodly poſſeſſions, as any man in *France*. He was priſoner almoſt three years. The next year after his delivery he had a daughter born named *Jane*, which married with *Rene* Earl of *Pantabria* deſcended of the Dukes of *Britain*, by whom among divers other children ſhe had iſſue *John* late Duke of *Eſtampes*, Lievtenant of *Britain*, Knight of the French Kings Order, and Lord of divers goodly Seniories. But to return to *Commines*: in proſperity, he gave for his poſie this ſentence. *He that will not labor, let him not eat*: But in adverſity this, *I ſailed in the deep of the Sea, and a ſudden tempeſt overwhelmed me*. He died the threeſcore and fourth year of his age, the year of our Lord 1509. the 17 day of *October*, in his own Houſe of *Argenton* in the countrey of *Poictu*, from whence his Body was conveighed to *Paris*, and there lieth buried in the *Auguſtine* Friers. I was here purpoſed to have ſtayed my pen, and further not to have ſpoken either of *Commines* Hiſtory or his Life had I not called to mind divers accuſations of *Jacobus Meyerus*, who in ſundry places of his Annals of *Flanders* inveigheth very bitterly, as well againſt *Commines* Life as his Hiſtory, whoſe accuſations, I am forced to lay open to the judgement of the world, to the end it may appear, whether they be grounded upon juſt proof. Notwithſtanding before I enter into the examination of them, thus much in commendation of *Commines* Hiſtory. I cannot paſs over in ſilence, that two of the greateſt and worthieſt Princes that raigned in *Europe* theſe hundred years; namely, the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, and *Francis* the firſt, K. of *France*, made ſo great account of this Hiſtory, that the Emperour carried it continually about with him, as *Alexander* did the Works of *Homer*, no leſſe eſteeming it then he did them; and the King was as much diſpleaſed with the printing and publiſhing thereof as was the ſame *Alexander* in times paſt for the ſetting forth of *Ariſtotles* works called *Acroamatica*, as rehearſeth *Gellius*: ſo deſirous was he to have reſerved to himſelf, and a few of his own ſubjects the great treaſures of wiſdom hidden in this ſmall volume. But let us now hear what *Meyer* objecteth againſt this Hiſtory. In the 17. Book of his *Annales* of *Flanders* writing of the Battel fought at *Saintron* between *Charls* Duke of *Burgundy* and the Liegeois, he hath theſe words, *Pugna commiſſa cæduntur magno numero & profligantur, ad novẽ millia cecidiſſe tradit qui interfuit* Philippus Cominius. *Sed* Brabantiæ *ſcriptor, & quidem ſcriptor* Flandriæ (*quibus plus habeo fidei*) *tria tantum millia occubiſſe memorant*. For anſwer hereunto, if this place be indifferently weighed, it ſhall appear to he wholly grounded upon malice and no colour of reaſon, much leſs juſt prooſe: Firſt, becauſe *Meyer* prefereth the credit of theſe obſcure Annaliſts, that write but upon report, before the credit of him that was an eye witneſs, and that no way could advantage himſelf by reporting a ly. Secondarilye, Sir *Oliver de la March*, who lived alſo in that time, and was Steward of the Duke of *Burgundies* Houſe, writeth that a great number of theſe Liegeois were ſlain at this battel, and alſo at the ſiege

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of *Saintron*, but that their friends and kinsfolks truſſed up their dead bodies in veſſels full of lime; partly to the end the diſcomfiture might appear the leſſe, and partly that they might be buried among their Anceſtours, in the which feat (ſaith he) the Liegeois ſhewed a wonderfull audacity and courage: whereby it ſhould ſeem a great number to have been thus truſſed up, by means whereof the dead appeared the fewer, and were reported accordingly, which deceived divers, and happily theſe Annaliſts of *Brabant* and *Flanders*. The like practice we read of in divers Authors, and of the like writeth *Meyer* alſo himſelf. Laſtly, the Annales of *Burgundy* agree with *Commines*, and report the number, as he doth, ſo that this anſwer, I hope, ſhall ſuffice for this point. Again, in the ſame book, *fol.* 364. *Meyer* writeth thus; *Loquitur* Cominius *de nobili quadam fœmina Attrebatenſis ditionis proditrice patriæ, cujus edere non vult nomen, falſus in hoc ut in cæteris hiſtoricus*. Sure if it were an undoubted truth that a Lady of *Artois* could not ſend the King ſuch advertiſement, as *Commines* reporteth that ſhe did; or if *Meyer* were *Pythagoras*, that *ipſe dixit* might paſſe for proof, the credit of *Commines* ſhould haply hang in ballance: but if you read the place in his Hiſtory, the very circumſtances will induce any indifferent man to think, that which is there written of this Lady to be no lye. Again, *fol.* 366. *Meyer* hath theſe words, *Hic eſt* Cominius *ille transfuga, gente* Flandrus, *qui multa de* Carolo *&* Lodovico *provinciali lingua ſcripſit, ſed quædam etiam ſcripſit plane mendaciter, multaque dicenda infideliter reticuit*. This is ſo generall and uncertain a charge, that anſwer in truth it deſerveth none: notwithſtanding I refer to the judgment of thoſe that ſhall read this Hiſtory, whether *Commines* conceal his Maſters faults therein or not (for that is *Meyers* meaning in this place) True it is that he uttereth them not in ſuch railing barbarous terms as *Meyer* very unſeemly uſeth of ſo great a Prince as King *Lewis* was, and is offended with *Commines* for not doing the like, a thing which becometh *Meyer* himſelf very ill, and would have become *Commines* much worſe. But our Author, as he concealeth not his Maſters faults, but layeth them open enough to the underſtanding of the wiſe and attentive Reader: ſo delivereth he them ſo ſparingly, and under ſuch terms, as truth being uttered, the Kings honour be no further impeached, then very neceſſity doth inforce; a matter very commendable in a Gentleman writing of a Prince, a Servant of his Maſter, and a Subject of his Soveraigne. Laſtly, *Meyer*, *fol.* 365. hath theſe words, *refert* Cominius *exercitum* Caroli *adeo fuiſſe extenuatum, ut exhibere illum* Anglis *non auderet, ſed hoc falſum eſt*. But you muſt believe *Meyer* upon his word, other diſproof of *Commines* report he can bring none, neither grounded upon any circumſtance, nor produced out of any good Author that writ of thoſe times. But on the contrary ſide for the confirmation of that which *Commines* writeth in this place, firſt *La March* reporteth, that the bloody flux entred into the Dukes Camp lying before *Nuz*, which it is very like conſumed many, and impaired the health of many more. With him alſo agree the Annales of *Burgundy*, which report that the Duke loſt 15000. men before *Nuz*: which being well conſidered, and this withall that the ſiege endured a whole year, and yet in the end the Duke forced to depart fruſtrate of his purpoſe, whereby his ſoldiers had not only their bodies tired, but alſo their minds diſcouraged; I ſuppoſe no man of ſound judgment will think, that the Dukes Army could be otherwiſe than in very poor eſtate. Now that you have heard all that *Meyer* hath, or can object againſt the credit of this Hiſtory (which alſo how ſubſtantially he hath proved I leave to the judgment of the wiſe and indifferent Reader to conſider:) it is good reaſon you ſhould alſo hear, what opi-

nion other Authors have both of *Commines* end of his Hiſtory, and how honorable teſtimony in their writings they give to them both. *Annales Burgundiæ, lib.*3. *pag.*930. ſpeaking of *Commines*, teſtifie thus of him. *He was one of the wiſeſt Gentlemen of his time, and the beſt acquainted with all matters of State, as appeareth by his Hiſtory: whereof the Emperour* Charles *made ſo great an account, that he never ſlept before he had read certain Chapters thereof, for the finiſhing of his dayes work.* Which ſure this noble and ſage Emperor would never have done, if *Commines* had bin a reporter of lies, eſpecially of the ſaid Emperors own great Grandfather, whoſe life and death are ſo amply in this Hiſtory treated of. *Paulus Æmelius* giveth ſuch credit to *Commines*, that all that he writeth in the Hiſtory of *France* of the reign of *Lewis* the XI. is only an Abridgement of him, and wholy taken out of his writings. *Ferron* in his ſupply to *Paulus Æmelius* Hiſtory maketh in many places very honorable mention of *Commines*, highly commending him both for his great wiſdom and vertue and ſincerity in his Hiſtory. *Lodovico Gnicciardini* no Frenchman, but an Italian, in his deſcription concerning the low Countries *fol.*220. calleth *Commines* a worthy writer of great commendation. And *fol.*310 and 311. thus he writeth. *Of the Noble Houſe of* Commines *was* Philip de Commines *Lord of* Argenton, *who wrote the Hiſtory of his own time very ſincerely, he was a noble perſonage, of great enterpriſe, and of him divers Authors make honorable mention.* Here we have the true teſtimony of ſundry worthy writers (for to vouch all were too tedious) on *Commines* behalf, which joyned with the approbation of the Noble Emperor *Charles* the fifth, are ſufficient, as I ſuppoſe, to maintain his credit againſt the venemous darts of *Meyers* ſclandrous accuſations. Now, as touching *Commines* life, the only thing that *Meyer* blameth therein, is his departure from the Duke of *Burgundies* ſervice: for the which he inveighed no leſs bitterly againſt his Perſon, than before he did againſt his Hiſtory, for *fol.*355. where he maketh mention of the Duke of *Burgundies* cruelty uſed at the Caſtle of *Neſle*, which he took by aſſault the year 1472. he hath theſe words, *Crudelis hic viſus* Carolus *& animo turbato, creditur que quoſdam ex familiaribus parum habuiſſe fideles, ex quibus haud dubie erat* Philippus *ille* Cominius *ortu* Flandrus, *Dominus Ruſcurii, qui hoc anno transfugit ad Regem, qui ſi vir fuiſſet probus & integer, nequaquam deſerto Domino ſuo, deſerta & abjurata patria, ad talem tranſiſſet tyrannum, alioſque ad idem faciendum ſolicitaſſet, quantiſque numeribus invitatus.* Again, *fol.*366. thus he ſaith, *Cauſam cur transfugerit aliiſque nonnullis Author fuerit idem faciendi non lego, cum autem* Cominius *in ſuis ſcriptis cauſam ſuæ defectionis reticeat, non dubium puto quin ob fœdum aliquod patratum ſcelus more proditorum aufugerit.* Whereunto ſomewhat to anſwer in *Commines* behalf, I ſay, that what cauſe moved him to leave the Duke, as we certainly know not, ſo is it not like that he departed from him for any heinous offence, becauſe he was never charged with any, neither is *Meyer* able to produce any one teſtimony (as even himſelf in this place is forced to confeſs) that he forſook the Duke in any treacherous ſort, neither is he able to prove, that he ſolicited any to leave the Dukes ſervice during the Dukes life, though without all proof moſt unjuſtly he charge him therewith. For if *Commines* had departed with the betraying of Towns and Caſtles to the enemy as *de Cordes* did; if for attempting to deſtroy the Dukes perſon, as *Baldwin* the Dukes baſe Brother, and the Earl of *Eſtampes* his Coſin did; if for both, as the Earl of *Campobaſſo* did, his offence could no more have been concealed, than the others abovementioned was. Wherefore, as *Meyer* reaſoneth that becauſe *Commines* no where in his writings, uttereth the cauſe of his departure, it is like he departed for ſome heinous offence; ſo on the other ſide, with much

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more reaſon it may be anſwered, That becauſe neither *Meyer* nor any other Hiſtoriographer in their writings utter the cauſe of his departure, like it is that he departed for no heinous offence, but only for his own advancement or ſafety, or both, without ſeeking by traiterous practices to harm the Duke, as the above named with divers others did. But let us now examine what by all preſumption was the cauſe of his departure from the Duke: and ſecondarily, whether his departure from one Maſter to another, being in hoſtility, be excuſable: which two points being thoroughly diſcuſſed, it ſhall plainly appear to the world, whether he be juſtly to be charged with any evil dealing, for leaving the Duke of *Burgundy* his firſt Maſter, and under whoſe dominion he was born. As touching the firſt point, I am of opinion that *Commines* by his departure from the Duke of *Burgundy* ſought both his own advancement and his ſafety, the former whereof he had juſt cauſe to hope for at King *Lewis* his hands, as a thing well deſerved, at the Kings being at *Peronne*, where *Commines* wiſedom and great credit with the Duke of *Burgundy* (as ſay the *Annales* of *Burgundy*) ſtood the King in ſo good ſtead, that by his only means he was reſtored to his Realm Liberty, and life, which otherwiſe had been in great danger, as by the courſe of this Hiſtory moſt plainly doth appear. Wherefore *Commines* could not but aſſure himſelf of great advancement at King *Lewis* his hands, as well becauſe of the Kings great liberality, as alſo for his own deſert: neither did his hope fail him, as the ſequel well declared. On the other ſide, at the Dukes hands no great advancement was to be looked for, both becauſe the quality of his ſervice to the Duke and the King was not alike, and ſo conſequently the deſert unlike; and alſo becauſe the Dukes liberality was inferior to the Kings, his attempts ſo impoveriſhing him, that he had not to be liberall of as the King had. Whereunto I add, that he made no ſuch account of his Servants as the King did, but attributed all his good ſucceſs to his own brain, whereby their ſervice was the leſs eſteemed & the worſe rewarded, or rather not at all eſteemed nor rewarded: for he never uſed any mans counſel but his own, ſo that wiſe men loſt but their time with him. Yea, *Meyer* himſelf reporteth him to be, *Durum, aſperum & ingratum, à quo milites maligne admodum ſtipendia accipiebant, raro blande & liberaliter appellarentur, quanquam multis in locis extremis periculis ſe objectarent, plurimumque algoris, inediæ & æſtus ſuſtinerent.* If then the Duke were of this diſpoſition towards his ſouldiers, and ſo evil rewarded them, whoſe help he daily and hourly uſed: what reward could any wiſe man look for at his hands, whoſe advice he ſeldom asked, and never followed? Further, the Duke was of nature very cholerick, and ready to offer his ſervants injury, as for example, to the Earl of *Campobaſſo* he gave a blow which in the end coſt him his life, and whether any ſuch outrage offered to our Author cauſed or furthered his departure we know not: but that advancment (which was to be looked for at the Kings hands, and not to be hoped for at the Dukes) was one cauſe, is already, as I ſuppoſe, ſufficiently proved. The ſecond cauſe of *Commines* departure from the Duke in mine opinion was ſafety; for the Duke, as *Commines* himſelf reporteth, forced not to venture his ſervants into any danger, were it never ſo great, which all men (eſpecially deſpairing of reward for their ſervice) will ſeek to avoid: for as our Authour himſelf ſaith in one place of his Hiſtory, moſt men by ſervice ſeek to advance themſelves, but all men will have an eye to ſave themſelvs. Further, *Commines* being a very wiſe man, foreſaw the Dukes attempts to be ſuch, as would in the end overthrow both himſelf, his Subjects, and his dominions, wherefore he thought it beſt to diſlodg in time and to ſave

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one. These in mine opinion were the principall causes of his departure from the Duke, which being honest and reasonable, and his departure also void of all treason and treacherous practices against the Duke: I see no reason, why for his departure, he should not rather be commended than condemned. The last point that we have to consider, is, whether he, being the Dukes subject, might leave his Master and depart to the King; were the causes of his departure never so reasonable and honest. Whereunto I answer, that *Commines* was not absolutely the Dukes subject: for *Flanders* was held in soveraignty of the Crown of *France*, and both the Earl and all the people sworn to bear no arms against the King of *France*, and divers examples too long to rehearse, are to be read in Histories of divers Earls of *Flanders* that have been arrested, imprisoned, and together with their people fined, for breach of this oath. Wherefore seeing our Author was a Flemming born, and *Flanders* held in soveraignty of the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* in hostility with the King of *France*, contrary to the oath he either took or ought to have taken; and further violating divers nay I may say all those points, whereunto by his allegiance he was bound to the French King: I see no reason why *Commines* might not, or rather ought not to leave an inferiour rebellious Lord, and cleave to his soveraign Prince and King, to whom he owed a soveraign duty both by alleagiance and oath. And if after his revolt, he gave any advice to the furtherance of the Kings affairs, he did therein in mine opinion the duty of a faithfull servant and true subject. Thus much I have been forced to speak in defence both of *Commines* life and History, whereof as the former appears to have been both honest and virtuous, as well by the reasons above alledged, as also by the notable discourses, wherewith he farceth his History, which breath nothing but vertue and sincerity: so is the latter confirmed by the consent of divers good histories, and approved by the judgement of the noblest Princes that *Europe* bred these many hundred years, as I trust is sufficiently declared. Wherefore our Authors credit standeth upright, as well for good conversation of life, as sincere report in History, both the which *Meyer* no lesse falsly slandereth, than he doth in other places of his *Annals* the noble races of the Kings of *England* and *France*, which ignorantly or maliciously he reporteth to be more vile and base than any honest ear can endure to hear. Thus having, I trust, sufficiently defended the credit of this worthy writer, I will here abruptly, for avoiding of tediousnesse, stay my pen.

AN

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FINIS.

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ADVERTISEMENT

To the Reader, by the Publisher of the French Edition 1634. Containing

A Prefatory Discourse, necessary to be perused by such as propose the reading of the subsequent History of *Philip De Commines*.

NOtwithstanding the many indeavours used, to render the preceding Edition of this History compleat, which indeed were many and usefull, if you consider the opportunities and times wherein it was attempted, yet at length, we have experimentally found that the best way to attain the proposed end, was to pursue in our Rendition the Copy printed in *Anno* 1559, at *Lyons* by *Denis Savage*, as being the exactest and truest model of the present History: we have in this Edition therefore kept close to that, excepting only that we have pass'd by, or in part abbreviated some of the marginall Notes, which the Edition would not bear, not that any thing is omitted, which is of Consequence or use, but rather many things inserted and added, which serve to illustrate and make clear some passages obscure in themselves, and this we have done out of the Credit of severall Historians, which treat on the same affairs. Whosoever shall compare this present with any of the preceding Editions, he may easily perceive the truth of what we say, and be thereby enabled to leave a testimony of the sincerity of our proceeding in this work.

As for what concerns the Author *De Commines*, we shall not presume to adde any thing, besides that which hath bin recorded by that most learned man *John Sleiden*, which is herein compriſed: But whereas some have said that *Commines* was transported into the extremity of flattering the King his Master, as *John le Maire* was into the other extremity of crossing and thwarting him: we do not hold this a fit place to discourse thereon, seeing both of them might have sufficient reasons and interests which guided them: however the Sincerity and Probity of *Commines*, are a safe protection to defend him from such obloquy. Those of that and the following Age, having forborn to charge him with such a vice: Only as to the Body of the History, whereof the first six Books comprise the Acts and Gests of *Lewis* the eleventh King of *France*, and the two following, *viz.* the Seventh and Eighth, the Voiage and Conquest of *Naples*, by *Charles* the eighth, Son to the said *Lewis*, though the Author doth best of all expresse his own meaning, yet we hope it cannot be taken amisse, if we here present you with a brief summary, through the help of which the reading of this excellent peece, will be more easie, usefull, and pleasant. To this end, we shall in the first place cast our eyes on the chief Agents and

Instruments

Instruments in these Actions, and those are *Lewis* and *Charles*, the Father and Son, the occasions of the great revolutions which happened in their tims, but after a far different way of precedure, there being not the least Coherence or Conformity in their Counsels or Actions. For the Father attained not the Govenment untill he had lived longer than the Son did: The Father embroiled only his own Kingdome, and the next adjacent territories, the Son all *Italy*: The Father did at last in some sort compose the affairs of his State, the Son left behind him the seeds of Wars, which lasted during the lives of his three next successors, at least during threescore years: The Father relied on his own judgement in the menage of his affairs, the Son was guided by others on whom he relied, and being too much led by them, had near hand lost both himself and his State in a strange Country. Thus we see, how that God was pleased to ensnare the Fathers, how crafty soever they fancy themselves, by giving them Sons, which embroile, confound, and overthrow, all those foundations, which they imagined to have been so surely laid. We shall in the next place proceed to the consideration of those other great persons, which enter the List, being severally ingaged in the Parties and Actions of the said two Kings, and herein we cannot sufficiently admire the divine Providence, (so often extolled and recommended by our Author to our most serious remarques) which hath brought so many severall Actors on the stage, upon divers occasions and incitements, each pretending to attain his own particular ends, under the pretext of Wisdome, pretended Right, personal Valour, discharge of Duety, Proximity, Alliance, Honour, Advancement, or the like; and all this grounded upon the losse or diminution of his Neighbour, wherein one may lively discover the naturall injustice and disloyalty, which resideth in the Breast of Mankind, and more especially amongst those who by their places and charges, by their duties and professions, ought to represse and punish such enormities and excesses: And thereupon we shall adde, which indeed is a principle Observation, how the hand of God revealeth it self in the conduct of Affairs, Enterprises, Turmoiles, and unjust Practices, both as to the means and ends, seeing, that sooner or later each one is punished, for the particular miscarriages and evils of his own party; and yet how that amidst all these judgements, no one hath the Grace to make a right use of them, by rendring glory to God, in the disingaging himself from the Importunity, Malice, and Iniquity of the World, but proceed rather from bad to worse: Seeing then all these things are so excellently painted and graved in this History, we ought to be affected with admiration, when we perceive so many great and wisemen in their Age, so troubled and tormented in their lives and consciences; whilest they become unto each other, and themselves also, the Ministers, and Instruments of Gods divine revenge, even on this side the Grave: Particularly what man can comprehend, the agitation of Body, Sense, and Mind, in which *Lewis* was involved and at last swallowed up; being otherwise, of an acute and quick apprehension, and of so great judgement, that *Commines* hath observed, how he embroiled his Estate to satisfie his own humour, being always unquiet, neglecting no pains or cost, that he might compose his affairs: but inconclusion, That he laid the foundations of great troubles to others, which in the period fell on himself.

Charles his Brother on the other side, suffered himself at the first commotion of the State to be led into deligns and contrivances, against his King and Brother, whereby he became one of the first Promoters of the troubles, wherein the Crown was afterwards embarqued, discovering at his death what horrid practices he had entred into against his Brothers life.

Charles Duke of *Bourgogne* was a Prince of an extraordinary courage, and so transcendent in all honourable qualities, that few or none either equal'd or exceeded him, had he not like another *Phaeton* been led away by ambition and a desire of experimenting new Conditions.

Edward King of *England*, having run many hazards and charges might have observed the cause of them in the voluptuousnesse and sensuality of his train, and being a man altogether worldly, was made use of, as a proper instrument to imbroil his Neigbour of *France*, though without any occasion given, unlesse it were to trade for himself, under the Covert of him that employed him, the very contrary of all which befell him, as a due punishment, for having suffered himself to have been drawn in by so crafty a Merchant..

Francis Duke of *Bretagne*, the least wicked of the troop, was the onely man that finished his course with some kind of repose both to his Person and Estate.

Lewis

To the READER.

Lewis of *Luxembourg*, Count of St. *Paul*, was promoted by the King of *France* to the higheſt forme of Martial proweſſe; yet he ſo ill complied with his Maſters will, that it was not long ere himſelf dreſſed that Scaffold, whereon God cauſed him to render a teſtimony of the divine Juſtice, againſt ſuch as make crooked pathes, and decline from the wayes of their vocation: ſuch as follow the maxime of the Preſident of the Vaquery, which uſed to ſay, A man need do nothing but be craſty.

John de Bourbon Biſhop of *Liege* was the true cauſe of the commotion which thoſe of *Liege* raiſed againſt him, through his defect of Age and experience fit for that Charge. The People themſelves were in fine the Tormentors of themſelves; nor did their Biſhop eſcape the divine juſtice, being quickly killed and caſt into the water, by one *La Marche*, called the Blood-hound of *Arden*, a Man raiſed by him to his own ruine.

Adolph Son of *Arnold* Duke of *Guelders*, like another *Abſalom* to his Father, finding no one, who would do him juſtice, delivered up himſelf priſoner, when he little ſuſpected it, ſuppoſing himſelf ſecure under his diſguiſe, but at length being ſet at liberty, and employed to oppoſe certain French Troopes, he was ſlain, *That he might not farther prolong his Days on the Earth*; according to that Sentence, which himſelf had drawn on himſelf.

The People of *Gaunt*, taking upon themſelves the Government of themſelves, out of the Family and Perſon of their Princeſſe, who thereby became a double Orphan, and treating her moſt unworthily, did at length leave their Children and Succeſſors to pay the juſtice due for their crimes; for *Charles* of *Auſtria*, Grand-ſon to the ſaid Princeſſe, got an opportunity and made a ſevere uſe of it to puniſh thoſe enormities, nor did he forget to force the French themſelves to be accomptable for it.

Maria de Bourgogne, a Princeſſe exceedingly commended, for that little time which ſhe lived was the onely Daughter and Inheritrix of that great Family, but being deprived of all manner of ſupport after her Fathers death, was yet preſerved almoſt miraculouſly, from the violence and oppreſſion of her Neighbour, who came with open mouth and hands to devour her. At length ſhe brought fourth her eldeſt Son *Philip*, in whoſe Hiſtory, God hath evidenced to the world, how carefull and tender he is of the condition of Orphans.

Now as to the Second Part of this Hiſtory under *Charles* the Eighth. That which is moſt remarkable and of greateſt note, is the expedition of *Italy*, a deſigne concluded, carried on, executed, and terminated, with all imaginable indiſcretion, raſhneſſe, and diſorder: There are two Principall Adviſors and Conductors of that exploit, men void of all ſufficiency or Government, and who amuſed their Maſter to his own ruin, nor would ever give way to the advice of their Followers, untill they had drawn the ſame ruin on their own heads. The People, whom this King went to attaque, was a prudent and wiſe, Nation, but diſunited, yet apt enough on any occaſion to cement together, for their joynt profit and ſecurity. The Houſe of *Arragon*, governing *Naples* and *Sicily*, received great aſſiſtances, but of little continuance, which deferr'd, but did not prevent, the falling of thoſe ſtorms on them, which themſelvs had ſo often carried amongſt their Neighbors.

Above all others *Lodowic Zforza* is the moſt remarkable, he being the firſt and chief Inviter of the French into *Italy*, to the end he might the better ſeize and maſter the Dukedome and Eſtate of his Nephew and Pupill, upon the occaſion of his death, which was ſuppoſed to have been maliciouſly expedited for that purpoſe: The ſame *Lodowic* having obtained his deſign, was the firſt that wiſhed the French back again, and promoted a League with the Pope, Venetians, and others, in order to repell them. But in fine *Lewis* the twelfth, ſucceſſor to *Charles*, diſcovering the truth of theſe practices, became, through Gods permiſſion and ſtirring up, a juſt inſtrument of Revenge, on the Family and Race of the ſaid *Lodowic*. *Francis* the firſt compleating the Scene of that Tragedy.

Now, although theſe Examples and Portraitures have their ſeverall particulars, according to the diverſity of Times, Places, and Perſons, yet want they not their uſe and inſtruction, as to the generall providence of God, which never ceaſeth, though, but is repleateth with many wonders, in the diverſity of occurrences: whereby we may learn to obſerve. That there is but one Rule of Truth, Righteouſneſſe, and Juſtice with the Lord towards all Ages, Qualities, and Places; and that ſuch as ſtop their eyes, at thoſe leſſons which are from time to time to time repreſented on the Theater of mans life, ſhall experimentally find themſelves ſurpriſed by them in their own Perſons, ſooner or later; if they ſhall forget to learn inſtruction from the harms of their Predeceſſors, which they have drawn down on themſelves, as a juſt reward on their Crimes and offences.

Michael

Michael de Montagne *in the Second Book, and tenth Chapter of his Essayes.*

IN my *Philip de Commines* there is this, saith he, you shall find the language sweet and agreeable, clothed in naked simplicity; the Narration pure, and wherin the truth and integrity of the Author is very apparent, free from vanity whilest he speaketh of himself, and of affection and envy, when he speaketh of another. His Discourses and Exhortations are accompanied with more zeal and truth than Oratory and Rhetorick. And the Man hath in every particular shewed himselfe to have been of great naturall, as well as acquired endowments, being descended from an honourable House, and bred up to great affairs.

Justus Lipsius *in his Notes, on the First Book of his Politicks.*

PHilip de Commines hath given us so excellent a Peece, that we have now reason to believe, that History is restored to the wayes and progressions of our Ancestours, seeing he hath written with so great strength of Reason and Judgement, that I shall not stick to compare him with any of the Antients. It cannot be imagin'd how discerning our Author is, how penetrating, and how truely and sincerely he discovereth the depths and secrets of the Counsels, on which the Actions treated by him were managed: The instructions which he gives, by way of admonition on every occasion, are excellent; and all this in a loose and running stile, somewhat like *Polybius*: Howbeit our Author never read either *Polybius*, or any other Historian of that sort: and that which addeth to his Commendation is, that being not a man of letters, but onely bred up to affairs, and endowed with good natural parts, he should dispose his Relations in so good order and method. Let not therefore any one for the future, go about to recommend those, who are learned by Bookes, by giving them greater Encomiums than they deserve. But let a Prince keep *Commines* by him, for I assure my self, it is a peece most worthy to be used and perused by those, who sit at the Helm of the greatest affairs in this World.

THE PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF VIENNA in France.



O satisfie your requeſt (right reverend) ſo often mooved unto me, I ſend you here a memoriall as agreeable to truth, as I can poſſibly call to mind, of all the acts and doings, that I have been privy unto, of King *Lewis* the eleventh, our maſter and benefactor, a Prince worthy of perpetuall memory. Of his youth I can ſay nothing, but by his own report. But from the time I entered into his ſervice, till the hour of his death; whereat my ſelf was preſent, I was more continually reſident with him then any man of my eſtate that ſerved him, being ever either of his privy chamber, or employed in his weighty affairs. I found in him, as in all other Princes, that I have known or ſerved, both vertue and vice. For men, they are as we be, and perfection is proper to God only. But ſure that Prince, whoſe vertues and good parts ſurmount his vices, deſerveth great commendation, the rather becauſe commonly noble perſonages are more prone to all kind of wantonneſs, than other men: partly, for that in their childhood they are brought up without due chaſtiſement and correction, and partly, becauſe when they are grown to mans eſtate, each man ſeeketh to feed their humours and ſooth them in all they ſay or doe. But for mine own part; becauſe I love not to flatter, nor miſreport the truth, ſomewhat may happily be found in this Hiſtory, not tending altogether to the Kings praiſe, but I truſt the readers will weigh the reaſons above alledged. Sure, thus much I dare boldly ſay in his commendation, that in my opinion he was the Prince in his age (all things conſidered) leaſt ſubject to vice. Yet have I known, and been converſant, with as many great Princes, both ſpiritual and temporal, as any man in *France* of my time, as well the Princes of this realm, as thoſe alſo that have lived in *Britain*, *Flaunders*, *Almayn*, *England*, *Spain*, *Portugall*, *and Italy*. Divers others alſo whom I have not ſeen, yet have I known: partly, by conferance with their Ambaſſadors, and partly, by their letters and inſtructions; which are means ſufficient to enform men of their natures, and diſpoſitions. Notwithſtanding I mind not by ſetting forth his commendation in this work, to detract from the honour and renown of others; but ſend you, penned in haſte, all that I could call to mind, truſting that you have required it of me, to turn it into ſome work that you purpoſe to publiſh in Latine (to the perfection of which tongue you have attained) whereby may appear both the worthineſs of the Prince, I now write of, and alſo the excellency of your own wit. Further Sir, if I happen to fail in any point, you have my Lord of *Bouchage*, and others, who are better able to enform you of theſe affairs, than my ſelf, and to couch their words in much eloquenter language. Although, to ſay the truth, conſidering how honourably the King entertained me, how great familiarity it pleaſed him to uſe towards me, and how liberally he beſtowed upon me, never intermitting one of the three till the hour of his death: no man hath juſter cauſe, to remember thoſe times than my ſelf, whereunto I alſo adde, the loſſes I have ſuſteined, and the dangers I have been in ſince his deceaſe, which are ſufficient; I think, to put me in mind of the great benefis, I received at his hands during his life. Notwithſtanding that, I know it to be a matter of courſe, that after the death of great and mighty Princes, great alterations enſue to the loſſe of ſome, and gain of others: for riches and honours follow not alwayes their expectation that hunt after them. To conclude Sir, the better to enform you of the time ſince I entered into the Kings familiarity, (which is your deſire) I am forced firſt to rehearſe what hapned before I came to his ſervice, and ſo orderly to proceed, from the time I became his ſervant, till the hour of his death.

CHAP. I.

The occasion of the warres between Lewis *the eleventh and the Earl of* Charolois *afterward Duke of* Burgundy.

AFter I was past my childehood and able to ride, I was presented at *Liste* to *Charles* then Earl of *Charolois*, and after his fathers death Duke of *Burgundy*, who received me into his service the year 1464. About three dayes after my comming thither, arrived at the said town of *Liste*, certain Ambassadours from the King, namely the Earl of *Eu*, *Morvillier* Chancellor of *France*, and the Archbishop of *Narbonne*; [2] who in presence of Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy*, his son the Earl of *Charolois*, and their whole Counsel, in open Court, had their Audience. *Morvilliers* speech was very bitter, for he charged the Earl of *Charolois* there present, that at his late being in *Holland*, he had caused a little French Ship of war of *Diepe* to be arrested, and therein the Bastard of *Rubempre*, whom also he had imprisoned, charging him that he was come thither to take him prisoner, and causing this brute every where to be published [3] (especially at *Burges*, whither strangers of all nations resort) by a knight of *Burgundy* named sir *Oliver de la Marche*. [4] Wherefore the King finding himself wrongfully burdened herewith (as he said) [5] required Duke *Philip* to send this sir *Oliver de la Marche* prisoner to *Paris*, there to be punished according as the case required. Whereunto Duke *Philip* answered, that the said Sir *Oliver* was Steward of his house, born in the County of *Burgundy*, [6] and in no respect subject to the Crown of *France*. Notwith-

[1] *Commines* when he came to the Earl of *Charolois* service was 19 years of age. 1464

[2] *Charles* Earl of *Eu*, *Peter* of *Morvillier*, and *John de Harcour* Bishop of *Narbonne* were the Ambassadors here mentioned, they arrived at *Liste* the 5. of *November*, *Annales Burgundiæ*.

[3] Whether the King meant to have taken the Earl of *Charolois* prisoner by this *Rubempre*, read *Annal. Burgundiæ*, lib. 3. pag. 880. and *Meyer* lib. 16. fol. 334. who flatly charged him with it. [4] Sir *Oliver de la Marche* here named wrote a Chronicle of these times. [5] The cause why the King sent *Rubempre* into *Holland* was not (as he said) to take the Earl of *Charolois*, but the Vicechauncellor of *Britaine* named in *Meyer*, *Joannes Rocivilla*, and by our author in the third Chapter of this first Book *Rouville*; whom the Duke of *Britaine* had sent into *England*, to make a league between the Realm of *England* and him, and because the King supposed this Vicechauncellor would visit the Earl of *Charolois* in his return: he sent this *Rubempre* into *Holland* to take him, and bring him into *France*, *Annal Burgund*, *Meyer*. [6] For the better understanding of the Dukes answer, I am forced to passe the bounds of a note. Wherefore it is to be understood, that in the declination of the Roman Empire, the Burgundians *Anno* 408. being chased out of *Almain*, where they inhabited, the Countries now subject to the Palsgrave of the *Rhyne*, invaded *France*, and conquered the Countries, now known by the names of the County and Dutchy of *Burgundy*, together with *Savoy*, *Dolphine*, *Province*, and the greatest part of *Switzerland*, and *Anno* 414. chose them a King named *Gondiachus*, with whom (after divers battels fought with changeable fortune) *Ætius* the Emperour, *Honorius* his Lievtenant in *France*, at the length made peace. And *Gondiachus* remained King of *Burgundy*, and aided the Romans against *Attila*. Soon after failed the male line of *Gondiachus*, and by the marriage of *Clotilde* daughter to *Cilperic*, *Gondiachus* his son, with *Clodoveus* King of *France*: *Burgundy* fell to *Clotarius* sonne to the said *Clotilde* and *Clodoveus*, and so continued in the house of *France* till the year 843. when the Sons of the Emperour *Lodovicus Pius* warring together, *Burgundy* was divided into *Burgundiam Transiuranam*, and *Cisiuranam*. *Transiurana* containing *Savoy*, *Dolphiny*, *Province*, and *Lyonnois*, remained to *Lotharis* the Emperour, with the title of King of *Burgundy*. *Cisiurana* containing the County and Dutchy of *Burgundy*, was also dismembred; for that part now known by the name of the County of *Burgundy*, fell also to *Lotharius* share: But that part now known by the name of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, was together with the Realm of *France* yielded to *Carolus Calvus*: But after the death of the Emperor *Lotharius*, his two sons *Lodovicus* and *Lotharius* made another partition of their part of *Burgundy*; for the Realm of *Austriasia*, with the County of *Burgundy* fell to *Lotharius*, after whose death his uncle *Carolus Calvus* King of *France* ambitiously through violence conquered also that part of *Burgundy*, and joyned it to the Crown of *France*, so that the said *Carolus Calvus* possessed all *Burgundy Cisiurana*, that is, both the County and Dutchy of *Burgundy*. *Lodovicus* the other son of the Emperour *Lotharius* possessed with the Empire all *Burgundy Transiurana*, together with title of King of *Burgundy*, and left behinde him one only daughter named *Hermingarde*, married to *Boson* brother to *Richilde*, *Carolus Calvus* his wife; in respect of which marriage the said *Calvus* gave to *Boson* all *Burgundy Cisiurana*, which he the said *Calvus* then held. And thus had *Boson* all the Realm of *Burgundy*, viz. *Transiurana* in the right of his wife, and *Cisiurana* by his Brother in Lawes gift. Further the said *Calvus* being both Emperor and King of *France*, created the above named *Boson* King of *Burgundy*, *Anno* 879. to whom succeeded *Lodovicus* his son, from whom *Ralph* King of *France* (son to *Richard* that first entituled himselfe Duke of *Burgundy*) wan the greatest part of *Burgundy Cisiurana*. To this *Lewis* succeeded

ſucceeded his ſon *Ralph* King of *Burgundy*; who, not being able to defend his Realm, gave it to the Emperour *Conradus* 2. who notwithſtanding obtained the leaſt part thereof: for as touching *Tranſiurana*, *Beralde* Duke of *Saxe* had before this gift wone from King *Ralph*, *Savoy* and a great piece of *Switzerland*, *Daulphine*, *Loyonnis*, and *Province*. *Guigue le gras* the fifth, *Daulphin* had likewiſe conquered, And as touching *Ciſiurana* by treaty made between the Emperour *Conradus* 2. and *Henry* King of *France*; only the County remained to the Empire; and the Dutchy to the Crown of *France*. This I have written becauſe ſome hold an opinion, that the County of *Burgundy* ought alſo to be held of the Crown of *France*, whereas indeed rather the Dutchy withall *Tranſiurana* (the greateſt part whereof the French King at this day poſſeſſeth) ought to be held of the Empire; from which the ſaid French Kings have pulled ſo many Provinces, that now, as one properly ſpeaketh, the Eagle hath loſt ſo many Feathers, that hardly he can fly.

ſtanding if it could be duely proved, that he had ſaid or done any thing prejudicial to the Kings honour, he would ſee him puniſhed according as the fault deſerved. And as touching the Baſtard of *Rubempre*, he ſaid, that true it was that he was apprehended for great cauſes of ſuſpition given, and ſtrange behaviour uſed by him and his men about the town of *Lahay*[7] in *Holland*; where, at that preſent his ſonne the Earl of *Charolois* remained, adding that if the ſaid Earl were ſuſpitious, he took it not of him for he was never ſo but of his Mother, who had been the moſt jealous Lady that ever lived. But Notwithſtanding, quoth he, that my ſelf never were ſuſpitious; yet If I had been in my ſons place at the ſame time, that this Baſtard of *Rubempre* haunted thoſe coaſts: I would ſure have cauſed him to be apprehended as my ſon did. Laſtly, he promiſed, that if this Baſtard were not guilty of this fact, to wit, a purpoſe to have taken his ſon (as common report ſaid he was) he would forthwith deliver him out of Priſon, and ſend him to the King according to his Ambaſſadours demands, the Duks anſwer ended. *Morvillier* began again, charging with great and heinous offences, *Francis* Duke of *Brittain*, and alledging, that at the Earl of *Charolois* late being at *Tours* (whether he went to viſit the King) the ſaid Duke and he, had given their faith each to other in writing, to become brethren in Arms; which writings, he ſaid, were enterchangeably delivered by the hands of Maſter *Tannegue du Chaſtell*, who ſince hath been Governour of *Rouſſillon*, and born ſome ſway in this Realm: This fact *Morvilier* aggravated in ſuch ſort; that nothing he omitted in ſetting forth this offence, that might tend to the diſgrace & diſhonor of a Prince. Whereunto the Earl of *Charolois* made offer oftentimes to anſwer, being marvelouſly out of patience to here ſuch reproachfull ſpeeches uſed of his friend and confederate. But *Morvillier* ever cut him off, ſaying, My Lord of *Charolois*, I am not come of Ambaſſage to you, but to my Lord your father. The ſaid Earl beſought his father divers times to give him leave to anſwer, who in the end ſaid thus unto him: I have anſwered for thee as me thinketh, the father ſhould anſwer for the ſon; notwithſtanding if you have ſo great a deſire to ſpeak, bethink your ſelf to day and to morrow ſpeak and ſpare not. Then *Movillier* to his former ſpeech added, that he could not imagine what had moved the Earl to enter into this league with the Duke of *Brittain*, unleſſe it were becauſe of a penſion[8] the King had once given him, together with the government of *Normandy*, and afterward again taken from him.

Then next day in preſence of the ſame Audience, the Earl of *Charolois* kneeling upon a velvet Cuſhion addreſſed his ſpeech to his father; and began with this Baſtard of *Rubempre*, affirming the cauſes of his impriſonment to be juſt and lawfull, as the courſe of his arraignment ſhould well declare. Notwithſtanding, I think, nothing was ever proved againſt him; though, I confeſſe, the preſumptions to have been great, five years after I my ſelf ſaw him delivered out of Priſon. This point thus anſwered, the Earl began to diſcharge the Duke of *Brittain* and himſelf, ſaying that true it was that the Duke and he were entred into league and amity, and had ſworn themſelves brethren in Armes, but that this league tended in no reſpect to the prejudice of the King or his Realm, but rather to the ſervice and defence thereof, if need ſhould ſo require. Laſtly, as touching the penſion taken from him, he anſwered, that he never received but one quarters benefit thereof to the value of nine thouſand franks[9] and that for his part he never made ſute neither for it, nor for the government of *Normandy*: for ſo long as he enjoyed the favour & good will of his father he ſhould not need to crave of any man. I think verily had it not been for the reverence, he bare to his ſaid father, who was there preſent; and to whom he addreſſed his ſpeech, that he would have uſed much bitterer terms. In the end Duke *Philip* very wiſely humbly beſought the King lightly not to conceive an ill opinion of

[7] *Lahay* in our author, and in *Annal. Burgund.* where *Rubempre* ſhould have taken the Earl of *Charolois*, is named in *Meyer*, *Gorkem*.

[8] The penſion the Earl of *Charolois* had of the King with the government of *Normandy* was 36000 franks, *Annal Burgund.* *La marche* *Meyer*.

[9] A franke is two ſhillings and ſix pence ſterling, after eight ſouſe to an Engliſh ſhilling, ſo that the Earles

penſion, after that rate, amounted to four thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling.

him or his ſon, but to continue his favour towards them. Then the Banquet was brought in, and the Ambaſſadours tooke their leave both of the father and the ſon: But after the Earl of *Eu*, and the Chancellour had taken their leave of the Earl of *Charolois*, who ſtood a good way from his father; he ſaid thus to the Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*, that paſſed forth the laſt of the Ambaſſadours: Remember my moſt humble duty to the King and tell him he hath made his Chancellor to uſe me very homely here, but before a years end he ſhall repent it: which meſſage the Archbiſhop declared to the King at his return into *France*, as hereafter you ſhall perceive.

Theſe *Morvilliers* words above rehearſed, cauſed the Earl of *Charolois* hatred againſt the King to take deep roote; the ſeedes whereof, were before ſown by the Kings late redeeming of the towns ſcituate, upon the River of *Somme* [10]. Namely, *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, *St. Quintin*, and the reſt which King *Charles* the ſeventh had engaged by the treaty of *Arras* to his father, Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy*, to have and to hold to him and to his heirs males, till they were redeemed for 400000 crowns [11]. How theſe matters paſſed, I know not perfectly; but true it is, that in the Dukes old age, he was ſo governed by the Lords of *Croy* and *Chimay*, being brethren, and others of their houſe, that he agreed to take again his money, and reſtore the ſaid territories to the King, greatly to the Earl his ſons diſcontentment: for beſides that they were the frontier townes of their dominion, sthey loſt in them a number of able men for the warres. The Earl of *Charolois* charged the Houſe of *Croy* with this fact, ſo far forth that after extream age was grone upon his father (whereunto he even then approached) he baniſhed all the ſaid Houſe out of his Dominions, and confiſcated all their Lands, Eſtates, and Offices.

[10] The towns and territories upon the River of *Somme* engaged to Duke *Philip* by the treaty of *Arras*, which was in the year 1435. are named in the Articles of the ſaid treaty rehearſed in *Annal. Burgund. p.* 760. and 761. and in the firſt book of *La. Marche*, and in the 16. of *Meyer*, and others. [11] They were engaged as our author and *Annal. Burgund.* write for 400000 crowns, but *Meyer* ſaith 450000. but other were redeemed for 400000. *Anno* 1463. *La Marche*, *Meyer*, *Annal. Burgund.*

CHAP. II.

How the Earl of Charolois *and divers Noblemen of* France *levied an Army againſt King* Lewis, *under colour of the weale publique.*

SOon after the abovenamed Ambaſſadors departure, *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, that laſt died, arrived at the Town of *Liſle*, pretending that he came to viſit his Uncle Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy*, who above all houſes loved eſpecially this houſe of *Bourbon*: and no marvell, for this Duke of *Bourbons* mother was Duke *Philips* Siſter. She had lived a Widow many years, and ſojourned there at that time with her brother, both her ſelf & divers of her children, to wit, three daughters, and one ſon; notwithſtanding this was not indeed the cauſe of the Duke of *Bourbons* arrival, but his coming was to perſwade the Duke of *Burgundy* to ſuffer an army to be levied in his Dominions, aſſuring him that all the Princes of *France* would do the like: meaning thereby to give the King to underſtand how evil and unjuſt government he uſed in his realm, and purpoſing to make themſelves ſo ſtrong, that they might conſtrain him by force, to redreſſe this inconvenience, if prayers could not prevaile. This War was afterward called THE WEALE PUBLIQUE, becauſe the Authors thereof uſed the common wealth for colour of their enterpriſe. The ſaid good Duke *Philip* (for ſo is he ſirnamed ſince his death) agreed that an army ſhould be levied in his Dominions, but the bottom of the enterpriſe was never diſcovered to him: for he thought not that the matter ſhould have come to hand ſtrokes, as after it did Immediately began the muſters through all the Dukes Dominions, and the Earl of Saint *Paul*, afterward Conſtable of *France*, accompanied with the Marſhall of *Burgundy*, being of the Houſe of *Neuf-chaſtell*, repaired to *Cambray* (where Duke *Philip* then lay) to the Earl of *Charolois*, who immediately after their arrival, aſſembled his Fathers Counſell, and a great number of his ſubjects, in the Biſhops Palace at *Cambray*, where he proclaimed all the Houſe of *Croy* traitors to his Father and him. And Notwithſtanding, that the Earl of St. *Paul* alledged, that by this proclamation, he ſhould be greatly indamaged,

damaged, becauſe long before this, he had given his Daughter in marriage [1] to the Lord of *Croyes* Son: yet was the ſaid Houſe of *Croy* (all that notwithſtanding) forced to abandon the Dukes Dominions [2], where they loſt great riches. With the which doing, Duke *Philip* was much diſcontented, eſpecially becauſe his chief Chamberlaine (afterward Lord of *Chimay*) a young man well diſpoſed, and Nephew to the Lord of *Croy*, was forced for fear of his life, to depart without leave taken of his Maſter, being advertiſed, that if he did otherwiſe, he ſhould either be ſlain or apprehended: but the Dukes old age cauſed him to bear this matter more patiently, than otherwiſe he would. All this trouble happened in his Houſe, becauſe of the reſtitution of the territories above mentioned, ſcituate upon the River of *Somme*, which the Duke had reſtored to King *Lewis*, for the ſumme of 400000 crowns, by the perſwaſion of this Houſe of *Croy*, as the Earl of *Charolois* laid to their charge.

The ſaid Earl, after he had pacified his Father, and reconciled himſelf to him the beſt that might be, put his whole force incontinent into the field, being accompanied with the Earl of St. *Paul*; the principall governour of his affairs, and he that had the greateſt charge in his Army for he had under him, by the Earl of *Charolois*'s commandment 300. men of arms, and 4000. archers, beſides a number of valiant Knights & Eſquires of *Artois*, *Haynalt*, and *Flaunders*. Like bands, and as great were alſo, under the leading of the L. of *Ravaſtin*, the D. of *Cleves* brother, and the Lord *Anthony* baſtard of *Burgundy*, other Captains, for brevity I paſſe over; but above all the reſt, two Knights there were eſpecially, in great credit, with the Earl of *Charolois*; the one named the L. of *Haultbourdin*, an ancient Knight, baſtard brother to the Earl of St. *Paul*, the other the L. of *Contay*. They had both been trained up in the long Wars, between *France* and *England*, at the ſame time that *Henry* the 5th. of that name, King of *England*, reigned in *France*, being confederate with this Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy*. They were two valiant and wiſe Knights, and had the principall charge of the whole Army: of young gentlemen there were a number, but one eſpecially very famous, called maſter *Philip* of *Lalain*, iſſued of a race, that hath ever been ſo valiant and couragious, that they have in manner all died in the Wars in their Princes ſervice. The Earls force was great: for his men of arms were to the number of 1400. but ill armed, and untrained; becauſe of the long peace theſe Princes of *Burgundy* had lived in. For ſince the treaty of *Arras* by the ſpace of 36. years and more, they never had War that endured, nor almoſt taſte of War ſave a few broyls againſt the City of *Gaunt*, which were ſoon pacified. Notwithſtanding, his men of arms were well mounted, and well accompanied; for few, or none ſhould you have ſeen, without five or ſix great Horſes of his retinue [3]. The Archers [4] were eight or nine thouſand, and when they muſtred, they were more unwilling to depart, then to give their names; but the ableſt were choſen, and the reſt diſmiſſed [5].

The ſubjects of this Houſe of *Burgundy*, lived then in great proſperity; partly becauſe of their long peace, and partly becauſe of their Princes goodneſs, who levied but few ſubſidies upon them; ſo that theſe Seniories, ſeemed comparable to the Land of Promiſe in thoſe dayes: for they flowed in wealth, and had continued in great quietneſſe the ſpace of 23. years, to wit, till the beginning of theſe Wars now mentioned, which till this day endure unended: their expenſes in apparell, both of men and women, were great and ſuperfluous [6], their Feaſts and Banquets, more ſumptuous and prodigall then

[1] The Earl of *S. Paul* had betrothed his daughter to the Lord of *Croy*'s ſon, but ſeeing the Earl of *Charolois* hatred againſt the ſaid *Croy*, he would have broken off the marriage again, but *Croy* in whoſe houſe the ſaid daughter remained, contrary to her fathers will made up the match, for the which cauſe the Earl of *S. Paul* hated the ſaid *Croy* to the death, *Annal. Burgund.*

[2] The Earl of *Charolois* beſides this matter here alledged charged *John* Lord of *Croy*, that he had called him great Devill threatned him, and ſought to poyſon him. *Meyer.*

[3] Every French man of arms is allowed three men to accompany him in the Wars one to bear his head peece, called in *Latin*, *Feventarius*, and croſſebow men

two archers. *La Marche.* But the Burgundians had here ſome five ſome ſix [4] Theſe archers were mounted on horſeback, as harquibuſiers on horſeback are now. [5] He that maketh ſuch offer of himſelf, ſeeketh prey not ſervice, wherefore this rejecting of ſo many, was done according to the rules of the art of War. [6] Of the exceſs of this houſe of *Burgundy*. *Annal. Burgund.* write thus, lib. 2. pag. 917. and 918. All faſhions of apparell were grown in uſe among the ſubjects of this houſe of *Burgundy*, and thoſe ſo indecent and diſſolute, that none could be more. The Ladies and Gentlewomen ware upon their head, a ſtrange kind of attire, faſhioned in pyramidall form, the top thereof half an Ell good, above the crown of their head, and thereupon, a kerchief of Lawn, or ſome other fine linnen, hanging down to the very ground: a fond attire, and worthy to be derided. The men diſguiſed themſelves, no leſſe than the women; ſome wear their cloaths ſo ſhort, that they hardly covered thoſe parts, that nature her ſelf ſhameth to diſcover: their hair was curled, and of ſuch length, that it hindred their ſight: upon their heads, they wear felt-hats, copletanked a quarter of an Ell high, or more: they ſtuffed their doublets, about their ſhoulders and breaſt, marvelous full of bombaſt, to the end they might ſeem ſquare and broad breaſted, a thing greatly diſpleaſing God; their cloaks were not ſo ſhort, but their gowns were as long; for they trained after them upon the ground. To be ſhort, the whole world could not deviſe ſtranger kinds of diſguiſing, than they had; and that was worſt of all is this, that every raſcall and every woman, in beggers eſtate, would be apparelled princelike, and imitate the faſhion of Court, without regard, either of coſt or calling. Compare this, with the exceſs of *England* in theſe daies, and we ſhall ſee in a glaſs our own vanities, and have juſt cauſe, to look for the ſame miſeries, that fell upon this houſe of *Burgundy*, after this exceſs.

in any Country, that ever I saw; their Bathes and other pastimes, with women wanton and dissolute, yea somewhat too shameless, I mean of women of low estate. To be short, the subjects of this House thought at that time, no Prince able to withstand them, at the least none too mighty for them; but at this present, I know no Country in the World, so miserable and desolate as theirs; and I doubt me the sins, they committed in their prosperity, cause them to suffer this adversity, because they acknowledged not all these gifts and benefits to proceed from God, who disposed and bestowed them as to his heavenly wisdome seemeth best.

The Earls Army thus furnished, even in a moment, of all things necessary, marched forward, [7] the whole force being on Horseback, save those that conveyed the artillery; which was mighty and strong for that time, and the straglers appointed for the carriage, the which was so great, that the Earls own carriage inclosed the greatest part of his Camp: he marched first towards *Noyon*, and besieged a little Castell called *Neste*, which was soon taken, notwithstanding, the resistance made by the Garrison that was within it. The Marshall *Joachin* (one of the four Marshals of *France*) issuing out of *Peronne*, coasted continually along by the Earls Camp, but could not endamage him, for his force was so small, that when the Earl drew near to *Paris*, he retired thither. All the way as the Earl passed, he made no Warre; but what his men took, they paid for: wherefore the Towns upon the River of *Somme*, and all other Towns that he passed by, received his men in small Troops; and sold them for their mony, whatsoever they would buy, as men resting in suspence, whether the King or the Princes, should have the upper hand [8]. So far marched the Earl, that he came to *S. Dennis*, near to *Paris*, where all the Lords of the Realm had promised to meet him; but none came, notwithstanding that, the Vicechancellor of *Britain*, the Dukes Ambassador, resident in the Earls Camp, forged news of their coming, from time to time, at his own pleasure, upon certain blancks, that he had signed with his masters hand: he was a *Norman* born, and a very wise and sufficient man, and so behooved it him to be, for the whole Camp murmured against him. The Earl of *Charolois*, shewed himself before *Paris* [9], where was a hot skirmish hard at the town Gates, but to the Citizens disadvantage. Men of War within the Town were none, save onely the Marshall *Joachin*, with his Company, and the Lord of *Nantoillet*, afterward Lord great Master, who did the King, as good service, in these Wars, as ever did subject, King of *France* at his need; and yet in the end, was ill recompensed, rather by his enemies malice, than the Kings fault, though neither of both are wholy to be excused. The poor people of the City, were in so great fear, the day of the skirmish, that they cried often (as I was afterwards, credibly enformed) that we were entred the Town, but without cause. Notwithstanding, the Lord of *Hault-bourdin*, above mentioned (who had been brought up in the Town, when it was nothing so strong, as now it is) gave advise to assault it, and the Souldiers, desired nothing more, contemning the Towns men, because the skirmishes were hard at their Gates, yet the contrary opinion took place, whereupon the Earl retired to *S. Dennis*. The next day, in the morning, he debated with his Council, whether he should go to meet with the Dukes of *Berry* and *Britain*, or not; who were at hand, as the Vicechancellor of *Britain* said, shewing also their letters, testifying the same; but he had forged them upon his blancks, and other news knew he none. In the end, the Earl resolved to passe the River of *Sein*, notwithstanding, that the most part of his Council, gave advise to return home, seeing the rest of the confederates had broken day, alledging it to be sufficient, to have passed the Rivers of *Somme* and *Marn*, and more than needed to passe this River of *Sein*. Some also put forth great doubts, because we had no places on our back, to retire into, if we should be distressed. But all this, notwithstanding the Earl passed the River, and encamped at *Pont S. Clou* [10], wherefore the whole Army, murmured much against the Earl of *S. Paul*, and this Vicechancellor; who were the principall perswaders of him thereunto. The next day after his arrival there, he received letters from a Lady of this Land, written with her own hand; wherein she Advertised him, that the King was departed out of *Bourbonois*, and came down with all speed to fight with him.

I must here, declare the occasion of the Kings voyage, into *Bourbonois*, which was this: So soon as he understood, that all the Princes of his Realm had conspired against him (at the least against his government) he determined to prevent them, and before they were assembled, to invade the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was the first that openly discovered himself,

[7] The 15 of *May* saith *Meyer*, but the 25 *Annal. Burgund.* the Earl departed from his father.

[8] The Earl of *Charolois* as he passed named himself the Duke of *Berys* lievtenant, for the which cause the towns here mentioned the willinglier received him. *Annales Burgund.*

[9] The Earls army shewed it self before *Paris*, about the 12. or 13. of *July*, at which time all the Princes should have met him there. *Meyer.*

[10] The Earl of *S. Paul* tooke a great boat upon the river of *Sein*, in the which he passed the river, and took *Pont S. Clou*. *Annal. Burgund.*

himself, to be of the confederacy, [11]: and because his Country was weak, he hoped soon to subdue it, as indeed divers places he took, and would easily have taken all, had not succours come thither, out of *Burgundy*, under the leading of the Lord of *Coulches*, the Marquesse of *Rottelin*, the Lord of *Montague*, and others, with whom Master *William* of *Rochefort*, Chancellor of *France* (a man at this day of great estimation) was also in arms. This force was levied in *Burgundy*, by the sollicitation of the Earl of *Beavien*, and the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, [12] brethren to Duke *John* of *Bourbon*, and by them received into *Molines*. Aid came also of another side, to the Duke of *Bourbon*, under the leading of the Duke of *Nemours*, the Earl of *Armignac*, and the Lord of *Albert*, being accompanied with a great band of Souldiers; some of the which, were good men of arms, of their Countries; who lately had forsaken the Kings pay, and put themselves into their service. But the greatest part of their men, were utterly unfurnished, of all things, and forced for lack of pay, to live upon the poor people. The King, notwithstanding these their great forces, gave them enough to do: wherefore in the end, they fell to treat of peace; especially the Duke of *Nemours*, who solemnly promised, and sware to take part with him, and yet did afterwards the contrary: whereupon, the King conceived so great displeasure against him, that afterward he could never brook him, as oftentimes he hath told me. To be short, the King perceiving, that he could not atchieve his enterprise, in *Bourbonnois*, so speedily as at the first he hoped, and fearing, if the Earl of *Charolois* forces, which approached near to *Paris*, and the forces of the Duke of *Berry* his own Brother, and of the Duke of *Britain*, which were coming out of *Britain*, should joyn together: that the Parisians would receive them into their Town, because they all pretended the Common wealth, for colour of their enterprise: and knowing also, as the Town of *Paris* did, so all the other Towns in his Realm, would follow: for these causes, I say, he resolved with all speed possible, to put himself into *Paris*, meaning to keep these two great Armies a sunder: but his purpose was not to fight, as he hath himself divers times told me, in communing of these affairs.

[11] Read a letter written by the King to the Duke of *Barbon* and his answer thereunto, *Annal. Burgund.* pag. 889.

[12] This Cardinal of *Bourbon* was Archbishop of *Lyons*, and brother to the Duke of *Bourbon*. *Annal. Burgund.* for the which cause I think it best in the French to read *freres* for *frere*, because the Earl of *Beavieu* and this Cardinall were both brethren to the Duke of *Bourbon*.

CHAP. III.

How the Earl of Charolois *encamped neer to* Montl'hery, *and of the Battel, fought there between the King of* France *and him.*

THe Earl of *Charolois* supposing that the King (being departed out of *Bourbonois*, as before you have heard) came down purposely to fight with him: resolved likewise to set forward against the King, and then read openly the contents of the letter sent him by the Lady above mentioned, (but suppressing her name) and required his souldiers to play the men; saying, that he was fully resolved to hazard the Battell, wherefore he marched, and encamped at a village neer to *Paris* called *Longiumeau*, and the Earl of *St. Paul* with the vaward lodged at *Montl'hery*, two leagues beyond *Longiumeau*, from whence he sent fore riders, and scoutes abroad, to understand of the Kings comming, and what way he tooke: Further in the presence of the Earl of *S. Paul*, the Lord of *Hault-bourdin*, and the Lord of *Contay*, *Longiumeau* was assigned for the place of the battell, and thither it was agreed that the Earle of *S. Paul* should retire with the vaward if the King happen to come.

Now you shall understand, that the Earl of *Maine* with seven or eight hundred men of Armes lay continually in face of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Britain*, who were accompanied with a number of wise and valiant Knights, that King *Lewis* had put from their pensions and offices, at his first comming to the state, (notwithstanding the great services they had done his Father in the recovering and pacifying of the Realm:) whereof afterward full often he repented him. Among these Knights was the Earl of *Dunois*, a man of great Experience in all matters [1], the Marshal of *Loheac*, the Earl of *Dammartin*, the Lord of *Bueil* and divers others, accompanied with the number of five hundred men of Armes, who lately had forsaken the Kings pay, and retired themselves to the Duke of *Britain*, of whose only subjects this whole force consisted. The Earl of *Main*, who lay continually in the face of the two Dukes campe, (as you have heard) finding himselfe to weak to encounter with them, dislodged continually before them, approaching nearer and nearer to the King, in like manner the Dukes of *Berry* and *Britain* endeavoured

[1] This *John* Earl of *Dunois* was bastard to *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, Meyer

deavoured to joyn with the Burgundians. Some have held an opinion, that the Earl of *Main* had secret intelligence with the Princes, but I could never understand any such thing, neither do I believe it[2].

The Earl of *Charolois* lying in campe at *Longiumeau* (as yon have heard) and his vaward at *Montl'hery*, was advertised by a prisoner, that the Earl of *Maine* with his whole force, all the men of Armes of the Kings ordinary retinue, being to the number of two and twenty hundred, and the Arriere ban[3] of *Daulphine* together with forty or fifty Gentlemen of *Savoy* excellent good Souldiers, were all joyned with the King,

The King in the mean time consulted with the E. of *Main*, the high Seneschall of *Normandy* called *De Brezey*, the Admirall of *France*, who was of the House of *Montauban*, and others; what was to be done, and in the end; whatsoever was said or advised to the contrary, resolved not to fight, neither to approach near to the Burgundians campe, but onely to enter into *Paris*;[4] which in my opinion was the best and safest course. He stood in a great doubt of this High Seneschall of *Normandy*, and therefore desired him to tell him truly, whether he had given his faith in writing to the Princes, that came against him: Whereunto the Seneschal answered after his merry jesting manner; that he had, and that the writing should remain with them, but the body should serve him: which his answer, the King took in good part, and gave him the leading of his vaward, and put also under his charge the guids, whose helps he used; because he meant to shun the battel, as you have heard. But the Seneschal, being wedded to his own will, said privily to certain of his familiar friends, that he would that day joyn the two Armies so near together, that he had need to be a good man of war that should sever them without battell, which his promise he performed, though to his own cost, for the first man that was slain was himself[5], and his band with him These his words the King hath often since rehearsed to me, for I served then the Earl of *Charolois*.

But to proceed the 27. of *July*[6] the year 1465, the Kings vaward came to *Montl'heri*, where the Earl of *S. Paul* lodged; who incontinent advertised the E. of *Charolois* lying two leagues thence (namely at *Longiumeau*, the place assigned for the battell) of their arrival, desiring him of aid with all speed; and alledging, that because all his men of Armes and Archers where lighted on foot, and enclosed with their carriage, he could not possibly retire to *Longiumeau*, according to the order agreed on; without seeming to fly, whereby he should both discourage and indanger the whole Army. Which message receiv'd, the E. of *Charolois* sent forthwith the Bastard of *Burgundy*, called *Anthony*, with a great band of men, to joyn with the E of *S. Paul*, and debated with himself, whether he should go thither in person or not, and in the end marched forward with the rest, and came to the place about seven of the clock in the morning: but before his arrival five or six of the Kings Ensignes were displayed, along upon a great Ditch-side, between the two Armies.

The Vicechancellor of *Brittain* called *Rouville* was yet in the Earl of *Charolois* campe, and with him an ancient man of Armes named *Madery*, the self same that delivered *Pont S. Maxence* to the Burgundians: against these two the whole Army murmured, because the battell being now ready to be given; the forces they had so much vanted of, were yet uncome. Wherefore they were both in great fear, and fled before the two Armies joyned, taking their way to the *Britaines* camp. The Earl of *Charolois*'s company set themselves in order of Battell as they marched, and at their arrival found the Earl of *S. Paul* on foot, and all the Archers dismounted, each man having a Pale pitched before him, Further, they beat out the heads of divers pipes of wine to drink: and sure for those few battels I have been in, I never saw men in my life more desirous to fight, which me thought, was a good signe and a great comfort. Order was given at first, that we should all light on foot none excepted, but that order was afterwards altered. For almost all the men of Armes mounted again on horseback, save certain valiant Knights and Esquires appointed to fight among the footmen; namely, Monsieur *de Cordes*, and Master *Philip* of *Lalain*, with divers others: for at that time among the Burgundians the honourablest personages sought on foot among the Archers; to the

[2] Yet *La Marche* saith that the Earl of *Main* was of the Princes confederacy.

[3] The Arrere-ban is an edict never proclamed, but in cases of great extremity: for all as well Nobles as others are thereupon bound to repair to the King, divers of the which before the proclamation thereof are not bound by their tenure to move. The Arriere-band of *Daulphine* here named, were all those of the country of *Daulphine*, that held by this Tenure. Read the edict made by King *Francis Anno* 1543 and *Gerarde* of the state of *France* Lib 2. Fol. 112.

[4] The King by the perswasion of the Earl of *Maine* and the Seneschal *Brezey*, resolved at the last to fight. *Annal. Burgund.*

[5] *Brezey* had changed armour with the King, which caused his death: for those that slue him supposed it had been the King, *Annal. Aquitan.* but *Meyer* saith, he was reported to be slain by the Kings procurement, which I know not where he findeth.

[6] Of the day of the Battel *Annal. Franc.* agreeth with our Author, but *Annal. Burgund.* and *Annal Aquitan.* say 17. *Meyer* hath 17. *Cal. Augusti*, that is the 16 day of *July*, and with him agreeth *Gaguin & La Marche*, who was present at the Battel, and knighted in it.

end,

end, the infantery might be the better assured and fight the more Couragiously, which order they learned of the English men, with whom Duke *Philip* being confederate in his youth) made war upon the Realm of *France*, the space of two and thirty years, without truce [7]. But the burden of these warres lay upon the Englishmens shoulders, who were at that time rich and mighty, and had a wise, goodly, and valiant King called *Henry*, accompanied with sage, hardy, and expert Captaines; namely, the Earl of *Salisbury*, *Talbot*, and others; whom I passe over, because those warres were before my time, notwithstanding I have seen the reliques of them. For when God meant to withdraw his goodnesse from the Englishmen, this wise King died at *Bois de Vincennes*, and his son, who proved but a simple man, was crowned King of *France* and *England* at *Paris*. Soon after all was turned topsie turvy in *England*. For civill wars arose among them, which have indured almost till this present, by reason that the house of *York*, usurped the Crown or held it by good title, I know not well whether, for the Lot of Kingdomes is given from Heaven.

But to return to the History, this dismounting and remounting of the Burgundians, caused both great delay of time, and losse of men; for at this instant, that young valiant Knight Master *Philip* of *Lalain*, being but slenderly armed was slain [8]. The Kings forces marched scatteringly along by the forrest of *Torfou*, being hardly 400 men of Armes at our first arrivall; so that if we had then charged them, in mine opinion we had found no resistance; for they that were behinde could not have aided the former; because they could not march forward upon a front, but one by one after another. Notwithstanding, their number continually increased, which this wise Knight Monsieur *de Contay* perceiving, came and told his master the Earl of *Charolois*, that if he would obtain the victory it was time to give the charge, confirming his opinion by divers good reasons, and adding that if he had assailed his enemies at his first arrivall, they had already been discomfited, for then their number was small, but now greatly increased, as easy it was to be discerned, and sure he said true [9]. Then was every mans advice asked, and the former order clean altered, but in the mean time, a great and hot skirmish was already begun, at the very entry into the village of *Montl'hery*, all of shot on both sides. The Kings bands were led by *Poncet* of *Riviere*, being all archers of his ordinary retinue, glistring in gilt, and very well pointed. But the Earls shot was out of order, obedient to no man, and doing all things of their own brain. Thus began the skirmishes, in which the Lord *Philip* of *Lalain* [10], and *James* of *Mas* a valiant Gentleman, afterward master of the Horse to Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy*, fought on foot among the archers. The Burgundians, being the greater number, took a House, and bare two or three doors before them, wherewith they covered themselves instead of Targets, and after they were entred the street, set fire on a House, the winde was with them, and blew the flame in their enemies faces, who thereupon retired, and afterward took Horse, and fled, with the which hue and cry, the Earl of *Charolois* began to march, leaving the order first devised: For order was first given, that the Earls Battell should rest twice by the way, because his vaward, and his battell were far asunder [11]. The Kings Army stood near to the Castle of *Montl'hery*, a great hedge and a ditch, being between them and us. The fields beyond them, bear that year Wheat, Beans, and other grain, grown marvellous high and thick: for the soil there is very good. All the Earls shot, marched on foot before him, in very ill order; notwithstanding, that in my opinion, in a Battell, the principall hope of Victory, consisteth in the shot; I mean if the force of shot be great (for small force serveth to small purpose) and either ill mounted (to the end they be not unwilling to forsake their Horses) or not mounted at all. Further, in the day of Battle, those that are ignorant of the Warr, will do a greater exploit, than those that have been long trained up therein; this is the English mens opinion, who are the best shot in the World: order was first given, (as you have heard) that the Earls Battell should rest twice upon the way, to the end, the footmen might breath themselves, because the vaward and it, were far a sunder, and the Corn high and thick, which troubled their going; yet notwithstanding the clean contrary was done, as though men would purposely have lost all. Wherefore hereby, God manifestly declared, that he is the Lord of Hosts, and disposeth of the Victory, as seemeth best to him: and sure for my part, I cannot be perswaded that the Wisdome of one man is sufficient to govern such a number of men, nor that an enterprise can be executed in the field, as it is devised in the chamber: and further, I verily believe, that who so enableth himself, by his own wit and capacity,

to

[7] The Duke was joyned with the English men but fifteen or sixteen years, as saith also *Introduction de la Marche*, for the league began *Anno* 1419 and ended *Anno* 1435.

[8] The Burgundians dismounted so suddenly, that laying down their compleat armor they had not leasure to buckle their lighter armor about them, which was the cause of *Lalains* death, *Annal. Burgund.*

[9] *Contay* used another reason to perswade the Earl to assail his enemies, here not expressed, to wit, to prevent the Parisians who if they issued forth should inclose him between them and the King *Annal. Burgund.*

[10] This *Lalain* seemeth to be the father of him that was slain.

[11] Between *Longjumeau* where the Earls battel lay, and *Montl'hery* where his vaward lodged, are four English miles.

to give order in ſo weighty a matter, misbehaveth himſelf towards God. Notwithſtanding, every man ought to do his endeavour therein, acknowledging the Wars, to be one of the accompliſhments of Gods judgements; which oftentimes, he beginneth upon ſmall occaſions, to the end, that by giving Victory now to one, and now to another, ſome great Realms and Seniories, may fall to ruine and deſolation, and other ſome, increaſe and flouriſh, with large Empire and Dominion; for farther proof whereof, mark this that followeth. The Earl of *Charolois* marched without any breathing given to his ſhot and footmen, upon the way. The Kings men of arms, paſſed through the Hedge, above mentioned, at two ſeverall places, and when they approached ſo near their enemies, that they began to charge with their ſtaves, the Burgundian men of arms, brake their own ſhot, and paſſed through it, not giving them leave to let one Arrow flie, notwithſtanding, that the ſhot were the principall force, and only hope of their Army; for of the men of arms (being to the number of twelve hundred) I think, hardly fifty knew how to charge a launce; there were not four hundred of them; armed with quiracies, and of their retinue, not one armed; all the which inconveniencies, grew partly, becauſe they had reſted ſo long in peace; and partly, becauſe this Houſe of *Burgundy*, for eaſe of their ſubjects, entertained no Souldiers in ordinary. But ſince that day, theſe Seniories of *Burgundy*, have continued in troubles, which even at this preſent, rather increaſe than diminiſh. Thus the Burgundian men of arms (as you have heard) brake themſelves the chief force, and onely hope of their Army, yet notwithſtanding, ſo it pleaſed God, to diſpoſe of this matter, that on the right ſide of the Caſtell, where the Earl himſelf ſtood, no reſiſtance was found. All this day, my ſelf never departed from the Earl, being leſſe afraid, then in any other battel that ever I was at ſince, for I was young and knew not what perill meant; but wondred how any man, durſt reſiſt the Prince I ſerved, ſuppoſing none to be comparable to him. Such are the cogitations of men lacking experience, which cauſeth them, oftentimes, to maintain fond arguments, grounded upon ſmall reaſon. Wherefore it is good, to follow his adviſe that ſaith, a man ſeldom repenteth him of too little Speech, but often of too much. On the left hand ſtood the Lord of *Ravaſtin*, and maſter *James* of *S. Paul*, with divers others, who well perceived their force too weak to encounter with the enemy, that came to charge them; but they were now ſo near joyned together, that it was to late to deviſe any new order. To be ſhort theſe were utterly overthrone, and purſued even hard to our carriage, where certain of the footmen rallied themſelves, but the greateſt part tooke the forreſt being but halfe a league thence. The principle that followed the chaſe were the Gentlemen of *Daulphine* and *Savoy*, with certain companies of men of Armes, who ſuppoſed the victory had been theirs, and not without cauſe; for ſure the Burgundians flight was great on that ſide, yea and of great perſonages. The moſt part fled toward *Pont S. Maxience*, ſuppoſing it had held yet for the Earle. In the forreſt alſo a great number ſtayed, among whom was the Earl of *S. Paul* well accompanied, for he ſtood near to the forreſt ſide, and declared afterward, that he held not the battell as loſt.

" *Pont S. Clou* and *Pont S. Maxience* were yielded by the Burgundians becauſe the rumour was that the Earl of *Charolois* was ſlain in the Battel *Meyer*.

CHAP. IV. *Of the danger the Earl of* Charolois *was in, and how he was reſcued.*

THe Earl of *Charolois* purſued his Enemies, on that ſide himſelf ſtood; halfe a League beyond *Montlhery*, and found no reſiſtance: notwithſtanding, that he were but ſlenderly accompanied, and met with main enemies, wherefore he held the victory for his: but ſuddenly an old gentleman of *Luxembourg* called *Anthony le Breton*, came to him and adverтiſed him, that the French were rallied upon the field, ſo that if he followed the chaſe any further, he ſhould caſt away himſelf. But the Earl regarded not his ſpeech, notwithſtanding that he repeated it twice or thrice. But even at that inſtant arrived Monſieur *de Contay*; who told him the ſame tale, the old Gentleman of *Luxembourg* had done, and that in ſo ſtout and bold terms, that he gave credit to his words and experience, and preſently retired. And I think verily if he had paſſed, but two bow ſhot farther, he had been taken, as divers were, that followed the chaſe before him. As he returned, hard by the Village, he met with a band of footmen flying, whom he purſued, being accompanied hardly with an hundred Horſe: none of theſe footmen made reſiſtance, but one, who gave the Earl ſuch a blow on the Breſt with a javelin, that the mark thereof appeared at night,

night: the greateſt part of the reſt eſcaped through the gardens; but he, that ſtroke the Earl, was ſlain. And as we paſſed hard by the Caſtle, we found the archers of the Kings Guard, before the Gate, who never abandoned their place for our coming: whereat the Earl much marvelled; for he thought the Battel had been at an end, but he found it otherwiſe: for as he turned about, to enter into the field (part of his Company, being ſcattered from him) ſuddenly fifteen or ſixteen men of arms, gave a charge upon him, and at the very firſt ſlew his Carver, named *Philip D'orgues*, bearing a Guydon of his arm. The Earl was there in great danger, and received many hurts, eſpecially one in the throat, with a Sword (the mark whereof ſtuck by him as long as he lived) by reaſon that his Beaver, being ill faſtened in the morning, was fallen away, and my ſelf ſaw when it fell. The enemies laid hands upon him, ſaying, My Lord yield, we know you well enough, be not wilfully ſlain; but he manfully defended himſelf. And at that inſtant, a Phyſitians Son of *Paris*, that ſerved the Earl, named *John Cadet*, being a great lubberly fellow, mounted upon a ſtrong Jade, like himſelf, ran through the enemies, and brake them [1], wherewith they retired to the ditch ſide, (the place they had taken in the morning) the rather, for that they diſcovered one of our Enſignes, marching in the midſt of the field, and approaching near to us, being the Baſtard *Burgundies* Enſigne, all tottered and torne; to the which, the Earl all embrewed in his own blood, retired, leaving at his archers Enſigne, not above fourty men, with whom, we being hardly thirty, joyned in great fear. The Earl incontinent changed his Horſe, having a freſh Horſe brought him, by *Simon* of *Quingy*, then his Page, and ſince a man well known: and rode about the field, to rally his men, leaving us, that tarried behind him, in ſuch fear, that by the ſpace of an hour, we were all fully reſolved to flee, if but a hundred enemies had marched againſt us: notwithſtanding, our men came to us by ten, and twenty in a Troop, as well Horſemen as Footmen, but of the Footmen many were hurt, and all very weary; partly, becauſe of the Battel; and partly, becauſe of their unreaſonable journey, in the morning. Soon after returned the Earl himſelf, hardly accompanied with an hundred men, but by little and little our number increaſed. The corn, which but half an hour before, had been ſo high, was now troden flat down, by means whereof, aroſe a terrible duſt; all the fields lay ſtrewed with dead bodies of men an horſes, but becauſe of the duſt, none could be known.

[1] *De la Marche* calleth him that delivered the Earl, *Robert Couteriel*, or *Coutereau* a horſeman of *Bruxels*, his Phyſitians ſon, whom for that act, immediately he made Knight and feudary of *Brabant*. *Gaguin* writeth that the Earl was twice in danger, once in the hands of *Geffery De Saint Belin*, and again in the hands of *Gilbert Graſſay*.

Immediately after this, we diſcovered the Earl of *S. Paul*, iſſuing out of the Forreſt accompanied with forty men of arms, and his Guydon marched ſtraight towards us, and continually increaſed in number, but becauſe he was far from us, we ſent twice or thrice to him; deſiring him to make haſte; which notwithſtanding he did not, neither altered his pace; but cauſed his men to take up the launces, that lay upon the Ground, and came in very good order, which ſight much comforted us. With him a great number rallied themſelves, and in the end came and joyned with us: ſo that we were then to the number of eight hundred men of arms, but footmen, few or none, which was the only let, the Earl obtained not perfect Victory; for there was a great Ditch, and a thick Hedge, between his Battell and the Kings.

Of the Kings part, fled the Earl of *Main* with divers others, to the number of eight hundred men of arms. Some have held opinion, that the ſaid Earl of *Main* had intelligence with the Burgundians; but for mine own part, I believe it not. Never was in any Battell, ſo great flight on both ſides; but the two Princes, kept the field: of the Kings part there was a man of honour, that fled as far as *Luzignan*, without ſtay; and of the Earls part a noble Perſonage to *Que ſnoy le Comte*, theſe two had no great deſire to bite one another [2].

[2] For the two places here named be above three hundred Engliſh miles aſunder.

While the two Armies ſtood thus, in order of Battell, the one in face of the other, the Artillery ſhot terribly, which ſlew men on both ſides, but neither party deſired a new field. Notwithſtanding our band was greater then the Kings; but his preſence, and the curteous language he uſed to his Souldiers, was a great ſtay to his people: ſo far forth, that I am throughly perſwaded, both by mine own knowledge, and that I have ſince heard, that had it not been for him alone they had all fled. Some of our Company deſired a new battell; eſpecially the Lord of *Haultbourdin*, alleadging that he diſcovered a troop of enemies flying; and undoubtedly, if we could have recovered but a hundred to have ſhot through the hedge above mentioned, all had been ours.

While this matter was in communication, and both the Armies ſtanding thus in order of Battel without fight the night approached, and the King retired to *Corbeil*, but we

we thought he had encamped in the Field, becauſe fire falling by chance into a barrel of powder, and certain carts laden with munition, in the place where the King had ſtood, took in the end the great hedge above mentioned; which we ſuppoſed to have been the Frenchmens fires there encamped; whereupon the Earl of *S. Paul*, and the Lord of *Haultbourdin*, who ſeemed to be the men of greateſt experience in our army, commanded our carriage to be brought to the place where we were, and our camp to be incloſed therewith, and ſo it was. And as we ſtood there rallied together in order of battell divers Frenchmen returning from the chaſe, and ſuppoſing the victory to be theirs, and our camp the Kings, paſſed through the midſt of us, ſome of them eſcaped, but the moſt were ſlain. The men of name that died on the Kings part were theſe, maſter *Geffery* of *S. Belin*, the high Seneſchal of *Normandy*, and captain *Floquet*; and of the Burgundians, Maſter *Philip* of *Lalain*: of footmen and common ſouldiers we loſt more then the King, but of horſemen the King more then we: of priſoners the French took the beſt of thoſe that fled. There where ſlain of both ſides two thouſand at the leaſt [a]. The battel was well fought, and there were of both parties that did their endeavour, ſome in fighting, and ſome in flying: but ſure in my opinion it was a worthy feat of armes to rally themſelves together upon the field, and to ſtand three or four hours in order of Battell, the one in face of the other; and undoubtedly both the Princes had good cauſe to make account of their ſubjects, that ſtood ſo well by them at their need. But they did herein like men, not like angels; for ſome loſt their offices for flying, which were beſtowed upon others, that fled ten leagues beyond them: one of our part loſt his credit, and was commanded out of his maſters preſence; but within one month, he was in greater favour than before.

[a] There were ſlain at the battel of *Montl'heri* 2000. *Annal. Burgund. Meyer* ſaith 3000. *Gaguin* 3600.

When we were encloſed with our carriage, every man lodged himſelfe as commodiouſly as he could, a great number of us were hurt, and the whole army almoſt diſcouraged, fearing that the Pariſians, with two hundred men of arms, that were within the City, and the Marſhall *Joachin* the Kings Lievtenant there, would iſſue forth and aſſail us, on the other ſide. After it was dark night fifty launces were commanded to go forth to underſtand where the King lodged, but hardly twenty of them went; notwithſtanding that our camp were not above three bow ſhot from the place, where we ſuppoſed the King had encamped. In the mean time the Earl of *Charolois* eat and drunk a little, as did all the reſt of the company, each man in his own lodging, and the wound in his neck was dreſſed: but we were forced to remove out of the place, where he refreſhed himſelf, three or four dead bodies to make him room, and to bring two bottles of ſtraw, upon the which he ſat down. And as they removed theſe dead bodies, on of the poor naked ſouls began to call for drink, into whoſe mouth was powred a little of the tyſan the Earl had drunk of, wherewith his ſpirits revived, and then he was known to be one *Savaric* an archer of the Earls guard a valiant fellow, who was dreſſed and healed.

The Earl debated with his Councell what was to be done, the firſt that ſpake was the Earl of *S. Paul*; who ſaid we were in great danger, and gave advice by break of day to retire homeward, to burn part of our carriage, to ſave onely the Artillery, and to give order that none ſhould lead back any carriage, but ſuch as had above ten launces under their charge, adding that it was impoſſible to ly there without Victuals between *Paris* and the King. After him ſpake Monſieur *de Haultbourdin* almoſt to the ſame effect; ſave that he adviſed us to ſtay till we underſtood what newes, our Scouts, that were abroad, would bring us; to the which purpoſe ſpoke alſo three or four others. But the laſt that ſpake was Mounſieur *de Contay*, who ſaid that ſo ſoon as the Army ſhould underſtand of this reſolution they would all fly, and by that means be taken and ſpoyled before they had gone twenty leagues: which his opinion he confirmed by divers very good reaſons. Wherefore he gave advice that every man ſhould lodge himſelfe as commodiouſly as he could that night, and the next morning by break of day begin a new field with determination, either to live or die upon the place, which he ſaid to be a ſafer courſe than to fly. The Earl of *Charolois* followed the ſaid *Contayes* adviſe, and gave every man commandement to take his reſt for two hours, and at the ſound of the trumpet to be in a readineſs: further he willed divers by name to ſend to comfort his ſouldiers.

About midnight our Scoutes that were abroad returned, and it well appeared they had not been far: for they brought word, that the King lodged at the fires above mentioned. Incontinent others were ſent forth, and within an hour after. every man put himſelfe

himſelf in the readineſſe to fight, but the moſt part had rather have fled. About break of day our Scoutes, laſt ſent forth met one of our Carters; whom the enemies had taken priſoner that morning, as he brought a pot of wine from *Montlhery*. This Carter told them, that the French were all fled, whereof they ſent word incontinent to the camp, and went themſelves to the place, and found the Carters report true; whereupon they returned with this newes to the great comfort of the whole Army, and then a number cried to purſue them, that made but ſmall haſte after them, not an hour before. My ſelf had an old horſe halfe tired, who by chance thruſt his head into a pail of wine & drunk it off, which made him luſtier and freſhier that day, than ever before.

When it was broad day every man mounted on horſeback, and the ſquadrons made a goodly ſhew in the field, notwithſtanding all our companies were not yet come together, but a number returned at that preſent, which had lain hidden in the woods all night. The Earl of *Charolois* ſuborned a Frier Franciſcan, who brought word to the camp, that he came from the *Brittains*, who would be there the ſelf ſame day; which newes comforted not a little the whole army, but all men believed it not.

Immediately after, to wit, about ten of the clock in the morning, arrived the Vicechancellor of *Brittain*, called *Rouville*, and *Madery* abovementioned with him, accompanied with two archers of the Duke of *Brittains* guard in their livery coates, which comforted marvellouſly the whole Army; and the ſaid Vicechancellor was asked where he had been, and was commended for his departure (conſidering the great murmuring that was riſen againſt him) but much more for his return, and every man welcomed them and made them good chear.

All this day the Earl of *Charolois* kept ſtill the field, rejoycing greatly, and wholy attributing the honour of the victory to himſelfe alone, which glory coſt him dear; for after this he never followed any mans advice but his own, and whereas before he had hated the wars, and loved nothing that appertained thereunto: his thoughts were after this ſo clean altered that he continued in the wars till his death; in them ended his Life, and by them deſolated his Houſe; at the leaſt brought it marvellouſly underfoot, though not altogether deſtroyed it. Three noble and wiſe Princes his Predeceſſours had ſo highly advanced it, that few Kings except the King of *France* were mightier then he, and in richand ſtrong towns none paſſed him: But no man, eſpecialy no Prince ought to attribue too much to himſelf; but to acknowledge all proſperity and good ſucceſſe to proceed from God. Sure theſe two things I dare boldly ſay in his commendation; firſt, that, I think, never any man endured more travell than he in all points of bodily labour and exerciſe; and ſecondarily, that in my opinion, I never knew a hardier gentleman; for I never heard him complain of wearineſſe, I never ſaw him ſhew any countenance of fear, yet was I with him ſeven years together in the wars, every Summer without fail, and ſometime both Winter and Summer his attempts and enterpriſes where ſo high and difficult, that onely God by his abſolute power could have atchieved them, for they paſſed far mans reach.

CHAP. V.

How the Duke of Berry *the Kings Brother, and the Duke of* Brittain *joyned with the Earl of* Charolois *againſt the King.*

THe next day, being the third after the battel, we removed our camp and lodged at *Montlhery*, out of the which the people fled, part into the Church ſteeple, and part into the Caſtle; but the Earl cauſed them to return to their houſes; neither loſt they the value of one penny, for every man paid his ſhot, as truly as if he had been in *Flanders*. The Caſtle held far the King, and was not aſſaulted by us. The third day heing paſſed the Earl of *Charolois*, by the Lord of *Contayes* adviſe departed to *Eſtampes* (a good and commodious lodging, and in a fruitfull ſoile) meaning to prevent the *Brittains*; who came that way and before their arrivall to lodge his men, that were ſick and hurt in the town, and the reſt abroad in the fields: this good lodging, and the Earls long abode there, ſaved many a mans life. At the ſaid town of *Eſtampes*, arrived the Lord *Charles* of *France* then Duke of *Berry* and the Kings onely Borther, accompanied with the Duke of *Brittain*, the Earl of *Dunois*, the Lord of *Dampmartin*, the Lord of *Loheac*, the Lord of *Bueil*, the Lord of *Chaumount*, and Maſter *Charles* of *Amboiſe*

boiſe his ſon (who ſince hath carried great credit in this Realm) all the which, the King at his firſt coming to the Crown had diſplaced and put out of office; notwithſtanding, the great ſervices they had done the King his father and the Realm, both in the conqueſt of *Normandy* and in divers others wars. The Earl of *Charolois* and all the noblemen that were with him went forth to receive them and lodged their perſons in the town, where their lodgings were already made, but their forces lay abroad in the fields. They had with them eight hundred men of Arms very well appointed, a great number of which were Brittains, who lately had forſaken the Kings pay, and theſe made a gallant ſhew in their camp: of archers and other ſouldiers armed with good Brigandines, they had great force; ſo that, I ſuppoſe, they were ſix thouſand men on horſeback, all in very good order; and ſure this army ſhewed the Duke of *Brittain* to be a great Prince, for they were all paid out of his coffers'.

'The Brittains army was of 10600 men *Annal Aquit.* and the archers here mentioned were all mounted on Horſeback otherwiſe the men of arms could not ariſe to ſix thouſand.

The King being retired to *Corbeil* (as you have heard) was not idle neither forgat what he had to do, but whent ſtrait into *Normandy*; partly to levy men, and partly becauſe he feared rebellion in the Country, but a great part of his forces he left about *Paris* in thoſe places that had moſt need of defence.

The firſt Evening that all theſe Princes met at *Eſtampes*, they told newes each to other; the Brittains had taken priſoners certain of the Kings part that fled, and if they had been but a little nearer the place of the battel they had either taken or diſcomfited the third part of his army. They had firſt given order to ſend forth certain bands before them to underſtand how near the Kings army and the Earls were together, but they altered their minds. Notwithſtanding Maſter *Charles* of *Amboiſe* and certain with him ſcoured the Country before their Army, to ſee if they could meet any of their Enemies, and certain priſoners as you have heard they took, & part alſo of the Kings artillery: Theſe priſoners reported unto them that undoubtedly the King was ſlain (for ſo they ſuppoſed, becauſe they fled at the very beginning of the battel) which newsthe abovenamed M. *Charls* of *Amboiſe*, and they that were with him brought to the Brittains camp; who rejoyced marvellouſly thereat, ſuppoſing it had been true, and hoping for great rewards if the Lord *Charles* were King. Further they debated in Councill (as a man of credit there preſent afterward advertiſed me) how they might rid the country of the Burgundians, and ſend them home in the divels name, and were in a manner all agreed to cut their throates if they could; but this their joy ſoon ended: whereby you may perceive what ſuddain alterations are in a Realm in ſuch troubles.

But to return to the Camp, lying at *Eſtamps*; when every man had ſupped, and a great number being walking in the ſtreets: The Lord *Charles* of *France*, and the Earl of *Charolois*, withdrew themſelves to a Window, where they entred into very earneſt communication. Now you ſhall underſtand, that there was among the Brittains, one that took great pleaſure in throwing Squibs into the Air, which when they fall to the ground, run flaming among men; his name was Maſter *John Boutefeu*, or Maſter *John de Serpens*, I know not well whether. This merry companion, being ſecretly hidden in a houſe, threw two or three Squibs into the Air, from a high place where he ſtood, one of the which by chance, ſtroke againſt the bar of the Window, where theſe two Princes communied together; wherewithall both of them ſtarted ſuddenly up, being aſtoniſhed at this accident, and each beholding other, ſuſpecting this to be purpoſely done to hurt them: then came the Lord of *Contay* to his Maſter the Earl of *Charolois*, and after he had told him a word or two in his Ear, went down, and cauſed all the men of arms of the Earls houſe, and all the archers of his Guard, and a number of others to arm themſelves. Incontinent alſo the Earl of *Charolois* mooved the Duke of *Berry*, to command the archers of his Guard to do the like; whereupon, immediately two or three hundred men of arms, ſtood on foot in harneſs before the Gate, with a great number of archers, the which ſought round about from whence this fire might come: in the end the poor fellow that had done the deed, fell down upon his knees before them confeſſing the fact, and threw three or four other Squibs into the Air, whereby he put divers out of ſuſpition each of other: thus the matter turned to a jeſt, and every man unarmed himſelf and went to bed. The next day in the morning they ſat in Council, to debate what was to be done; all the Princes with their principal ſervants being there preſent, and as they were of divers parts and not obedient to one head: So were they alſo of divers opinions, as in ſuch aſſemblies it cannot be otherwiſe choſen. But among the reſt of their talk, certain words that paſſed the Duke of *Berry* (who was young and unacquainted with ſuch exploits) were eſpecially marked: for he ſeemed al-

already

ready to be weary of this enterprise, alledging the great number of the Earl of *Charolois's* men, that he had seen in the Town hurt and maimed, of whom, to shew that he had pity and compassion, he brake forth into this speech, and said, that he had rather the matter had never been begun, than that so much mischief should arise, by his occasion and for his cause, which words displeased greatly the Earl of *Charolois* and his men, as hereafter you shall hear: Notwithstanding, they concluded in this assembly to go before *Paris*, to prove whether the Town would enter into league with them, for the benefit of the Common-Wealth, (which they all pretended to be the onely cause of their assembly) being fully perswaded that all the Towns in the Realm would follow the example thereof. The Words above mentioned, uttered by the Duke of *Berry* in this assembly, put the Earl of *Charolois* and his men into such a dump, that they said thus one to another, heard you this man speak: he is discouraged for seven or eight hundred hurt persons, that he seeth in the Town; who are none of his, but meer strangers to him; he would be otherwise troubled then, if the matter should touch himself in any point, and easily be won to agree with his Brother, and leave us in the mire, and because of the long Wars, that have been in times past, between King *Charles* his Father, and the Duke of *Burgundy* my Father, both the parties would soon consent, and turn their forces against us; wherefore it is good to provide us of friends in time. And upon this suspition onely, *William* of *Cluny* Prenotary, who died Bishop of *Poictiers*, was sent into *England* to King *Edward* the fourth, then Reigning, to whom the Earl of *Charolois* had ever before been mortall enemy, supporting the House of *Lancaster* against him, of which he was issued by his mother[1]. And the said *Clunies* instructions were, to treat with King *Edward* of a marriage, between the Kings Sister called *Margaret*, and the Earl of *Charolois*, not to conclude the matter, but only to put the King in hope thereof: for the Earl knowing how greatly the King desired this marriage, supposed by this means to win him to take his part, if he needed his help; at the least to stay him from attempting ought against him. And notwithstanding that he meant nothing lesse, then the accomplishment thereof, because as fervently as he loved the House of *Lancaster*, as extreamly hated he the House of *York*: yet was the matter so laboured, that certain years after, the marriage was accomplished[2], and the Earl received also the order of the Garter, and ware it till his dying day. Many a such deed is often done upon suspition only, especially among great Princes, who are much more suspitious than other men, because of the doubts and reports that are daily brought unto them oftentimes by flatterers upon no occasion.

[1] *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* was of the house of *Lancaster* after this sort: *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, had issue by *Blanch* his first Wife, daughter and heir to *Henry* Duke of *Derby* and *Lancaster*, *Philippe* which married with *John* King of *Portugal* bastard of *Ferrande*, by whom she had issue *Isabel* married to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, by whom she had issue this Duke *Charles*.

[2] *Margaret* King *Edwards* sister, arrived in the Low Countries 25. *Ioan. Anno.* 1468. *Meyer.*

CHAP. VI. *How the Earl of* Charolois, *and his Confederates with their whole Army, passed, the River of* Sein, *upon a Bridge made with Boats; How* John *Duke of* Calabria *joyned with them: and how they all encamped before* Paris.

ALl these Princes according to their determination, departed from *Estampes*, having sojourned there certain dayes, and marched to *S. Maturin* of *Larchant*, and *Moret* in *Castinois*, in the which two little Towns, the Lord *Charles* of *France*, and the Brittains lodged, but the Earl of *Charolois* encamped in a great Medow, upon the River of *Sein*, and made proclamation, that every man should bring a Hook with him, to fasten his Horse therewith, he carried also with him, seven or eight small Boats in Carts, and great store of Pipeboard, meaning therewith to make a Bridge, over the River of *Sein*, because these Princes had no passage there. The Earl of *Dunois* accompanied him, riding in a Litter, for because of the Gout he could not sit on Horseback, notwithstanding, his Ensigne was borne with him. When they came to the River, they launched forth the Boats they brought with them, and took an Iland in the midst of the stream, where certain of our archers landed, and skirmished with a company of Horsemen, that defended the passage on the other side, under the leading of the Marshal *Joachin* and *Sallezard*. The place was much to the disadvantage of the French, because it was high, and in a goodly Vine Countrey; besides that, the Burgundians had great store of Artillery, under the charge of a notable Gunner, named Master *Girald*, whom they took prisoner at the Battle of *Montl'hery*, being then in the Kings service. To be short, the above mentioned Horsemen, were forced to abandon the passage and retire to *Paris*. The self same night, the Bridge was made from that side of the River where we lay, to the Iland; where incontinent the Earl of *Charolois* caused his Pavillion to be pitched, and lodged there all night,

with fifty men of arms of his Houſe: by day break, a great number of Coopers were ſet on work, to make Calque of the Pipeboard we brought with us, who ſo beſtirred themſelves, that before Noon the Bridge was made, from the Iland to the other ſide of the River. Incontinent paſſed the Earl of *Charolois*, and cauſed his Tents whereof he was well furniſhed, to be pitched: over the ſame Bridge paſſed alſo his whole Army and Artillery, and lodged upon the ſide of a Hill, hanging towards the River, by means whereof his Camp made a goodly ſhew to thoſe that came after.

It was that whole days work, to convey over the Earls own forces, but the next morning by day break paſſed alſo the Duke of *Berry* and *Britain*, with their wholy Army, commending this bridge to be very commodiouſly and ſpeedily made; they marched, when they were paſſed a little beyond the Earl, and encamped alſo upon the hill. When it was dark night we diſcovered a great number of fires, as far from us as we could well diſcern, which divers ſuppoſed to be the Kings forces; but before midnight we were advertiſed that it was *John* Duke of *Calabria* only ſon to King *Rene* of *Sicily* with nine hundred men of armes of the Dutchy and County of *Burgundy*. The ſaid Duke had with him few footmen, but was well accompanied with horſemen, and thoſe in ſo good order, that for their number I never ſaw a goodlier company nor a more warlike: for he had with him ſixſcore men of armes barded, all Italians or trained up in the Italian warres, among whom where *James Galiot* the Earl of *Campobache*, the Lord of *Baudricourt* now Governour of *Burgunay* and divers others: his men of Armes were very expert ſouldiers and to ſay the truth the flower of our army, I mean number for number. with him were alſo four hundred croſſebow men, that the Paſſegrave had lent him, all very well mounted and very good ſouldiers. Beſides whom, he had alſo in pay five hundred Switzers footmen, which were the firſt that ever came into this Realm, and theſe ſo valiantly behaved themſelves, in all places where they came, that they purchaſed great renown to their whole Nation; which their country men that have ſerved here ſince,

* It is requiſite that I ſhould here ſet down the particular quarrell that every one of theſe Princes had to the King, ſome are mentioned by our Author, and others in other Authors. The Duke of *Berries* quarrel was for a larger partage. The Earl of *Charolois* demanded reſtitution of the territories upon the River of *Somme*. The Duke of *Britain* had cauſe to be offended and afraide becauſe the King had picked a quarrel

with him by demanding of him three things, never before demanded of any D. of *Brittain*: The firſt, that he ſhould no more write in his ſtile *Dei gratia* Britanniæ *Dux*: The ſecond that he ſhould pay to the King a yearly tribute: The third that all the ſpirituall Livings in *Brittain* ſhould be left to the Kings diſpoſing. For theſe cauſes the D. of *Brittain* joyned with the Princes. The D. of *Calabria* had cauſe of offence; becauſe being entred into *Italy* to recover the Realm of *Naples*, and the King having promiſed him aid, after the ſaid D. of *Calabria* was overthrone at *Troya* in *Apulia* the K. refuſed to ſend him the aid promiſed, ſo that he was forced utterly to abandon his enterprife. The D. of *Bourbon* had married the K. ſiſter, and could not get her marriage money. The Duke of *Normandy*, Earls of *Dunois*, *Dalebret*, and the reſt of the Noblemen and Gentlemen were againſt the King: ſome becauſe they were put out of penſion and office; many becauſe the King ſought to deprive them of the royalties they had in their ſeniories touching Hunting and Hawking, and ſought to draw all to himſelf, but all in generall were offended becauſe he contemned his Nobility, and entertained none but men of baſe eſtate about him. Thus much *I* have ſet down becauſe it might otherwiſe ſeem ſtrange, that all theſe Princes ſhould thus conſpire againſt the King, for zeal of the Common wealth, if other particular griefes had not more moved them, than the miſgovernment of the ſtate. To the end the Reader find it not ſtrange that *Rene* is here called King of *Sicily* ſince the houſe of *Arragon* poſſeſſed the ſaid Realm at that time: it is to be underſtood that the race of the Normands (who about the year 1060. ſubdued *Sicily*, *Calabria*, and *Apulia*: and about the year 1102. took upon them the title of Kings of *Sicily*,) being extinct in *Roger* the laſt King of *Sicily* of that race, about the year 1195. the ſaid Realm fell to the iſſue of the Emperor *Fridericus Barbaroſſa*, by the marriage of *Conſtantia* daughter to *Roger* the firſt King of *Sicily*, and aunt to *Roger* the laſt King of *Sicily* of this race, with *Henry* the ſaid *Barbaroſſa*'s Son; in which race it continued, till *Manfridus* baſtard Son to *Fridericus* the Emperour, Son to the above named *Henry*, obtained the Crown of *Sicily* and *Naples*, by diſpoſſeſſing *Conradinus* his Nephew the true heir thereof. Againſt this *Manfridus*, Pope *Urbanus* the fourth, called into *Italy Charles* of *Anjou*, brother to *S. Lewis* King of *France*, who ſlew *Manfridus* in Battell, and afterward executed alſo *Conradinus* the true heir of the Crown, being taken in Battell, coming with an Army to conquer the ſaid Realms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, as his true inheritance: and thus obtained this *Charles* of *Anjou*, the Crown both of *Naples* and *Sicily*, till not long after by the coming of *Peter* King of *Arragon*, who had married *Conſtantia* daughter and heir to *Manfridus*: The Sicilians aroſe ſuddenly againſt the French, ſlew them all in one evening, and yielded the Realm of *Sicily* to the ſaid *Peter* whoſe poſterity ever ſince even till this day, have continued in poſſeſſion thereof. Notwithſtanding the Poſterity of *Charles* of *Anjou*, held ſtill the Realm of *Naples* with the title of the Realm of *Sicily*, till the time that the later *Jane* Queen of *Naples*, to fortifie her ſelf againſt Pope *Urbanus Sextus* adopted *Alfonſe* of *Arragon*, Son to *Ferrande* King of *Arragon*, which *Ferrande*'s mother named *Elenor* was daughter to King *Peter*: but after the ſaid *Jane* for diſpleaſure conceived againſt the ſaid *Alfonſe* adopted ſecondarily *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, brother to *Charles* the fifth King of *France*, deſcended of the race of the firſt *Charles* King of *Sicily*, againſt whom and his Son *Lewis*, *Alfonſe* long warred, and in the end after Queen *Janes* death, chaſed them both out of *Italy*, and left the Realms of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, to *John* his Brother: but the Realm of *Naples* to *Ferrande* his baſe Son, with whom *Rene* here mentioned (brother to *Lewis* the ſecond of that name Duke of *Anjou* and King of *Sicily*, and by him with *Janes* conſent adopted) long warred, but prevailed not: ſo that *Rene* had onely the title of *Sicily* and *Naples* by the adoption aforeſaid, but no poſſeſſion thereof: for *Sicily* the Kings of *Arragon* held ever ſince the conqueſt of *Peter*, and the Realm of *Naples Ferrande* the baſtard held, of his fathers gift, from whoſe poſterity how in the end after many alterations, it fell to the houſe of *Arragon*, that now poſſeſſeth it, ſhall be ſet down at large in the Wars of *Naples* made by King *Charles* the eighth who had the houſe of *Anjou*'s title, whereof our author treateth in the ſeventh and eighth Book of this Hiſtory.

have

have well maintained. This company the next morning approached near to us, and passed that day over our Bridge, which a man may boldly say conveyed over all the power of *France*, save onely the Kings Army. And I assure you the force was so great of valiant men well appointed, and in very good order; that I wish all the friends and well willers of the Realm had seen it, and likewise the enemies: for by that means the former would have esteemed of the Realm as it deserved, and the latter ever after the more have feared it. The Burgundians that accompanied the D. of *Calabria* were led by the L. of *Neufchastell*, Marshall of *Burgundy*, who had with him his brother the L. of *Montague*, the Marquesse of *Rotelin*, and a great number of Knights and Esquires: some of the which had been in *Bourbonois*, as I have made mention in the beginning of this History [a], but they all joyned for their more safety, with the Duke of *Calabria*, who shewed himself to be as Noble a Prince, and as good a Souldier as any in the Company, whereupon great love and amity grew between him and the Earl of *Charolois*.

[a] This force led by the Marshall of *Burgundy* was 4000. men, *Meyer*.

After this whole force (being as I suppose, to the number of an hundred thousand horse good and bad) was passed the River; the Princes determined to shew themselves before *Paris*, wherefore they put all their vawards together. The Burgundians vaward was led by the Earl of *S. Paul*, and the vaward of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Britain*, by *Oudet* of *Rie* [b] afterward Earl of *Comminges*, and the Marshall *Loheac*, as I remember, and in this order marched they; but all the Princes remained in the Battel. The Earl of *Charolois* and the Duke of *Calabria*, were very diligent in commanding and giving good order in the Army, and rode very well armed, and shewed that they meant to do their duty, but the Dukes of *Berry* and *Brittain* were mounted upon small ambling Nags, and armed with slight Brigandines, light and thin, yea and some said they were not plated, but studded only with a few gilt nails upon the sattin for the lesse weight, but I will not affirm it for a truth. Thus marched this Army to *Pont de Charenton* two little leagues from *Paris*, which was taken incontinent, notwithstanding the resistance of certain franck archers [c], that were within it: over the said Bridge of *Charenton* passed the whole force. The Earl of *Charolois* lodged in his own house, called *Conflans* scituate upon the River not far from thence, and inclosed a great piece of ground with his Carriage and Artillery, and lodged his Camp within it, and with him lay the Duke of *Calabria*: but the Dukes of *Berry* and *Brittain*, with part of their forces, lodged at *S. Mor-des-fosses*, and the rest they sent to *S. Denis* being also two leagues from *Paris*, in the which places this whole Company lay eleven Weeks, during the which space these things happened that now I will rehearse.

[b] This *Oudet* is he that acquainted the Duke of *Berry* with this confederacy, and conveighed him into *Brittain*, *Meyer*.

[c] Franck archers were these: King *Charles* the 7th. in the year 1449. being destitute of footmen, appointed that every three score houses in his Realm should arm a man, who in time of War received pay of the King, and were exempt from all subsidies and payments for the which cause they were all called franck; that is free, but King *Lewis* the 11th. *Anno* 1480. called these franck archers and waged *Switzers* in their place.

The next day in the morning began the skirmishes hard at *Paris* Gates; within the town was the Lord of *Nantolliet*, L. great Master of *France*, (who did the King good service there, as before I have said) and the Marshall *Joachin*. The poor people of the Town were in great fear, but of the better sort some wished the Burgundians and the other Princes within the Town, because this enterprise seemed unto them good and profitable for the Realm: others there were born in the said Princes Dominions, wherefore they sured their affairs, hoping by their means to obtain some good offices in the Town, which are more hunted after there than in any other place, and no marvell: for those that are in office make of their offices what they can, not what they ought; which is the cause that some offices in the Town of no fee at all, are sold for eight hundred Crowns; and other some of very small fee, for more than the fee will amount to in fifteen years. Seldom is any man put out of office: for the Court of Parliament alloweth these sales of offices as lawfull, the reason whereof is because it is a generall case. Among the Councellours are alwayes a number both of vertuous and worthy Personages, and also of lewd and ill conditioned persons, as are in all other estates.

CHAP. VII.

A Discourse of ambitious hunting after offices and estates, by the example of the English men.

I Speak of these offies and estates, because in changes they are so greedily desired, and are also cause thereof, as appeareth by that which hath happened not only in this our age, but also in the time of King *Charles* the sixth, under whom the Wars began that endured till the treaty of *Arras*, during the which Wars the English men entred into the Realm, and conquered so far that at the time of the said treaty (which continued

tinued the ſpace of two months) the D. of *Bedford* brother to *Henry* the 5th King of *England*, being married to D. *Philip* of *Burgundy*'s ſiſter, was regent in *France* for the Engliſh men, whoſe monthly entertainment in that office amounted to 20000. crowns at the leaſt. At the ſaid treaty were preſent for the King of *France*, four or five Dukes or Earls, five or ſix Prelates, and ten or twelve Councellors of the Parliament. For Duke *Philip* likewiſe divers noble men, [2] in much great number: for the Pope two Cardinals, as Mediators, and for the Engliſh men divers noble perſonages. Duke *Philip* greatly deſired to acquit himſelf honourably towards the Engliſhmen, before he would abandon them, becauſe of the Ancient League that had been between them: wherefore the Dutchies of *Normandy* and *Guienne*, were offered to the King of *England*, with condition that he ſhould do Homage for them to the Crown of *France*, as his Predeceſſors had done, and reſtore all the places he held in the Realm out of the ſaid Dutchies: which condition the Engliſh men becauſe of the Homage, refuſed, but to their great loſs, for being abandoned of this Houſe of *Burgundy*, their good ſucceſs altered, and all their intelligences within the Realm, failed, whereby their power daily ſo diminiſhed, that in ſhort ſpace they loſt *Paris*, and by little and little all that they held in this Realm. After their return into *England*, none of them would diminiſh his eſtate, but the offices within the Realm ſufficed not for maintenances of them all, whereupon long Civil Wars aroſe among them, in the which King *Henry* the ſixth, who had been Crowned King of *England* and *France*, at *Paris*, was proclaimed Traitor, and impriſoned in the Tower of *London*, where he remained the greateſt part of his life, and in the end was there murthered. The Duke of *York* father to King *Edward* that laſt died, intituled himſelf right heir to the Crown, and ſoon after was ſlain in Battle, and had his head ſmitten off, as had alſo the father of the Earl of *Warwick*, [3] that laſt died, whoſe credit was ſo great in *England*, and all the reſt that were ſlain in thoſe Wars. The ſaid Earl of *Warwick* led the Earl of *Marche* afterward, named *Edward* the fourth, by Sea to *Calis*, with a ſmall Company, eſcaped out of Battle [4], for the Earl of *Warwick* took part with the Houſe of *York*, as the Duke of *Sommerſet* did with the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. To be ſhort, theſe Wars endured ſo long, that all they of the Houſes of *Warwick* and *Sommerſet* were either ſlain or beheaded in them. King *Edward* cauſed afterward his own brother the Duke of *Clarence*, to be drowned in a Butt of malmeſy, charging him that he meant to make himſelf King: but after King *Edwards* death, his other brother the D. of *Glouceſter* murthered the ſaid Kings two Sons, proclaimed his daughters baſtards and uſurped the Crown. Immediately after the which cruell deed, the Earl of *Richmond* now King, (who had been priſoner many years in *Brittain*) paſſed into *England*, and diſcomfited and ſlew in Battle this bloody King *Richard*, late murtherer of his two Nephews. Thus have there died in *England*, in theſe Civill Wars, ſince my remembrance, above fourſcore perſons of the blood Royall, part of the which my ſelf knew, and part underſtood of by the Engliſh men, reſident with the Duke of *Burgundy*, at the ſame time that I ſerved him. Wherefore you ſee it is not at *Paris* onely, nor in *France* alone, that men fall at variance for worldly goods and honours. But ſure all Kings and great Princes, ought to take heed that they ſuffer not factions to ariſe in their Courts, for thereof kindleth the fire that conſumeth their whole Country in the end. Notwithſtanding ſuch alterations happen, not in my opinion, but by Gods depoſition, for when Princes and Realms have long flouriſhed, in great wealth and proſperity, and forget from whence all theſe benefits proceed: God raiſeth up an enemy againſt them, whom they never feared nor ſtood in doubt of, as appeareth by the Kings mentioned in the Bible, and by that alſo which hath happened, and daily doth happen, not only in *England*, and in theſe Countries of *Burgundy*, but in divers other places alſo.

[1] The laſt of *July* arrived the French Kings Ambaſſadors at the treaty of *Arras Annal. Burg.* ſo that the treaty began in the beginning of *Auguſt*, and the Engliſh men departed diſcontented the ſixth of *September*, *Annal. Burgund.* and the treaty ended the 21. of *September*, but *De la Marche* ſaith the 10. of *December*. *Meyer* 11. *Calen Octob.* which agreeth with *Annal. Burgund.*

[2] At the treaty was preſent *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* himſelf. *La Marche Meyer.*

[3] Our Chronicles report that the Duke of *York* with divers others ſlain in the Battell, and the Earl of *Salisbury* father to the Earl of *Warwick* who was taken priſoner in the Battell were beheaded, and their heads ſent to *York* in deriſion: but I remember not that the Earl of *Warwick* was beheaded after he was ſlain, and I am out of doubt that the unskilfull Corrector hath here omitted a word or two, and that we muſt read in place of *Luy & le Comte de Warwic*, *Luy & le perre du Comte de Warwic*. Wherefore I have been bold to amend the place according to the truth of the Hiſtory, leſt the Author ſhould be charged with writing an untruth, further it appeareth by our Authors own diſcourſe of King *Edwards* life *lib. 6. cap.* 13. that this place is to be read as I have amended it. [4] The Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick* went to *Calice* before the Duke of *York* was ſlain, or overthrown in Battell: for they fled from *Ludlow* lying in Camp there againſt the Kings force, becauſe they found themſelves two weak, and their Counſels betrayed by *Andrew Trowlop* who fled from them to the King.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII. *How King* Lewis *entred into* Paris, *while the Princes of* France *practiſed with the Citizens.*

I Have been long in this diſcourſe, and it is now time to return to the Hiſtory. After the Princes were come before *Paris*, they began to practiſe with the Citizens, promiſing offices and great rewards to divers, and omitting nothing that might further their affairs. At three dayes end, the Citizens aſſembled together in the Town Hall; where, when they had long debated theſe matters, and heard the Princes requeſts and demands made openly to them, for the benefit of the whole Realm (as they pretended:) they determined to ſend Ambaſſadors to them to treat of peace, according to the which determination a great number of the beſt Citizens came to *Saint Mor* where the Princes lay, and Maſter *William Chartier* then Biſhop of *Paris*, a notable Prelate, declared the Citizens Ambaſſage, and for the Princes the Earl of *Dunois* was appointed to be mouth. The Duke of *Berry* the Kings Brother was preſident of this Counſell ſitting in a Chair, and all the other Princes ſtanding about him. On the one ſide ſtood the Dukes of *Brittain* and *Calabria*, and on the other the Earl of *Charolois*, armed at all peeces ſave the head peece and vantbraſes, and wearing upon his quirace, a ſhort Cloak marvellous rich: for he came from *Conflans*, and *Bois-de-Vincennes*, being well manned was held for the King: wherefore it ſtood him upon to come armed and well accompanied. The Princes requeſt was to enter into *Paris*, to confer with the Citizens about the reformation of the State; which, they ſaid, was ill governed, charging the King with divers diſorders. The Citizens gave them very lowly and humble language, deſiring reſpite, before they could make any reſolute anſwer: yet (notwithſtanding this delay) the King was afterward diſcontented, both with the Biſhop, and the reſt that accompanied him. Thus returned theſe Ambaſſadors into the Town, continuing ſtill their former practiſe: for every one of the Princes talked with them a part; and I am of opinion, that ſome of them had agreed ſecretly, to ſuffer the Princes in their own Perſons to enter the Town, and their men alſo (if they ſo thought good) by ſmall-Troops: which practiſe if it had taken effect, had not only been the winning of the Town, but the atchieving of the whole enterpriſe. For the Citizens would eaſily have been brought for divers conſiderations to revolt to them, and ſo conſequently all the other Towns in the Realm. But God put wiſe Counſel into the Kings head, which alſo he executed accordingly, being already advertiſed of all theſe practiſes.

Before the Ambaſſadors that were returned from the Princes had made their report, the King in Perſon entred the Town of *Paris*, accompanied like a Prince that cometh to relieve his people: for he brought with him into the Town two thouſand men of arms, all the Nobles of *Normandy*, a great number of frank archers, and all his own ſervants, penſioners and others that uſe to accompany the King in ſuch affairs. Thus this practiſe was broken off, and all the people altered their mindes, neither durſt any of them that had been with us, make further mention of the Princes demands. Some of them alſo ſped but ill for that they had already done, notwithſtanding the King uſed no extremity towards them [1], but ſome loſt their offices, and others were ſent to dwell in other places: for the which eaſie revenge, the King undoubtedly deſerved great commendation; conſidering that if this practiſe begun had taken effect, the beſt that could have happened to him had been to forſake his Realm; which alſo was his reſolution. For as himſelf hath often told me, if he could not have entred into *Paris*, but had found the Town revolted, he would have retired to the *Switzers*, or to *Francis* Duke of *Millan*, whom he accounted his eſpeciall friend, and ſo alſo the Duke ſhewed himſelf, as well by the aid he ſent him being five hundred men of arms and three thouſand footmen, under the leading of his eldeſt Son *Calias* afterward Duke of *Millan* (who came as far as the Country of *Forreſtz* in *Avergne*, where he made War upon the Duke of *Bourbon*, and afterward returned home becauſe of his fathers death:) as alſo by the Counſel he gave him at the treaty of peace held at *Conflans*, where he ſent him word to refuſe no condition of peace, but to ſever his company, and retain his own forces ſtill about him.

We had hardly been three dayes before *Paris* when the King entred the Town, immediately after whoſe arrival ſharp War was made upon us, eſpecially upon our forragers, whom we were conſtrained to guard with great forces; becauſe they went far from our Camp. Now to ſpeak ſomewhat of the Town of *Paris*, we muſt needs confeſſe that it is marvellouſly

[1] Yet *Meyer* writeth that the King afterward poyſoned the Biſhop, but *Meyers* words are no Goſpel.

marvellously well scituated in the Isle of *France*, seeing the Country about it was able to Victual two such huge Armies: for as touching us we never lacked, and they within the town found nothing enhaunched, save only a denier [a] upon every loaf of bread; the reason whereof was, because we held not the Rivers above the Town, being these three *Marne*, *Yonne*, and *Sein*, besides divers small streams that run into them. Wherefore all things considered, this Town is scituate in the best and fruitfulest soil, that ever I saw, yea it is almost incredible how great the provision is that cometh thither, my self was resident there since the time I now write of, half a year together with King *Lewis* being lodged at the Tournelles, and ordinary eating and lodging in the Court. Since his death also by the space of twenty moneths, full sore against my will I was held prisoner in his Pallace, where I saw daily out of my Window the provision that came up the stream out of *Normandy*, and likewise down the stream, which was so great that I would never have believed it, had I not seen it.

[a] A Denier is the twelfth part of three-half pence starling.

Divers bands as you have heard issued daily out of *Paris*, and the skirmishes were great our watch being of fifty launces, stood near to *La Grange aux Merciers*, but our scours rod as near *Paris* as was possible, the which were often beaten back to our Watch, and oftentimes (the enemy on their back) as far as our carriage, retiring sometimes a soft pace, and sometimes a fast trot. Then used we to re-enforce them with new supplies, which beat back the enemies hard to the town Gates, and this was daily and hourly done: for within the town were above 2500. men of arms in very good order, and a great number of Gentlemen of *Normandy*, and franck archers; besides that, they saw daily their Ladies, which encouraged them to put forth themselves. Our force was also very great, but in Horsemen we were not so strong as they, for we had with us only the Burgundians, being about two thousand launces good and bad, nothing so well armed as they within *Paris*, because of the long peace wherein they had lived, as before is mentioned, of the which number also two hundred men of arms were at *Laigny* with the Duke of *Calabria*, but of Footmen we had great focre, and those very good. The Brittains Army lay at *S. Denis*, making War on that side the town of *Paris*, all the wayes they could, and the other Noblemen were disparkled some here some there, to make provision of Victuals. In the end the Duke of *Nemours*, the Earl of *Armignac*, and the L. of *Albert* came to us, but their forces lodged a good way from our Camp because they had no pay, and should have famished our Army if they had taken ought without mony. This I am sure of, that the Earl of *Charolois* gave them five or six thousand francks, and took order that they should come no nearer us. They were at the least five or six thousand horse that did marvellous much harm in the Country.

CHAP. IX. *How the Earl of* Charolois's *Artillery and the Kings Artillery shot the one against the other near to* Charenton; *and how the Earl of* Charolois *caused another bridge to be built upon boats over the river of* Sein.

NOw to return to the Camp before *Paris*, you may be sure that no day passed without losse on both sides, but no great exploit was done, for the King would suffer no great force to issue out of the Town, neither meant to hazard the Battell, but desired peace, and wisely to disparkle this assembly. Notwithstanding, one morning very early 4000. archers came and encamped along by the River side upon the very banck, directly over against *Conflans*. The Gentlemen of *Normandy* and certain of the Kings ordinary men of arms lay in a Village but a quarter of a league from them, and between them and their footmen was only a fair plain. The River of *Sein* ran between them and us, and they began to dig a trench over against *Charenton*, which reached in length as far as *Conflans*, to wit, to the very end of our Camp, directly over against the which, (the River being between us and them, as you have heard) they built a Bulwarke of wood and earth, and thereon mounted great store of Artillery, which at the very first shot, chased the Duke of *Calabria*'s men out of the Village of *Charenton*, and forced them in great haste to come and lodge with us, with losse both of men and horses. But the Duke of *Calabria* himself lay in a little house between the River and the Earl of *Charolois*'s lodging, directly over against the enemies.

This Artillery shot also into our Camp, and put the whole army in great fear, for the very first shot slew certain of our men, and twice it struck through the Earl of *Charolois* Chamber

Chamber as he ſate at Dinner, and ſlew a Trumpeter upon the Stairs, bearing up a diſh of meat. Wherefore after dinner the Earl removed into a low Parlor, reſolving not to depart thence. The next morning the Princes met at his lodging, to conſult what was to be done: for they ever ſate in Counſel there, and at their riſing dined alſo there together. The Dukes of *Berry* and *Brittain* ſate next to the wall upon the bench, and the Earl of *Charolois* and the Duke of *Calabria* over againſt them. The ſaid Earl placed every one of them above himſelf, as reaſon was he ſhould ſome of them, yea all of them ſeeing they were in his lodging. There they deviſed to countermount all their Artillery in their Army againſt the Kings, whereof the Earl of *Charolois* had great ſtore, as had alſo the Dukes of *Calabria* and *Brittain*: for accompliſhment of which their purpoſe, they pierced the Walls along the river ſide behinde *Conflans*, & there mounted all the beſt peeces of their artillery, ſave the Bombards, and the other great peeces, which ſhot not: the reſt alſo they planted in other places where they might do beſt ſervice, and by this means the Princes had much more Artillery on their ſide than the King on his.

The trench that the French had made was of great length, and they wrought continually upon it, advancing it towards *Paris*, and caſting the earth towards us, thereby to ſave themſelves from our ſhot: for they lay all in their trench, neither durſt one of them peep out, becauſe the medow where they lodged was as plain as a mans hand. To conclude, I never heard in ſo ſhort ſpace ſuch a number of Cannon ſhot, for we on our ſide meant to remove them thence by force of Artillery, but unto them ordnance came daily from *Paris*, and they plied the matter diligently and ſpared no powder. A great number in our army digged pits in the ground before their lodging many alſo were made to their hands, for it was a place where men had wrought for Stone. Thus every man ſhifted for himſelfe the beſt he could, and three or four dayes we paſſed in this eſtate, but the fear was greater on both ſides than the loſſe, for not one man of name was ſlain.

But when the Princes ſaw that their enemies diſlodged not, they accounted it a thing tending greatly to their diſhonour, and alſo very dangerous: for the Pariſians were thereby ſo greatly encouraged, that one day of truce it ſeemed all the town was come forth to the trenches. Wherefore the Princes concluded as they ſate in Counſell, to make a large bridge of great Boats, the noſes whereof waere coupled together, and the reſt covered with plancks, and the laſt couple neareſt to the ſhore faſtened to the ground with great anchors: beſides theſe, a number of other great boats upon the River of *Sein* were brought thither, wherein they meant to paſſe over certain bands to aſſail the Kings forces. The charge of this work was committed to Maſter *Girald* the Maſter gunner who ſaid, that our bands that paſſed the River ſhould have great advantage over their enemies, becauſe their trenches would be far underneath us, conſidering that they had thrown the earth on the ſide toward us, alledging further that they durſt not iſſue forth of their trenches, for fear of our ſhot, which reaſons much encouraged our men, and made them the willinger to paſſe over. Thus the Bridge being finiſhed all ſave the laſt couple of boats, which alſo were upon the point to be faſtened to the reſt, and all the other boats appointed for conveyance over of our men, being likewiſe in a readineſs: ſuddenly one of the Kings Heraulds arrived there, who ſaid to *Monſeur de Romillet* and others there preſent, that we had broken the truce. For becauſe that day and the day before were dayes of truce, every man that liſted came to ſee what we did, but that night the truce ended; our Bridge was ſo large, that three men of arms with their ſtaves ready to charge, might have paſſed over it upon a front. Further there were five or ſix great boats, every one of the which would have conveyed over a thouſand men at a time, beſides a number of leſſe boats to paſs over the Artillery that ſhould ſerve in this enterpriſe. The bands were alſo named, and their names enrolled that ſhould go, and the Earl of *S. Paul*, and the Lord of *Haultbourdain* ordained to lead them. After midnight they that were appointed to this enterpriſe began to arm themſelves, and before day were all in a readineſs. Some alſo went and heard Maſſe, and did as good Chriſtians ought to do in ſuch a caſe. The ſame night I was my ſelfe in a great tent in the middeſt of the Army where the watch ſtood, being alſo one of the watch: for no man was excuſed. The Captain of the watch was *Monſeur de Chaſtell Guyon*[2], ſlain afterward at the Battel of *Granſon*[3]. And as we ſtood there waiting when

Morat, he could not be alive in *Charles* the 8. time when our Author writ. Thus much I have ſaid, leſt *Commines* ſhould ſeem to vary from *La March* or rather from himſelfe.

this

this paſtime ſhould begin, ſuddenly we heard the French, as they lodged in their trenches cry aloud: Farewel neighbours, farewel; immediately whereupon they ſet fire on their lodgings and retired their Artillery. The day began to break, and they that were appointed to this enterpriſe were already upon the River, at the leaſt, part of them when; they ſaw the enemies afar off retiring to *Paris*, whereupon they returned all and unarmed themſelves, rejoycing much becauſe of their departure. But you ſhall underſtand that the King ſent them thither only to beat our camp with Artillery not to fight: for he would put nothing in adventure, as before *I* have ſaid, notwithſtanding that his force were ſufficient to have encountred with all theſe Princes joyned together, but his only deſire was, as he well declared, to treat of peace, and to ſever this company without hazarding his eſtate and the State of this large and noble Realm of *France* in battell, than the which nothing can be more uncertain or dangerous.

Every day they practiſed on both ſides to withdraw men each from other, and divers dayes of truce were made; during the which, Commiſſioners ſate on both ſides to treat of Peace at *La grange aux Merciers* hard by our camp. For the King, the Earl of *Maine*, with divers others came thither, and for the Princes the Earl of *S. Paul*, accompanied with divers others in like manner. Theſe Commiſſioners met often, but no good was done: notwithſtanding all that time the truce indured, and a number of both the Armies met, and communed together at a great ditch in the midway: the one, on the one ſide: and the others, on the other: for neither party might paſſe the ditch, notwithſtanding the truce. No day eſcaped, by reaſon of this meeting and communication, but that ten or twelve, and ſometimes more, came and yielded to the Princes; and another day as many went from us to the King: wherefore this place was afterwards called the market place, becauſe ſuch merchandiſe was bought and ſold there. Now to ſhew you my opinion in this caſe, me thinketh, that ſuch meeting and communing together at ſuch times and in ſuch ſort, is very dangerous, eſpecially for him that is likeſt to take the foile: for naturally moſt men deſire to advance themſelves, at the leaſt to ſave themſelves: wherefore they will eaſily be won to turn to the ſtrongeſt. Some there are, I confeſſe, ſo faithfull and conſtant, that none of theſe reſpects can alter them, but few ſuch are to be found. Further this danger is then eſpecially to be feared, when we have to do with a Prince that will endeavour himſelfe to win men: which ſure is a great grace of God in any Prince that can frame himſelfe thereunto, for it is a token that he is not infected with the foul vice, and ſin of pride which all men deteſt and abhor. But to conclude this diſcourſe; when a Prince mindeth to treat of peace, he ought to imploy therein the faithfulleſt and truſtieſt Servants he hath, being men of ripe years; leſt their lack of experience cauſe them, either to conclude ſome diſhonourable treaty, or put their Maſter in greater fear at their return, then there is cauſe why. Further a Prince ought to commit ſuch affairs rather to thoſe that have received benefit at his hands, than to ſuch as were never benefited by him, but eſpecially to wiſe men, for he ſhall never make profit by imploying a fool. Beſides this ſuch treaties ought rather to be held far from his camp then neer unto it, and when the Commiſſioners return, the Prince muſt give them audience himſelfe alone, or in the preſence of very few to the end; that if their newes be diſcomfortable, they may be inſtructed how to anſwer thoſe that will be inquiſitive; for all men will deſire to underſtand newes of them, yea and ſome of their familiars will think, that they will hide nothing from them, notwithſtanding if they be ſuch men, as I have here deſcribed, and know their Maſter to be wiſe, they will reveal nothing to any man whatſoever.

CHAP. X. *A Diſcourſe upon certain vices and vertues of King* Lewis *the eleventh.*

I Am entred into this diſcourſe, becauſe I have ſeen much treachery in the world, and many ſervants deceive their maſters, oftentimes through their maſters own fault: for this I dare boldly avow, that proud and diſdainfull Princes, and ſuch as will give audience, but to few; are oftner abuſed than thoſe that are courteous, and ready to give ear to every man: wherein ſure King *Lewis* our maſter ſurmounted far all the Princes of his time; for he was the wiſeſt Prince in winding himſelfe out of trouble and adverſity; the humbleſt in words, the plaineſt in apparell, and the greateſt traveller to win a man, that might do him ſervice or harm, that ever I knew, Neither uſed he to relinquiſh his ſute

for the firſt refuſall; but laboured the party continually by large promiſes and liberall gifts, as well of great ſummes of money, as alſo ſuch eſtates and offices, as he knew would content him. And as touching thoſe whom he had baniſhed, and withdrawn his favour from in peace and proſperity: he bought them deerly again when he needed them, and imployed them in his ſervice clean forgetting all offences paſſed. He loved naturally men of mean eſtate, and was enemy to all ſuch as needed not to depend upon him: never Prince gave audience to ſo many men; never Prince was inquiſitive of ſo many matters, nor deſirous to be acquainted with ſo many ſtrangers as he; whereby he knew as well all that were in authority and eſtimation in *England*, *Spain*, *Portugall*, *Italy*, and the Seniories of *Burgundy*, and *Britain*, as his own ſubjects. And by theſe vertues preſerved he his eſtate, which ſtood in great danger at his firſt coming to the crown, becauſe of the enemies himſelf had procured to himſelf. But his great Liberality eſpecially ſerved him to a good purpoſe; for as in adverſity he wiſely behaved himſelf; ſo contrariwiſe in time of peace and truce he lightly fell out with his ſervants, by picking trifling quarrells with them; and ſuch was his diſpoſition; that he could hardly away with peace or quietneſſe. In his talke he ſpared no man, neither abſent nor preſent, ſave ſuch as he feared, which were many, for naturally he was very fearfull. Further, when his talk had either turned him to diſpleaſure or was like ſo to do, he would endeavour himſelf to amend the matter, by uſing theſe or ſuch like words to the party offended: I know well that my tongue hath wrought me much diſpleaſure, but it hath alſo oftentimes ſtood me in great ſtead. notwithſtanding reaſon it is that I ſhould repair the injury done; and when he uſed this familiar ſpeech, he ever gave withall ſome great preſent to the party grieved. Sure the knowledge of good and evill, is a great gift of God to a Prince, I mean when the good ſurmounteth the evill, as it did in the King our Maſter, who in my opinion was much bettered, by the trouble he ſuſtained in his youth; when he fled from his father, and ſojourned with Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy* the ſpace of ſix years: for he was conſtrained there to frame himſelfe to the humour of thoſe of whom he ſtood need off, which ſingular vertue adverſity had taught him. But after his fathers death, when he came firſt to the State, he thought only upon revenge, but ſoon felt the ſmart thereof, and therefore forthwith altered his mind, acknowledged his error repaired the harmes done, and ſought to recover by large benefits thoſe whom he had offended, as hereafter you ſhall perceive. And I think, verily he ſhould never have wound himſelfe out of thoſe troubles, had not his education been better than Noblemens commonly in this Realme, who are brought up altogether in wantonneſſe, and diſſoluteneſſe; as well in their apparel, as in their talke, they are utterly unlearned, there is not one wiſe man about them: they have governors that diſpoſe of all their affairs, but themſelves do nothing: yea ſome Noble-men there are, hardly of four nobles rent, that glory in ſaying, Speak to my ſervants, thinking thereby to imitate great Princes. But *I* have often ſeen their ſervants ſo make their profit of them, that their folly hath thereby appeared to the whole world. And if any of them happen at the length to look about him, and to attend his own buſineſſe, it is ſo late, that it ſerveth almoſt to no purpoſe; for all thoſe that have been great or done great things began in their tender age, which vertue proceedeth either of their bringing up, or of the grace of God.

King *Lewis* departed from his father unto *Dauphine* *Anno* 1447, and there remained till the year 1456; at the which time becauſe of the force his father ſent thither againſt him, he was conſtrained to flie to the Duke of *Burgundy* where he remained till the year of his coronation which was in the year 1461 *Annal. Burgund. Dela Marche, Meyer.*

CHAP. XI.

How the Burgundians, lying near to Paris, *and looking for the Battel, ſuppoſed great thiſtles to have been launces held upright.*

I Have been long in this diſcourſe, but it ſeemeth to ſo good purpoſe that ſooner I could not end it. Now to return to the wars, you have heard how theſe Archers, that lay in the trench along upon the River of *Sein*, diſlodged at the very inſtant, that we ſhould have aſſailed them. The truce never indured paſt a day or two, and when it ended ſharp war began again, and the skirmiſhes continued from morning till night, but no great force iſſued forth of the town notwithſtanding they beat back our ſcouts oftentimes, whom we ever releeved with new ſupplies. There paſſed no day without ſome skirmiſh great or ſmall, I think, the King would have had them greater, had it not been becauſe he was jealous of divers, though needleſſely. I have heard him ſay that

that one night he found the poſtern of Saint *Anthonies* baſtile towards the fields, wide open, which put him in ſuſpition of Maſter *Charles* of *Melun*, whoſe father kept the place, yet ſure a faithfuller ſervant, than the ſaid *Charles*, that year the King had none.

One day they within *Paris* determined to iſſue forth to fight with us, of the which enterpriſe, I ſuppoſe, the King underſtood nothing, but it was onely his Captains reſolution; they meant to aſſail us three ſeveral wayes; their greateſt band ſhould have come from *Paris*, another from *Pont de Charenton*; which two could not greatly have endamaged us, and the third appointed to be two hundred men of arms from *Bois-de-Vincennes*. Of this reſolution we were advertiſed about midnight, by a Page that told us this news, as loud as he could cry, from the other ſide of the River, by commandment of the Princes friends within the town, ſome of the which alſo he named and ſo departed. By break of day, iſſued forth Maſter *Poncet* of *Riviere* before *Pont de Charenton*, and the Lord of *Lavon* the other ſide from *Bois-de-Vincennes*, even hard to our Artillery; where they ſlew one of our Gunners, the alarm was great in our Camp: for we ſuppoſed this to be the enterpriſe, whereof the Page advertiſed us over night. The Earl of *Charolois* was ſoon armed, yet not ſo ſoon as *John* Duke of *Calabria*; for at all alarms he was the firſt man armed, and that at all points, and his horſe ever barded. Moreover, he ware ſuch a garment as the famous men of war uſe in *Italy*, and ſhewed himſelf both a noble Prince, and a worthy Captain: he rode ſtraight to the barriars of our camp to ſtay our men from iſſuing forth; where he was as well obeyed as the Earl of *Charolois* himſelf: yea the whole Army obeyed him more willingly than any man in the company, of the which honour undoubtedly he was worthy. Incontinent our whole force was in arms, and ſtood in order of battel within our carriage, all ſave two hundred horſe that kept our watch abroad. To be ſhort, this day we looked aſſuredly for the battell, but never before nor after. Soon after, the Earl of *Charolois* and the Duke of *Calabria*, arrived the Dukes of *Berry* and *Brittain*, whom I never ſaw armed but this day onely. The Duke of *Berry* was armed at all points: notwithſtanding they were but weakly accompanied, in the which eſtate they paſſed through the Camp, and rode forth to the Lords of *Charolois* and *Calabria*, where they communed together. Our ſcouts being re-enforced, rode as near *Paris* as they could, and diſcovered a great number of our enemies ſcouts, coming to learn what noiſe this was in our Army. Our Artillery ſhot terribly when Monſier *De Lan* approached ſo near us: the King alſo had good peeces upon *Paris* Walls, that ſhot into our camp, which was ſtrange, for we lay two leagues from the town; but, I think, the peeces were mounted to the moſt advantage. This thundering of the artillery, cauſed both the parties to think ſome great enterpriſe to be towards. The day was very dark and cloudy, and our ſcouts approaching near to *Paris*, diſcovered many enemies abroad in the field, and a good way beyond them, a number of launces held upright (as they ſuppoſed) which they judged to be the Kings whole force, and all the people of *Paris* iſſued forth of the town in order of battell: which immagnation the darkneſs of the heavens put into their head. They returned forthwith to the Princes, being yet without our camp, and advertiſed them of this news, aſſuring them of the battel. The ſcouts that were iſſued forth of *Paris*, approached ſtill nearer and nearer to our camp, becauſe they ſaw ours retire: which thing ſo much the more encreaſed in our ſcouts their former imagination. Then came the Duke of *Calabria*, to the place where a great number of the Earl of *Charolois*'s houſhold ſervants ſtood to accompany his ſtandard and his banner ready to be diſplayed, and the Guydon of his armes according to the cuſtome of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, and there the ſaid Duke of *Calabria* ſpake thus to us all; We have now our deſire, for the King is iſſued forth with his whole force, and marcheth forward as our ſcouts tell us. Wherefore let us determine to play the men: So ſoon as they be out of the town we will enter, and meaſure with the long ell [a], and with ſuch like words rode he about encouraging the company. Our ſcouts at the length perceiving the enemies to be but weak, recovered their ſpirits, and rode again towards *Paris*, where they diſcovered theſe battels in the ſelf ſame place they left them: whereupon they entred into a new cogitation, what they might be, but when they approached near to them (the day being broken up and clear) they perceived them to be high thiſtles, whereupon they rode hard to the town gates, and found not a man abroad, whereof incontinent they advertiſed the Princes, who upon this news went to maſs, and afterward to dinner; but our ſcouts were aſhamed of their firſt advertiſement, notwithſtanding the darkneſs of the day, together with the meſſage of the Page brought unto us over night, ſomewhat excuſed them.

[a] By the long ell he meaneth the pike, wherewith Souldiers at the ſack of a town uſe to meaſure velvets, ſilks, and cloaths.

How

CHAP. XII. *How the King and the Earl of* Charolois *met together to treat of peace.*

THe treaty of peace continued ſtill between the King and the Earl of *Charolois* eſpecially, becauſe the principall force of both the Armies was theirs. The Princes demands were great: namely, the Duke of *Berries*, who required all *Normandy* for his partage, which the King would by no meanes condiſcend unto. The Earl of *Charolois* demanded the townes ſcituate upon the River of *Somme*: namely, *Abbeville*, *Amiens*, *S. Quintin*, *Peronne*, and the reſt that King *Charles* the 7th. had engaged by the treaty of *Arras* to D. *Philip* of *Burgundy*, of whom King *Lewis* had redeemed them for the ſum of four hundred thouſand Crowns, not paſt three months before: But the Earl of *Charolois* alledged that during his life, the King could not not redeem them [1] putting him alwayes in remembrance how much he was beholding to the houſe of *Burgundy*, who received him when he fled from King *Charles* his father, furniſhed him of money to maintaine his eſtate the ſpace of ſix years [2], and accompanied him at his coronation to *Rheimes* and *Paris* [3], wherefore the Earl of *Charolois* took the redeeming of theſe towns in very ill part. This treaty of peace was ſo followed, that one morning the King came by water directly over againſt our camp; leaving his horſemen that accompanied him upon the River ſide and having in the barge with him beſides the watermen that rowed, onely four or five perſons; namely, Monſieur *De Lou*, Monſieur *De Montauban* then Admirall of *France*; and Monſieur *De Nantovillet*, with one or two more. The Earl of *Charolois* and *S. Paul* ſtood on the other ſide of the River to receive the King; who ſaid thus to the Earl of *Charolois*, Brother do you aſſure me in the word of a Prince, (for the Earles firſt wife was the Kings Siſter [4]) whereunto the Earl anſwered, yea Sir as one Brother ſhould aſſure an other. Than the King and his company landed, the two Earls receiving him honorably according to his eſtate; and he having words at will, began thus and ſaid: Brother I know you to be a gentleman, and of the houſe of *France*: why Sir, quoth the Earl? becauſe ſaid the King, when I ſent of late my Ambaſſadours to my Unckle your father and you to *Liſle*, where my fooliſh Chancellour *Morvillier* ſo much misbehaved himſelf toward you: you ſent me word by the ArchBiſhop of *Narbonne* (who is a Gentleman as his behaviour there well declared) that before a year expired I ſhould repent me of the proud language the ſaid *Morvillier* there uſed. You have kept promiſe indeed and that long before your day: which words the King ſpake with a merry cheerfull countenance knowing his nature with whom he talked to be ſuch, that they would pleaſe him well, as undoubtedly they did. Then the King proceeded further ſaying, I love to deal with men that keep promiſe. Afterwards he diſavowed *Morvilliers* words; ſaying that he had ſpoken beyond his Commiſſion. To be ſhort, the King walked along time between theſe two Earls: a great number of the Earl of *Charolois*'s ſouldiers in Arms ſtanding by, and marking diligently their behaviour. At this meeting the Earles required the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the townes ſcituate upon the River of *Somme*, with divers other particular demands for themſelves, and certain overtures lately treated of for the Common-wealth of the Realme, but upon thoſe they ſtood leaſt; for the weal publick, was now turned into the wealth private. As touching *Normandy*, the King would hardly hear thereof, but he granted the Earl of *Charolois*'s demands, and for his ſake offered the Earl of *S. Paul* the Office of Conſtable: which communication ended, the King took to barge and returned to *Paris*, and the Earles to *Conflans*, departing each from other in very courteous and loving manner.

Thus paſſed we the time, ſometime in peace, and ſometime in war; but notwithſtanding that the treaty of peace at *la Grange aux Merciers*, where the Commiſſioners uſed to ſit, were clean broken off on both ſides: yet continued ſtill the communication above mentioned between the King and the Earl of *Charolois*, and Meſſengers went between them notwithſtanding the war: For the Earl ſent to the King *William* of *Biſche* and *Guillot Diuſie*, being both his own ſervants, but yet beholden to the King; for when Duke *Philip* had baniſhed them, the King at the Earl of *Charolois*'s requeſt, entertained them. Many miſliked theſe ſendings to and fro, ſo far forth that the Princes began now to miſtruſt and abandon each other in ſuch ſort, that had not one thing happened ſoon after [5]: they had all departed with great diſhonour. Twiſe I ſaw them hold three ſeveral aſſemblies in one Chamber, where they were together, wherewith the Earl of *Charolois* was marvellouſly offended

[1] The Earls meaning was, that the King could not redeem them during the ſaid Earls life, becauſe they were engaged to D. *Phillip* and his heires males.

[2] The Duke of *Burgundy* allowed the Dolphin being in his countries monthly 3000. florens for his entertainment, *Meyer*.

[3] King *Lewis* was crowned *anno* 1461 *Aug.* 14.

[4] The Kings ſiſter that married the Earl was named *Catherine*, but he had no iſſue by her. *Annal. Burgun. Meyer*. His ſecond wife was *Iſabel* daughter to *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, by whom he had iſſue; a daughter named *Mary* which alſo was his heir. His third wife was *Margaret* ſiſter to *Edward* the 4th. King of *England*, by whom alſo he had no iſſue.

[5] He meaneth the taking of *Dinant* mentioned in the next chapter.

offended : for he thought, seeing the greatest force of this Army was his, that they did him wrong to sit in Counsel in his Chamber, he being present, without calling him unto it : wherefore he debated this matter with the Lord of *Contay* a very wise gentleman, who advised him to take it patiently ; because if he should alienate their minds from him, they could better make their peace than he ; adding that as he was the strongest, so ought he to be the wisest, and further counselling him to do his endeavour by all means possible for their continuance together in friendship, and in no wise to fall at variance with them, but to digest and wink at all these disorders. Lastly, he told him, that all men wondred ; yea his own servants, that so mean personages as the two above named, were imployed in so weighty affairs : alledging great danger to be therein, considering how liberall a Prince he was with whom he had to deal. True it is that this *Contay* hated *William* of *Bische*, notwithstanding herein he spake but as others did, and, I think verily not upon malice but as the case required: the E. of *Charolois* followed his advice and began to sport and pastime with the Princes otherwise then he had been accustomed, to shew them a cheerfull countenance, and to commune oftner both with them and their servants, and sure so was it requisite : for they stood even upon the point to sever themselves. A wise man doth good service in such a company, if he may be credited, neither can he be valued too dear ; but I never knew Prince in my life, that could finde the difference between man and man till he stood in need of men : and if any happily do, yet make they no account of a wise man, but place in authority about them those whom they favour better ; either because they are of equall years with them, or seek in all things to feed their humors, wherein they are often nuzled by the furtherers of their wanton pleasures. But wise Princes will soon reform themselves, when need requireth, such as were the King our master, the Earl of *Charolois* at that time, King *Edward* of *England*, and divers others: but these three especially I have seen at so low an ebbe, that they have stood in great need of those whom before they despised. Notwithstanding, as touching the Earl of *Charolois*, after he was Duke of *Burgundy*, and higher advanced by fortunes favour than ever was any of his predecessors, and grown so great that he feared no Prince of his estate, God overthrew him in all his glory : and so bereaved him of his wits, that he contemned all mens counsell but his own, whereby he miserably ended his life, with a great number of his servants and subjects, leaving his house desolate as you see.

CHAP. XIII. *How the City of* Roan *by practise was put into the Duke of* Bourbons *hands, for the Duke of* Berry, *and how the treaty of* Conflans *was fully concluded.*

YOu shall now understand, what moved me to discourse so long of the dangers depending upon these treaties, and why I advised Princes to be wise and circumspect, whom they imploy in them ; especially him that hath the worst end of the staffe. For while the Commissioners sat to treat of peace, by means whereof men met and communed together : instead of treating of peace some practised to yield the Dutchy of *Normandy*, to the Kings only brother the Duke of *Berry*, to the end he might there take his partage, and restore *Berry* to the King, which enterprise was also executed accordingly ; for the Lady of *Brezey* the late Seneschall of *Normandies* widow, and certain of her Kinsfolkes and Servants by her perswasion, received *John* Duke of *Bourbon* into the Castell of *Roan*, and finally into the town ; the which willingly consented to this mutation, as did also all the other townes and places in the country, a few excepted. For the Normans have ever been and yet are of opinion, that it is requisite for them (their country being so large) to have their Prince resident among them, neither desire they any thing more : and sure it is a goodly thing and a rich : for my selfe have known the revenues thereof nine hundred and fifty thousand franks *, and some say they are greater.

* That is 118750. pounds sterling.

After the town was revolted, all the Inhabitants gave their oath to the Duke of *Bourbon*, as the Duke of *Berries* Lievtenant save the Bailiffe of the town, named *Onaste*, (who had been a groom of the Kings chamber in *Flaunders*, and neer about him) and another called *William Piquart*, afterward Generall of *Normandy*, and the high Seneschal of *Normandy*, that now is ; who also departed to the King against his mothers will : who (as you have heard) was the chief Author of the Citizens revolt. When the King heard this newes he resolved to make peace ; seeing he could not undo what was already done : Where-

fore

fore incontinent he ſent word to the Earl of *Charolois* being in his camp, that he would gladly ſpeak with him, and appointed the hour when he would meet him in the fields by *Conflans* neer to the ſaid camp; at which hour he came accompanied with an hundred horſe, all in a manner Scottiſh men of his guard. The Earl of *Charolois* met him with a ſmall train without any Ceremony: notwithſtanding many of his ſervants went after him ſo that in the end his company was greater than the Kings, but he cauſed them to ſtay a pretty way off; and when the King and he had walked together a while. The King told him that the peace was already made, and advertiſed him of all that was happened at *Roan*, (whereof the Earl as yet under ſtood nothing) adding that notwithſtanding he would never willingly have granted his brother ſo large a partage: yet now ſeeing the Normans themſelves had made this mutation, he would agree thereunto, and paſſe the treaty in manner and form, as before at divers meetings was deviſed; for as touching the other articles they had to agree upon, they were but trifles. The Earl of *Charolois* was glad of this newes for his army lay in great diſtreſſe of victuales but more of money, and had not this happened, all theſe Princes had been forced to depart with great diſhonour. notwithſtanding to the Earl of *Charolois* the ſame day, or within two or three dayes after came a new releef both of men and money, ſent him by Duke *Philip* his father out of *Burgundy*, under the leading of the Lord of *Savenſes*, being ſix ſcore men of Armes, and fifteen hundred Archers, and ſix ſcore thouſand crownes, upon ten ſumpter horſes, with great ſtore of Bowes and Arrowes, which furniſhed reaſonably well the Burgundians Army, who ſtood in great doubt that the other Princes would make peace without them.

This Communication of peace pleaſed ſo well both the King and the Earl of *Charolois*, and ſo deſirous they were (as I have heard the Earl himſelf ſay,) to conclude the treaty, that they marked not which way they rode, but rode ſtraight towards *Paris*; ſo far forth, that they entred into a great bulwark of wood and earth, that the King had cauſed to be made a good way without the town, at the end of a trench; by the which lay a way into the town. The Earl was accompanied only with four or five perſons, who were much abaſhed when they ſaw themſelves within the Bulwark: notwithſtanding himſelf ſet a good face on the matter. But when this newes came to the camp, the whole Army began to mutter, and the Earl of *S. Paul*, the Marſhall of *Burgundy*, the Lord of *Contay*, the Lord of *Hault-bourdin*, and divers others aſſembled together; blaming greatly both the Earl and thoſe that accompanied him of this folly, and alledging the inconvenience that happened to his Grandfather at *Montereau-faut-Yonne* in the preſence of King *Charles* the ſeventh. Wherefore incontinent they commanded all the ſouldiers, that were walking abroad in the fields to retire into their camp. And the Marſhall of *Burgundy* ſirnamed *Neuf-chaſtall* ſaid thus: though this fooliſh hairbrained young Prince be gon to caſt away himſelfe: yet let us provide that his houſe, his fathers eſtate, and we our ſelves fall not into danger: wherefore my advice is that every man repair to his lodging, and be in a readineſſe, baniſhing all fear, whatſoever happen. For we are ſtrong enough if we ſever not, to retire to the marches of *Hainault*, or *Picardy*, or into *Burgundy*. When he had thus ſaid, he and the Earl of *S. Paul* mounted on horſebarck, and rod out of the camp, to ſee if they could deſcry any body coming from *Paris*: where, after they had ſtood a while they diſcovered forty or fifty horſes being certain of the Kings ſervants, as well archers as others, that waited back upon the Earl of *Charolois*: who ſo ſoon as he perceived theſe to approach, cauſed the French to return: he ſtood in awe of the Marſhall, becauſe he uſed to give him very ſharp language; neither feared ſometimes to tell him that he was but lent him during his Fathers life. Wherefore minding now to prevent him, he ſaid thus. Chide me not, I acknowledge my great folly, but I was hard by the bulwark before I wiſt. But this notwithſtanding the Marſhall ſaid more to his face than he had ſpoken behinde his back, and ſure he was a faithfull and a truſty Knight. The Earl anſwered nothing, but held down his head, and entred into his camp where they were all glad of his return, and commended the Kings faith: and ſure it is to be thought, that both the King and the Earl had great regard of their honour, conſidering that each of them putting himſelf into others hands: yet neither of them received harm, notwithſtanding the Earl never after returned under the Kings power.

CHAP. XIV. *How the treaty of peace was concluded between the King, and the Earl of* Charolois *and his Confederates.*

IN the end all matters were fully concluded, and the next day as the Earl of *Charolois* was making his musters to know what number he had lost: suddenly the King accompanied with thirty or forty horse, came thither without warning given, and rid about to view all the bands one after another, save the Marshalls of *Burgundy*, who loved him not: because not long before the King having once given him Penalin *Lorain*, took it afterward again from him, to bestow upon *John* Duke of *Calabria*, greatly to the said Marshalls damage. The King (acknowledging his error) by little and little reconciled himself to the wise and valiant Knights that had served the King his father, and whom, he at his first coming to the Crown, had displaced, wherefore they were with the Princes in arms against him. Further it was agreed, that the next day the King should come to the Castle of *Vincennes*, and likewise all the Princes that were to do him Homage: for whose safety the said Castle should be put into the Earl of *Charolois*'s hands, according to which agreement the next morning thither came the King, and likewise all the Princes none being absent, the porch and gate being manned with Burgundians well armed: there the treaty of peace was concluded. The Lord *Charles* did the King homage for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the Earl of *Charolois* for the towns in *Picardy* above mentioned, as did also all the rest that had Homage to do, and the Earl of *S. Paul* took his oath for the office of Constable: but according to the common proverb, never was so plentifull a marriage feast, but some departed undined, for here some had what them lusted, and others nothing.

The King received into his service certain Gentlemen that served his brother, and also certain mean persons, but the greatest part remained still with his said brother the new Duke of *Normandy* and the Duke of *Brittain*, who went to *Roan* to take possession. At their departure from the Castle of *Vincennes*, they took their leave each of other, and returned to their lodgings: further, all letters, pardons, and other writings serving for the confirmation of the peace, were made. On one day departed all these three Princes, the Dukes of *Normandy* and *Brittain* first into *Normandy*, and the Duke of *Brittain* from thence into his own Country, and the Earl of *Charolois* into *Flaunders*. But when the Earl was ready to take horse, the King meaning effectually to shew how greatly he desired his friendship, came to him and accompanied him to *Villiers-le-bell*, a Village four leagues from *Paris*, where both these Princes lodged that night. The Kings train was very small, but he commanded two hundred men of arms to follow him, to convey him back: whereof the Earl of *Charolois* being advertised as he went to bed, fell into great suspicion thereof, and commanded a great number of his servants to be in arms. Thus you see, how unpossible it is for two great Princes to agree, because of the suspicious tales & reports that are daily and hourly beaten into their heads. Wherefore two Princes that desire to continue in friendship ought never to come together, but to employ vertuous and wise men between them, who will encrease their amity, and repair all such breaches as shall happen.

The next morning the two Princes took their leave each of other with much courteous and wise talk, and the King returned to *Paris* accompanied with the men of arms above mentioned, called thither for that purpose, whereby he removed all suspition the Earl had conceived of their coming. The said Earl rode towards *Compiengne* and *Noyon*, being received by the Kings commandement into all the towns he passed by. From thence he marched to *Amiens*, where they did him Homage, as did also all the other towns upon River of *Somme*, and the territories in *Picardy* restored to him by this treaty, which the King not past nine months before, had redeemed for the summe of four hundred thousand crowns, as before you have heard. This done, he marched incontinent into the Country of *Leige*, because they had by the space of five or six months, made Warre

a The treaty was sworn the fifth of *October*, the conditions whereof read in *Meyer* fol. 337. where he saith, that by this treaty *Flaunders* was exempt from the Kings sovereignty, which saith *Degrassalius cap.* 1. *pag.* 6. the King could not grant, *Quia ultimus rescriptus alienari aut remitti non potest*: which also may well appear to be law, because we read *lib.* 5. *cap.* 17. of our Author, that notwithstanding this treaty, the Chancellor of *Burgundy* and *Himbercourt* being imprisoned and condemned by the Citizens of *Gaunt*, appealed to the Parliament of *Paris*, which appeal notwithstanding whether it were lawfull or unlawfull, or whether they appealed to delay the time for safety of their lives, hoping their friends would deliver them, or the King happily, thereby to recover his former soveraignty: I leave here to discusse. Notwithstanding if any such condition were in the treaty of *Conflans*, as *Meyer* reporteth, in my simple Judgement these two wise men would not have appealed contrarie to it, and thereby have made the cause of their death just though before unjust, by violating this priviledge and so infringing the liberties of the state of *Flanders* obtained by this treaty of the King.

upon

upon his father in his absence, in the Countries of *Namur* and *Brabant*, where also they had slain certain of his subjects [1]: but because the winter approached he could do no great exploit, notwithstanding a number of Villages were burnt, and divers small overthrowes given to the said Liegeois, whereupon they made a treaty with the Duke of *Burgundy*, and for performance thereof stood bound to him in a great summe of money. This done, the Earl of *Charolois* returned into *Brabant*.

[1] The King had invaded the Countrey of the Liegeois, by which it was the same occasion the Earl of *Charolois* was in *France*, thereby to withdraw the Earl of *Charolois* out of *France* home; whereupon the Liegeois about mid *August* defied the Duke of *Burgundy*, and hung his sons Image on a gibbet with vile reproachfull words. Read *Annal. Burgund.* fol. 900. and *Meyer*, fol. 337. pag. 2. but soon after, namely 15. *Octob.* the same year the D. of *Burgundy* by the conduct of the Earl of *Nassau* the Seneschal of *Hainault*, the Lords of *Gruthuse*, *Gasebecque*, and *Rubempre* gave them an overthrow at *Montenac*, where they lost 2200. men: wherefore seeing their forces broken, and the Earl of *Charolois* returned home, they desired peace, which they obtained 22. *January Anno* 1466. as our Author in this chapter maketh mention, and likewise *Meyer* fol. 338. and *Annal. Burgund.* fol. 909, where also read the conditions of the peace; but this peace the same year about *June* they brake again, by aiding them of *Dinand*, as in the second book our Author setteth forth at large.

CHAP. XV. *How by the division that happened between the Dukes of* Brittain *and* Normandy, *the King recovered the said Dutchy, Which he had given his Brother.*

NOw to return to the Dukes of *Normandy* and *Brittain*, who after their departure from *Bois-de-Vincennes*, went together, as you have heard, to take possession of *Normandy*. You shall understand that immediately after their entry into *Roan*, they fell at variance about partition of the booty [1], for the Knights above mentioned were yet with them, who being accustomed under King *Charles* the seventh to live in great authority, and enjoy goodly offices: thought now, seeing this enterprise at an end, and themselves unrestored to the Kings favour, to be advanced by the new Duke of *Normandy*, wherefore they gaped for the best offices in the Country as due to them. On the other side the Duke of *Brittain* thought it reason, that part of them should be at his disposing, because the greatest burden of these wars had layn upon his shoulders. To be short, the fire so kindled between them, that the Duke of *Brittain* for safety of his person, was forced to retire to mount Saint *Katherine* near to *Roan*, where also the Duke of *Normandy*'s men with the Citizens of *Roan* were about to besiege him, so that in the end he was forced to retire the high way to *Brittain*. Of this division the King being advertised, furthered it, I warrant you, to the uttermost of his power (for he was master in this Art) and in the mean time approached with his Army near to the Country, whereupon those that held the strong places began to yield them to him, thereby to recover his favour. I speak of these matters upon the Kings own report, for my self was not present at them. But to proceed, the King practised with the D. of *Brittain* (who held certain of the strong places in base *Normandy* [2]) utterly to abandon his brother, for conclusion whereof they were together a certain space at *Caen*, where they made a treaty, by the which, the said town of *Caen* and divers other places remained in the L. of *Lescuts* hands, with a certain number of souldiers in pay, but this treaty was so confused; that, I think, neither party understood it throughly well. Thus returned the Duke of *Brittain* into his own country, and the King bent his whole force against his brother the Duke of *Normandy*, who seeing himself unable to withstand him, and that the King had already taken *Pont del' Arche* and divers other places in the country, determined to flie into *Flaunders*. The Earl of *Charolois* was yet at *Sainctron* [3], a little town in the country of *Leige*, where he was marvellously busied, for his army was all broken and out of order, and part thereof, notwithstanding the winter, in War against the Liegeois. This variance between the two Dukes above mentioned much troubled him, for he desired nothing more then to see a Duke of *Normandy*, because thereby the King should lose the third foot of his Realm? wherefore he levied men in *Picardy* to put into *Dieppe*, but before they were ready, he that held the town yielded it by composition to the King, who by this means recovered all the Dutchy of *Normandy*, save those places that the Lord of *Lescut* held by the treaty of *Caen*.

[1] He meaneth by the booty, the offices in *Normandy*.

[2] The places the Duke of *Brittain* held, were *Caen*, *Alanson*, *Lisieux*, &c.

[3] Some copies have Saint *Oen*, but the old copy and *De la Marche* *Sainctron*, some call it *Centron*, and Saint *Trudon* as saith *Guicci*. *Hubertus* nameth it in *Latin Centrones*. *Berlandus*, *fanum Trudonis*, but corruptly saith *Hubertus*: the ancient name in deed is *Centrones*, wherefore it is to be read *Centron* or *Sainctron* but not Saint *Oen*.

CHAP. XVI. *How the new Duke of* Normandy, *returned into* Brittain *in very poor estate, and utterly discouraged, because he had failed of his enterprise.*

THe Duke of *Normandy* was once determined (as you have heard) to flie into *Flaunders*, but at that very instant the D. of *Brittain* and he reconciled themselves, acknowledging both of them their errors, and well perceiving all good things by division to perish and come to naught. And sure, in my opinion, it is almost impossible, that many Princes of equall estate being together, should long continue in friendship and amity, unless they have superior over them, who also must be wise and well esteemed, to the end he may hold them in due obedience. I have my self seen many examples hereof, and therefore speak not upon heresay. Besides that, common experience proveth that we are all naturally inclined to fall at variance to our own harm, not regarding the inconveniences that ensue thereof, which is a generall fault through the whole world. Wherefore in my opinion, a wise Prince having ten thousand men at his commandment, and knowing how to govern them, is more to be feared and esteemed, than six Princes confederate together, with each of them ten thousand, because so many matters fall in question between them, that all good occasions are lost, before they can resolve upon any thing.

Thus returned the Duke of *Normandy* into *Brittain* in very poor estate, and utterly abandoned of all the Knights above mentioned; that had served the King his father. For they made their peace with the King, and were better entertained by him than ever they had been in his fathers time. These two Dukes were wise after the hurt received (as the common proverb saith of the Brittains) and lived together in *Brittain*, being governed by the Lord of *Lescut*, their principall servant. And divers ambassadors ran between the King and them, and between them and the Earl of *Charolois*, and likewise between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, some to learn newes; some to corrupt one anothers servants and subjects; and some for divers other evil purposes, and all under colour of good faith. Some also went with good intent, trusting to pacifie these troubles, which sure was great simplicity in them, to think themselves wise and sufficient enough by their presence to appease Princes so great, so subtill, and so well acquainted with all sorts of fine practises as these were, especially neither party inclining to reason. But some there are so blinded with vain glory, that they think themselves able to deal in matters, that oftentimes they understand not: for their Masters do not alwayes discover to them the bottom of their thoughts. To such it often happeneth that they go but to furnish the feast, yea many times to their own cost: for ever one by-fellow or other accompanieth them, that hath some secret practise a part: at the least thus have I seen the matter ordered at all times, and in all places where I have been. Wherefore, as I said before, that Princes ought to be circumspect whom they employ in their affairs: so say I now, that those that are employed ought to take heed, how they negotiate in Princes businesses. And who so can shift off the charge, unless he understand it throughly well, and perceive his Master to be well affected thereunto, is to be accounted wise: for I have known many a good man to bring himself into great troubles with such affairs. Princes also I have seen of two contrary dispositions, the one so subtill and suspicious, that a man can never be acquainted with their humor, for they think all the world bent to deceive them: the other trust their servants well enough, but themselves are so gross and understand so little of their own affairs, that they know not who doth them good service or bad, whereby they alter their mindes in a moment from love to hatred, and from hatred to love. And notwithstanding that of either sort few are good and constant: yet I for my part had rather live under the wise than the fooliish: because, there are more wayes to avoid their displeasure, and recover their favour lost: but with the ignorant a man can devise no shift, for no man dealeth with them in any matter, but altogether with their servants, whom also they change as oft as the wind. Notwithstanding in those countries where such Princes reign, all men are of duty bound to serve and obey them. Wherefore all things considered, our only hope ought to be in God: for he alone is constant, he only is good: but this lesson we learn to late: yea never before we need his help, notwithstanding it is better late than never.

THE

THE SECOND BOOK

CHAP. I. *Of the Wars between the Burgundians and Liegeois, and how the town of* Dinand *was taken, sacked and rased.*

IMmediately after these troubles above mentioned ended in *France*, the Duke *Burgundy* year by year had Warre with the Liegeois, against whom when the King saw him busied: he usually attempted some enterprise against the Brittains, sending also some small aid to the said Liegeois: whereupon the Duke forthwith either turned his force against the King to succour his confederates, or they concluded some treaty or truce. Now you shall understand that in the year 1466. *Dinand* was taken by the Duke of *Burgundy*, [1] being a town in the country of *Liege* strong and rich, for the bigness thereof, by reason of their great trade of copper works, commonly called Dinandry, being pots, pans, and such like implements. *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* (who died in the month of *June* in the year 1467) in his extream age was born thither in a litter, so much hated he the said town, because of their great cruelty used against his subjects in the county of *Namur*, especially against a little town called *Bouvines*, scituate within a quarter of a league of *Dinand*, and severed only with the River of *Maze*. For not long before the time, I now write of, they of *Dinand* besieged the said town of *Bouvines*, (the River running between) [2] the space of eight months, committed many cruel murthers in the country thereabout, and shot all that space continually with two Bombards, and other great peeces of Artillery into the town: so that the poor people were constrained to save themselves in their Sellars, and there to abide. It is almost incredible how great hatred was between these two towns; notwithstanding that their children usually married together, because there was no other good town near them.

1466. [1] The peace made the 22. of *January*, *Anno.* 1466. whereof mention is made in the 14. chap. of the last book, about *June* the same year, the Liegeois brake as here is rehearsed, and again they hung up the Image of the Duke and his son, with the most barbarous insolency that ever was heard of. Read *Annal. Burgund.* pag. 911. and 912. and *Meyer* pag. 338. where also their intolerable cruelty is described.

[2] The Dinandois durst not pass the River into the Dukes dominions, wherefore they planted their Artillery on their own side of the River, meaning onely to beat the town, not to make any breach.

The year before the destruction of *Dinand* being the same summer, the Earl of *Charolois* came before *Paris* with the Princes of *France*, as before you have heard: they made a treaty with the Duke of *Burgundy*, whereby they agreed to give him a certain summe of money to abandon their league with the City of *Liege*, and to govern their estate apart, a manifest token of imminent destruction, when they that ought to continue together in amity, sever themselves and forsake each other, which I spake as well to great Princes, in league together as to towns and commonalties. But because, I suppose, every man to have seen and read a number of examples to this purpose, I will lightly passe over this discourse, onely noting by the way that King *Lewis* our Master, was the finest and cunningest Prince, in dissolving friendship between men, that ever I knew, for he spared neither money, goods, nor travell, but laboured as well the servants as the masters. Now to return to the History; they of *Dinand* soon repented them of the treaty above mentioned, for they cruelly put to death four of their best Citizens, that had been the chief perswaders of them thereunto, and began war a new in the county of *Namur*: wherefore partly for these considerations, and partly because of the earnest sollicitation of the Citizens of *Bouvines*, D. *Philip* laid the siege before the town, but the charge of the whole army was committed to his son. Thither came also from his own house the Earl of *S. Paul* Constable of *France*, to aid the Duke, not by the Kings commandement, nor with the men of arms that were under his charge, but with such force only as he had levied in the marches of *Picardy*. Once they of *Dinand* made a proud sally, and were repulsed to their great losse: and the eighth day after, the town being marvellously beaten with the Cannon, was taken by assault, [3] so that their friends had not leisure to bethink them, whether they should aid them or not. The town was burnt and rased, and the prisoners being to the number of eight hundred, drowned before *Bouvines*. [4] Sure the revenge was cruell upon them; but, I think, God had so ordained it because of their great wickednes.

[3] *Dinand* was taken in *August*. *Annal. Burgund.* the 25. of *August* saith *Meyer*, and the Dukes army before the town was thirty thousand men *Meyer*.

[4] The eight hundred drowned before *Bouvines*, were those that hanged up the Image of the Duke and his son, with such reproaches. *Annal. Burgund.*

The

The next day after the town was taken, the Liegeois came thither with great force[5] to succour it, contrary to their promise: for by the treaty above mentioned, they and the town of *Dinand* had abandoned each other. Duke *Philip* becauſe of his old age returned home, but his ſon with the whole army marched againſt the Liegeois, whom we met ſooner than we looked for. For by chance, our vaward miſſed the way for lack of guides, by means whereof, our battell met firſt with them, wherein were the principall leaders of our army. It was almoſt night when we arrived at the place where they lodged: yet notwithſtanding we marched againſt them, but even at that very inſtant, they ſent ambaſſadors to the Earl of *Charolois*, deſiring him for the honour of the Virgin *Mary*, whoſe even that was, to have compaſſion upon this poor people, excuſing their fault the beſt they could. Yet this notwithſtanding their army made ſhew as though they deſired the battell, and their behaviour ſeemed clean contrary to their ambaſſadors requeſt. But after the ſaid ambaſſadors had paſſed twice or thrice between them and us, they conluded to obſerve the treaty made the year before, and to give the Duke a certain ſumme of money, for performance of the which conditions, better than the former, they promiſed to deliver to the Earl by eight of the clock the next morning three hundred Hoſtages,[6] named in a role by their Biſhop and certain of his ſervants, being in our camp. This night our army was in great trouble and fear, for our camp was neither fortified nor encloſed; beſides that, we lay ſcattered here and there, and in a place much for the Liegeois advantage, who were all footmen, and knew the country better than we. Some of them deſired to aſſault us, and in my opinion if they had ſo done they might eaſily have defeated us, but their Ambaſſadours, that intreated for peace brake of that enterpriſe.

By break of day our army was come together, and our battails ſtood in very good order. Our force was great, for we were three thouſand men of armes, good and bad, and twelve or thirteen thouſand archers, beſides great force of footmen, of the countries thereabout. We marched ſtraight upon our enemies, with intent either to receive the hoſtages or give them battell; if they refuſed to deliver them. We found them ſevered into ſmall bands, and in great diſorder as a People obedient to no mans commandment. Noon drew near the Hoſtages being yet undelivered. Wherefore the E. of *Charolois* asked the Marſhall of *Burgundy* there preſent, whether he ſhould aſſault them: who anſwered yea, alledging that they might now be diſcomfited without danger, and that no Conſcience was to be made in the matter, ſeeing the fault was theirs. The like advice gave alſo the Lord of *Contay*, adding that he ſhould never have them at ſuch an advantage, and ſhewing him how they went ſcattered here and there in ſmall bands, wherefore he counſelled him without further delay to invade them. But the Earl of *S. Paul* Conſtable in *France*, being asked his advice, was of the contrary opinion; ſaying, that if he aſſailed them, he ſhould do againſt his honour and promiſe, becauſe ſuch a number of people could not ſo ſoon agree upon the delivery of ſo many Hoſtages. Wherefore he held it beſt to ſend again to them, to know what they would do. The Earl of *Charolois* debated this matter long with himſelf. On the one ſide he ſaw his ancient and mortall enemies defeated without all danger: but on the other ſide, he feared the ſtaining of his honour, if he ſhould invade them. In the end he ſent a Trumpeter to them, who met with the Hoſtages upon the way; whereupon the wars ended and every man returned home: But the ſouldiers were much offended with the Conſtables advice, for they ſaw a goodlie booty before them. Incontinent Ambaſſadours were ſent to *Liege* to confirm the peace[7], but the people being inconſtant and wavering, vaunted that the Earl durſt not fight with them, and diſcharged harquebuſes upon his Ambaſſadours, and intreated them very ill. But the Earl returned into *Flaunders*, and this ſummer died his Father[8] for whom he made a great and ſolemne Funerall at *Bruges*, and advertiſed the King of his death.

[5] The Liegeois army was of forty thouſand men. *Annal. Burg.* but *Meyer* ſaith but ſix and thirty thouſand.

[6] Others ſay but fifty Hoſtages.

[7] This peace was concluded the 1ſt. of *September*, *anno* 1465. the conditions read in *Meyer* fol. 339. pag. 2, & *Annal. Burgund.* pag. 915. Further about the middeſt of *September* the next year being 1467 they brake this peace again.

1467

[8] Duke *Philip* died the 15. of *June* 1467. *Annal. Burgund. Bertandus. De la Marche*, *Meyer* ſaith the 16. of *July*, *Guguin* in one place ſaith *June*, and in another the 14. of *July*, he governed forty eight yeares, lived ſeventy one *Meyer*. Further here is to be noted that in this place, our Author beginneth the year 1467. for that year died the Duke, as he ſaith before in this chapter, & theſe wordes; where he ſaith, And this ſummer died his father have not relation to the ſame ſummer *Dinand* was taken, and the peace made with the Liegeois; for if the Duke had died that ſummer he could not have been at the taking of *Dinand*, for *Dinand* was taken in *Auguſt*, and then the Duke dying in *June*, muſt have been dead before, if he had died that ſummer: but theſe words have relation to the Earl of *Charolois*'s return into *Flanders*, which was in the beginning of the ſummer, *anno* 1467. for the peace was made the firſt of *September* 1466, and all that winter (to the end he might make all ſure at *Liege*) he remained in thoſe countries, and in the beginning of the next ſummer. *anno* 1467. returned into *Flanders*, and in *June* after died his father. Thus much I have been forced to ſay, leaſt our Author by ſlipping over that winter, becauſe nothing was done in it, ſhould ſeem to write contrarieties.

CHAP.

CHAP. II. *How the Liegeois brake the peace with the Duke of* Burgundy, *then Earl of* Charolois, *and how he discomfited them in battell.*

DUring these warres and ever after, many secret and new practises were entertained between these Princes. The King was marvellously offended with the Dukes of *Brittain* and *Burgundy*, by means whereof they could hardly hear one from another: for oftentimes their messengers were staied, and in time of war forced to go by sea out of *Brittain* into *Flaunders*, or at least to passe out of *Brittain* into *England*, and so to to travell by land to *Dover*, and there to crosse over to *Calice*: For they could not passe the next way through *France* without great danger. But during all the space of twenty years or more, that these Princes were at variance, sometime in open war, and sometime in a dissembled truce, wherein each party comprehended their confederates: God shewed so great favour to the Realm of *France*, that the civill wars in *England* were not yet fully ended, notwithstanding that they began fifteen years before; and had continued with cruell and bloody battails, wherein many a good man lost his life. For you shall understand, that there were in *England* two Houses that claimed the Crown, to wit, *Lancaster* and *Yorke*: for the which cause both the parties proclaimed their enemies traitors, and the division of these two houses was the preservation of the Estate of *France*: for doubt you not but that this Realm had sustained great troubles, if the English men had been in such estate then, as in times past. But to return again to our matter, the Kings chief desire was to conquer *Brittain*; both because it seemed easier to be subdued, and of lesse defence, than this house of *Burgundy*; and also because the *Brittains* received all his evil willers; namely, his Brother and other his enemies that had intelligence in his Realm. Wherefore he practised continually with the Duke of *Burgundy*, making him divers offers if he would forsake the *Brittains*, and namely, that he would in like manner abandon the Legeois, and all other the Dukes enemies: Whereunto the Duke of *Burgundy* would not agree, but made a new voiage against the Liegeois, because they had again broken the peace, and taken and spoiled a town called *Hay*[1], and chased his men out of it, notwithstanding the Hostages delivered the year before under pain of death, and the great sum of money they had bound themselves to forfeit, if they brake the said treaty. The Duke levied his army about *Louvain* in *Brabant*, and upon the marches of *Liege*: whither came to him from the King the Earl of *S. Paul* Constable of *France* (now become wholy French, and residing altogether with the King) accompanied with Cardinall *Balue* and others, who advertised him that the Legeois were the Kings confederates, and comprehended in the truce: wherefore the King would succour them if he invaded them. Notwithstanding, they offered, if he would abandon the Dukes of *Berry* and *Brittain* to the King, the King would then abandon the Liegeois to him. Their audience was short and in open Court, neither staied they above one day, the Duke excused himselfe, and accused the Liegeois with breach of the peace alledging that they had invaded his dominions, wherefore he saw no reason why he should not be revenged on them without forsaking his confederates, and this was his answer for that time. Again the next day after their arrival the Duke being ready to take horse, told them that he humbly besought the King to attempt nothing against the Duke of *Brittain*, whereunto the Constable replied and said, Sir you choose not but take all; for you will make war at your pleasure upon our friends, and constrain us to ly still and not invade our enemies, as you do yours, it may not be so, neither will the King endure it. Then the Duke taking his leave said thus again; the Liegeois are assembled together, and within three dayes I looke for the Battell; If I be overthrowne I am sure you will do after your accustomed manner: but if the victory fall on my side, the Brittains shall live quietly by you. Which talk ended, he mounted on horseback, and the Ambassadours repaired to their Lodgings, to make them ready to depart. The Duke marched in arms from *Louvain* with great force, and laid his siege before a town called *Sainct Iron* his power was marvellous great, for all the strength of *Burgundy* was come to him; so that this army was far greater than any other that I had seen with him before.

A little before his departure he debated with his counsell, whether he should put the Liegeois Hostages to death, or what he should do with them. Some gave advice to kill them all, especially the Lord of *Contay*, so often abovementioned; whom I never heard speak

[1] The new copy hath *Itay*, but the old and *La Marche* name it *Hay*, *Gaguin*. *Hoey*, *Haberius*, *Havam*, *Meyer Hoyum*, and almost all other good authors.

ſpeak ſo cruelly as at that preſent. Wherefore it is neceſſary for a Prince to have more than one of his Councill, for the wiſeſt erre; yea, and that often. Otherwhiles becauſe they are partial to the matters debated, either through hatred or love, ſometime becauſe they ſeek to contrary ſome one that hath ſpoken before them; poſſible alſo their bodies may be evill diſpoſed, for it is not to be held for Counſell that is given after dinner. But you will ſay that men ſubject to ſuch imperfections are unfit to be of a Princes Councill; whereunto I anſwer that we are all men, and that who ſo will have no Counſellors, but ſuch as never fail to ſpeak wiſely, nor are more diſtempered at one time more then another, muſt ſeek them in heaven, for he ſhall not finde them on earth. But for redreſs of this inconvenience, ſometime one of the Councill will ſpeake very vell and wiſely, that uſeth not often ſo to do, and thus one ſupplieth anothers defects. Now to return to the matter debated in this aſſembly, two or three were of the ſaid *Contay*'s opinion, moved thereunto by his great authority and wiſdome; for in ſuch aſſemblies a great number give their opinion, but as they have heard ſome other ſpeake before them, not underſtanding the matters debated, but ſeeking only to flatter ſome one being of credit and authority, that hath already ſpoken.

After theſe the Lord of *Himbercourt*, a gentleman born neer to *Amiens*, and one of the wiſeſt knights that ever I knew, being asked his advice ſaid, that to the end the Duke might have God on his ſide, and diſcharge himſelf of cruelty and deſire of revenge before the world, he thought it beſt to pardon all theſe Hoſtages, conſidering they came thither with a good intent, ſuppoſing the treaty ſhould have been obſerved. Notwithſtanding, he adviſed the Duke at their departure to give them to underſtand, how great grace and favour he ſhewed them; and to deſire them to do their endeavour in perſwading their citizens to peace; which if they could not obtain, yet at the leaſt themſelves acknowledging his goodneſs toward them, ſhould never after bear arms neither againſt him nor their Biſhop there preſent with him. This opinion took place, and the Hoſtages when they were delivered promiſed to do as the Duke required. Further this was told them at their departure, that if any of them where hereafter taken in arms againſt the Duke he ſhould die, and thus they were diſmiſſed.

It is not amiſſe to rehearſe here how after Mounſieur *de Contay*'s cruell ſentence pronounced againſt the Hoſtages: (part of the which were come thither with a good meaning, and upon very ſimplicity) one of the Counſell ſaid thus to me in my ear: Mark well this man, his body is healthfull enough, though he be old; yet dare I lay a good wager he ſhall not live an year to an end; becauſe of this cruell ſentance he hath given and ſure ſo it fell out, for he lived not long after. Notwithſtanding before his death he did his Maſter good ſervice in the battell againſt the Liegeois, whereof you ſhall now hear.

I have made mention before how the Duke departing from *Louvain* laid his ſiege before *Sainctron*, and bent his artillery againſt it, Whithin the town were three thouſand Liegois under the charge of a valiant Knight, the ſelf ſame that was their chief Commiſſioner for peace, when we met them in order of battell the year before. But the third day after the Dukes arrival before the town, the Liegeois with great force came to levy his ſiege about ten of the clock in the morning, they were thirty thouſand men [2] and better good and bad, all footmen ſave five hundred. They were well furniſhed of Artillery, and encamped within halfe a league of us, in a ſtrong Village called *Brecon*, part whereof was environed with a mariſh. Further *Frances Roict* Bailiff of *Lions*, and the Kings Ambaſſadour at that time to theſaid Liegeois, was with them in their Army [3]. Our Forragers were the firſt that advertiſed us of their arrivall, for we had no ſcouts abroad which was a foul overſight: I never was in place with the Duke of *Burgundy*, where I ſay him give good order of himſelf but this day only. Incontinent he ranged all his battels in the field, ſave certain bands appointed to ly ſtill at the ſiege, among the which were five or ſix hundred Engliſh men. Further he beſet both the ſides of the Village with twelve hundred men of Armes, and placed himſelfe with 800. men of Armes directly over againſt the village, ſomewhat further off than the reſt: he cauſed alſo a great company of gentlemen and men of armes to light on foot with the archers, and then the Lord of *Ravaiſtain* with the vaward (being all on foot as well men of armes as archers) marched forward with certain peeces of artillery even hard to the Liegeois trenches; which were broad, deep, and full of water: yet notwithſtanding with ſocre of arrows, and Cannon ſhot, the enemies were repulſed and their trenches won, and their artillery alſo: but when our ſhot failed

[2] The Liegeois army that came to ſuccour *Sainctron*, was of 20000. men, (but underſtand beſides the Kings forces) lead by *Meſſir Bare* or *Bivado* as *Meyer* termeth him who was ſlain in the battell. *Meyer*.

[3] The King ſent to aid the Liegeois 400. men of armes and 6000. archers *Meyer*.

failed us, the Liegeois recovered their ſpirits, and with their long pikes, gave a charge upon our archers and their Captains, of whom they ſlew in a moment four or five hundred, in ſuch ſort, that all our enſignes began to waver, as men halt diſcomfited. At which inſtant the Duke commanded the archers of his battell to march, being led by *Philip* of *Crevecœur*, Lord of *Cordes* (a wiſe gentleman) and divers other valiant men, who ſo couragiouſly aſſailed the enemies, that with the turning of a hand they were put to flight. But neither the horſemen above mentioned, that ſtood on both ſides of the Village, nor the Duke himſelf could follow the chaſe becauſe of the mariſh: for they were placed there onely to this end, that if the Liegeois had broken the Dukes vaward, and iſſued forth of their trenches into the plain, they might then have given a charge upon them. The Liegeois fled along through the mariſh, being purſued only by our footmen, notwithſtanding the Duke ſent part of the horſemen that accompanied himſelf, to follow the chaſe, but they were forced to ride two leagues about, before they could finde any paſſage, by means whereof they were benighted, which ſaved many a Liegeois life. The reſt of his horſemen the Duke ſent to his camp, becauſe they heard a great noiſe there, and doubted the enemies ſally, and indeed they had iſſued forth thrice, but were alwayes repulſed, eſpecially through the valiantneſs of the Engliſh men that the Duke left there behind him. A few of the Liegeois after they were put to flight, rallied themſelves together at their carriage, but ſtayed not long there. In this battell were ſlain nine thouſand men, [a] which number, I am ſure, ſhall ſeem great to all that love truth, but I have been in my time in many battells, where for one that was ſlain, men made report of a hundred, thinking thereby to pleaſe their Maſters, whom often they abuſe with ſuch untruths. Sure had we not been benighted, there had been ſlain above fifteen thouſand. The battell being ended, [b] the Duke when it was dark night returned with the whole army into his camp, ſave a thouſand or twelve hundred horſe that were gone two leagues about to follow the chaſe, for otherwiſe they could not come near their enemies, becauſe of a little River that was to paſs. They did no great exploit becauſe of the night: notwithſtanding ſome of their enemies they ſlew, and ſome they took, but the greateſt part eſcaped into the City. The Lord of *Contay* did good ſervice this day in giving order in the battell, and died ſhortly after in the town of *Huz*, and made a good end: He was a wiſe and a valiant Knight, but lived not long after his cruel ſentence, pronounced againſt the Hoſtages above mentioned. The Duke immediately after he was unarmed, called one of his Secretaries, and wrote a letter, to the Conſtable and the other Ambaſſadors, departed from him at *Louvaine*, not above four dayes before, wherein he advertiſed them of his victory, and deſired them to attempt nothing againſt the Brittains.

Within two dayes after the battell, the pride of this fooliſh people was clean abated, though their loſſe were not great: whereby appeareth how dangerous a thing it is, for any Prince to hazard his eſtate in battel, if he may by any other means make a good end, for a ſmall loſſe in a battell, changeth and altereth the mindes of his ſubjects, that receiveth the overthrow, more than any man would think, cauſing them not only to ſtand in great fear of their enemies, but alſo to diſpiſe and contemn their Prince, and thoſe that are in authority about him, yea to murmur and practiſe againſt him. They demande boldlier than they were accuſtomed, and ſtorm if ought be denied them, ſo that the Prince might have done more with one crown before the battell, than with three after it. Wherefore if he that hath received the overthrow be wiſe, he will not adventure a ſecond battell, in this eſtate with thoſe that have fled, but only defend his own, and ſeek ſome ſmall enterpriſe eaſie to be atchieved, to the end thereby his ſubjects may recover their former courage, and remove from them all fear. To conclude, the loſſe of a battell traineth with it, a number of inconveniences to him that is vanquiſhed. Notwithſtanding great conquerors have juſt cauſe to deſire the battell to abridge their labours, as have alſo the Engliſh and Switzers, both becauſe they are better footmen than their neighbours, as appeareth by their great victories they have obtained, (which notwithſtanding I write not to the diſpraiſe of other nations) and alſo becauſe their men cannot keep the fields long without doing ſome exploit, as Frenchmen and Italians can, who alſo are more full of practiſe, and eaſier to be governed than they. Now on the other ſide, he that obtaineth the victory, increaſeth his honour and eſtimation, his ſubjects are the more obedient, they deny him nothing that he demandeth, his ſouldiers alſo wax thereby the hardier, and the more courageous. Notwithſtanding oftentimes the Princes themſelves after victory obtained, are ſo puffed up with pride and vain-glory, that commonly their good ſucceſſe turneth to their harm,

[a] There were ſlain at this battell 6000, ſaith the old copy. Three thouſand Mayor grounding himſelfe upon certain old Engliſh Annaliſts, one of *Flanders*, the other of *Brabant*, of purpoſe to contrary our Author as in *Commines* life is ſhewed more at large.

[b] This battell was fought upon All-hallow even, *Dedit Maſſæ*. But *Mayo* ſaith the 27 of October.

harm, all the which happeneth by Gods depoſition, who ſendeth alterations, according to mens deſert.

When they within *Sainctron* ſaw the Battell loſt, and themſelves encloſed on all ſides, ſuppoſing alſo the diſcomfiture to be much greater than indeed it was: they laid down their armor, yielded the town, and delivered ſuch men to the Dukes mercy as he demanded, whom he incontinent cauſed to be beheaded, ſix of them being of the Hoſtages that he had diſmiſſed a few dayes before, under ſuch conditions as you have heard. From thence he diſlodged and marched to *Tongres*, which abode the ſiege: but becauſe the town was nothing ſtrong, they yielded before the battery under the ſame conditions, that their neighbours of *Sainctron* had accepted, and delivered alſo ten men to the Duke, who were put to death as the former, five or ſix of them being likewiſe of the Hoſtages above mentioned.

CHAP. III. *How ſome of the Citizens of* Liege *agreeing to yield their town, and others refuſing ſo to do, the Lord of* Hymbercourt *found means to enter into it for the Duke of* Burgundy.

FRom *Tongres* the Duke marched to the City of *Liege*, where the people were in great diviſion, for part of them gave advice to defend the town: ſaying that they had force ſufficient within it ſo to do, the chief of the which faction was a Knight called Maſter *Raz* of *Luitre*, but other ſeeing all the country about burned and deſtroyed, would in any wiſe have peace, were the conditions never ſo unreaſonable: wherefore when the Duke approached near to the City, divers overtures of peace were made by certain mean perſons, as priſoners and ſuch like. But the principall dealers therin, were certain of our Hoſtages, who doing clean contrary to the others above mentioned, and acknowledging the great favour the Duke had ſhewed them, brought to his camp with them three hundred of the beſt Citizens in their ſhirts, bare headed, and bare legged, who preſented the keys of the City to him, and yielded themſelves to his mercy, humbly beſeeching him onely to give them his word, that the town ſhould neither be fired nor ſacked. And at the ſelf ſame time, that they came in this eſtate to the Duke, the Kings ambaſſadors being Monſieur *de Moy*, and a ſecretary called *John Prevoſt*, were there preſent, who were come to the Duke with the ſame demands that the Conſtable had made a few dayes before. Further the very day of the compoſition, the Duke ſuppoſing to enter the City, ſent the Lord of *Hymbercourt* thither before him, becauſe he was well acquainted in the town, and had been governour thereof under Duke *Philip*, during the years they lived in peace: notwithſtanding entry was denied him for that day, whereupon he retired and lodged in an Abby without one of the town gates, being accompanied with fifty men of arms, the whole number amounting to two hundred ſouldiers, and my ſelf being one of them. The Duke of *Burgundy* ſent him word if the place where he lay were ſtrong not to diſlodge, otherwiſe to retire back to him, for he could hardly have ſuccoured him, becauſe all that country is rock and ſtone. The ſaid *Hymbercourt* reſolved not to move (for the place was very ſtrong,) but retained with him five or ſix of the Citizens that brought the keyes to the Duke, minding to uſe their help to good purpoſe, as hereafter you ſhall perceive. At nine of the clock at night, we heard a bell ring, at the ſound whereof the Citizens uſe to aſſemble, whereupon the ſaid *Hymbercourt*, doubted that this bel called company together to iſſue forth to aſſail us, (for he was advertiſed that M. *Raz* of *Luitre* & other of the Citizens would not agree to peace) and indeed his ſurmiſe was true, for that was their determination, and they were even upon the point to ſally. Then ſaid the Lord of *Hymbercourt* to us, if we can dally with them but till midnight, we are ſafe, for they will wax weary and deſirous of ſleep, and then thoſe that are our enemies in the town will flie, when they ſhall ſee their enterpriſe fruſtrate: wherefore to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, he diſpatched two of the Citizens that he had ſtayed with him, and delivered them certain friendly articles in writing, meaning only to buſie the Citizens with further talk to win time: for their manner was, and yet is, to aſſemble together at the Biſhops pallace to debate of their affairs, when the bell above mentioned is rung. Theſe two Burgeſſes which had been of our Hoſtages, when they came to the gate being hardly two bow ſhot from the Abby where we lodged: found a great number of the Citizens there in arms, ſome of the which would needs iſſue forth to aſſail

us,

us, and some not. Then our two Burgesses told the Major of the City aloud, that they brought certain friendly articles in writing, from the Lord of *Hymbercourt*, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Lievtenant in those countries, willing him to return to the pallace to read them, whereunto he agreed, & incontinent we heard the bell ring again, whereby we understood that they were busied about our articles. Our two Burgesses returned not, but about an hour after we heard a greater noise at the gate than before, and a much greater number came thither in arms, crying and railing upon us from the walls, whereby the Lord of *Hymbercourt*, perceived our danger to be now rather increased than diminished: wherefore he dispatched the other four Hostages that were yet with him, by whom he sent a letter, the contents whereof were; that during the time he was Governour of the City, for the Duke of *Burgundy*, he had used them gently and lovingly, neither would for any thing consent to their destruction, especially seeing not long before he had been a commoner of one of their companies in the town, namely the Goldsmiths company: wherefore they ought so much the rather to credit his words. To be short, he said if they would obtain peace, and save their country, they must first receive the Duke into the town, according to their promise, and then subscribe to certain articles written in the scedule he there sent them. After he had well instructed these four Hostages, they went to the gate, as did the former, which they found wide open. Some of the Citizens welcomed them with sharp words, but others were content to hear their message. To be short, in the end they returned again to the pallace; immediately whereupon we heard the bell ring, which much comforted us, and by little and little, the noise that was at the gate ceased. They were together in the pallace till two of the clock after midnight, and in the end concluded to observe the composition they had made, and the next morning, to deliver one of the town gates to the Lord of *Hymbercourt*: whereupon, incontinent Master *Raz* of *Luitre* and his whole faction fled out of the town.

[1] There were in this City 32. companies, without whom nothing was concluded: the principall was the Goldsmiths company, but the most ancient the Blacksmiths. *Guicc.*

I would not have stood so long upon this point, being of so small importance, had it not been to declare that by such fine devises, proceeding of deep wisdom, great perils, dangers, and losses are often eschewed. The next morning by day break, a number of the Hostages came to the Lord of *Hymbercourt*, desiring him to come to the pallace where all the people were assembled, there to assure them by his oath of the two points they doubted of: to wit, the firing and sacking of the town, which being done, they promised to put one of the gates into his hands: whereof he sent word to the Duke, and then accompanied them to the pallace; where, after he had sworn as they demanded, he returned to the gate. And the Citizens commanded the souldiers that were upon it to come down, and he put into it twelve men of arms, and certain archers, and reared up the Duke of *Burgundies* ensigne. From thence he went to another walled gate, into the which he put the Bastard of *Burgundy*, who lay near at hand. Into the third he put the Marshall of *Burgundy*, and into the fourth certain Gentlemen that were with himself, and thus were four gates well manned with Burgundians, and the Dukes ensignes upon them.

Now you shall understand, that at that time the City of *Liege*, vvas one of the mightiest and most populous tovvns in those quarters, except four or five; besides that, a great multitude of the country people round about, was retired thither, so that their losse in the battell was no whit perceived. Further they were well furnished of all things, and it was the deep of Winter, when we came before the town, the weather was marvellous foul, and the ground wonderfull soft and miry. We on the other side were in great distresse, both of victuals and money, and our army in a manner broken. Wherefore the Duke had no purpose to besiege the City, neither could he though he would, and if they had stayed the composition but two dayes longer, he was fully resolved to return home. Wherefore I may well conclude, that the great honour he obtained in this voiage proceeded of the meer grace of God, contrary to mans expectation: for he durst hardly have craved at Gods hands the good successe he gave him; which great honour and goodly victory in the judgement of all vertuous and wise men happened to him for the favour and mercy shewed to the Hostages above mentioned. This I write that because both Princes and others oftentimes finde fault as it were with themselves, when they have done a pleasure or good turn to a man; saying, that they were accursed when they did it, and will beware hereafter how they pardon so lightly; how they bestow any such benefit, or shew any such favour to any man; all the which notwithstanding are things appertaining to their duty and office. Wherefore in mine opinion this is evil spoken and proceedeth of a base and abject mind: for a Prince or any other man, that never was deceived, can be but a beast, because

he understandeth not the difference between good and evill. Besides that all men are not of one disposition, and it is no reason for the naughtinesse of one or two to cease from doing good to a great number, when time and occasion serveth. Notwithstanding I wish Princes to make good choise of those they benefit, for all men deserve not a like. But I think it almost impossible for a wise man to be unthankfull, or unmindfull of a good turn, and if Princes bestow upon fooles they are worse than mad, for they shall perceive in the end, that a fooles acquaintaince can stand them in no stead, Further in my opinion, this is the greatest point of wisdome in a Prince, to have near about him wise and vertuous men: for himselfe shall be judged to be of the nature and disposition of those, that are most familiar with him, Wherefore to conclude this discourse, me thinks, we ought never to be weary of well doing: for one man alone, yea the meanest of those we have pleasured, may happily so requite our friendship, that he shall recompense the ingratitude of a multitude as appeared by these Hostages; the greatest part whereof, were ingratefull and unthankfull; but some of them acknowledged and requited the benefit received: for by the only meanes of five or six of them this enterprise was atchieved, which turned so greatly to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s honour and profit.

CHAP. IV.

How the Duke of Burgundy *made his entry into the City of* Liege, *and how the Citizens of* Gaunt, *where he had been evill entreated before, humbled themselves unto him.*

[1] The Duke entred into *Liege* the 11. of *November* 1467. *Meyer.*

THe next day after the gates where yielded, the Duke entred the town, in great triumph[1], for a breach was made in the wall for his entry twenty fathoms long, and the town ditch all the length of the breach filled up even with the ground: with him entred on foot two thousand men of armes, armed at all peeces, and two thousand Archers; yet notwithstanding the force in his camp was marvellous great. The Duke himself entred on horseback accompanied with all his houshold servants, and the noblest men in his army, clad and apparelled the most sumptuously that might be: and in this state rode he through the town, and lighted at the great Church. To be short he abode there certain dayes, and put to death five or six more of his Hostages, that had broken promise, and with them the town messenger whom he hated extreamly: he established certain new lawes and customes, and commanded a great summe of money to be levied in the City, which he said was forfeited to him for the treaties and compositions broken the years before. Further he carried away all their artillery and armour, and rased all their gates and walls.

This done he returned into his own country, where he was honourably and dutifully received, especially of the Citizens of *Gaunt*; who before his voiage to *Liege* had after a sort rebelled against him with certain other towns, but now they received him as a conqueror, with so great lowlinesse and humility, that certain of the best Citizens came on foot to him as far as *Bruxels*, bringing with them all the Banners of the town, which they did for this cause. Immediately after his fathers death, he chose the City of *Gaunt*, for the first town he would make his entry into: for supposing that to be the town where he was best beloved, and therefore looking for all duty and obedience at their hands: he hoped also by that means to finde the like in all other townes of his dominions, assuring himselfe that they would all follow the example of this, which his opinion proved true, as touching this latter point. But you shall understand that the next day after his entry, they came in armes upon the market place, bringing with them a Saint called Saint *Lievin*, with whose shrine they beat down a little house called *La Cueillette*: where a custome of corn was received for paiment of certain debts the town ought to Duke *Phillip* by the treaty of peace, called the treaty of *Gaures*[2], for two years they had been in wars with him. To be short, they said this Saint would passe through this house without stooping, and in a moment beat down this house, which disorder the Duke seeing, went himself to the market place: a great number of noblemen in armes offering to wait upon him, as he passed through the streets, which he refused, commanding them to stay before the town-house, and attend him there. Notwithstanding by little and little, the throng of people forced them at length into the market-place also, whether when the Duke came, he went up into a house to speak to these rebels, commanding them to take up the shrine, and bear it into the Church, which some obediently did, but others caused it to be laid down again. Then they

[2] The French corrector through unskilfulnes had corrupted this place & sometime calleth it *La paix de Grand* & sometime nothing, but I have here restored it out of *Meyer* and *Annal. Burgun.* This peace was concluded 3. Calend. *Augusti* 1453 whereof read *Annal. Burgund.* lib. 3. pa. 829. *Meyer* lib. 16. fol. 314 and others.

they preſented ſupplications to him againſt certain of the town, touching payments of money, wherein he promiſed to do juſtice. But when he ſaw they would not depart, he returned to his lodging, and they abode in arms upon the market-place the ſpace of eight dayes. The next morning they brought articles to him, demanding the reſtitution of all their priviledges that Duke *Philip* had taken from them, by the treaty of *Gaures*, of this one eſpecially, that every company in the town (being threeſcore and twelve in all) might have a banner according to their ancient cuſtom. The Duke ſeeing the danger he ſtood in, granted them all their demands, and all ſuch priviledges as they required, which word was no ſooner paſſed him, but they reared up all their banners upon the market-place, being all ready made: whereby it appeared, that they would have had them perforce, if he had not granted them. His opinion at his firſt entry into *Gaunt* proved true, that all the other towns would follow their example: for indeed divers rebelled as the town of *Gaunt* did, ſlew his officers, and committed divers other diſorders. But if he had believed his fathers proverb, that the Citizens of *Gaunt* love their Princes ſon well, but their Prince never, he had not been deceived: and to ſay the truth, next to the Citizens of *Liege*, theſe of *Gaunt* are the moſt inconſtant in the world. Notwithſtanding, one good property they have among ſo many bad, that they never lay hands upon their Princes perſon[1]; beſides that, the beſt Burgeſſes of the town are very honeſt men, and much offended with the peoples inſolency.

The Duke was forced to digeſt and wink at all theſe rebellions, fearing to enter into a double War at one time, with his own ſubjects and the Liegeois. Notwithſtanding his meaning was, if he ſped well in his voyage to *Liege*, to teach them their duty at his return, as alſo it happened, for as I have already made mention, they brought to him on foot to *Bruxels*, all their banners, priviledges, and writings, as well thoſe they made him grant at his departure from *Gaunt*, as others, all the which in a great aſſembly held in the hall of *Bruxels*, in the preſence of divers ambaſſadors they preſented to him, to do with them at his pleaſure. Then the Herault of arms by his commandment, took the ſaid banners from the ſtaves whereto they were faſtened, and carried them to *Bollein*, a haven town eight leagues from *Calis*, where the other banners yet remained, that Duke *Philip* his father took from them, when the wars ended, wherein he vanquiſhed and ſubdued them. Further the Dukes Chancellour took all their priviledges, and rent one of them concerning the election of their Senate: for in all the other towns of *Flanders*, the Prince every year chooſeth the Senate, and receiveth their accounts; but by this priviledge he might chooſe but four in *Gaunt*, and the reſt, being two and twenty, themſelves chooſe: When the Senators of the townes are friends and faithfull ſubjects to their Prince, he liveth that year in peace, and they willingly grant him all his demands: but if they be otherwiſe, commonly ſome rebellion hapeneth. Laſtly the Citizens of *Gaunt* paid the Duke thirty thouſand gildons, and ſix thouſand to his principall ſervants, and baniſhed certain out of their town, but all their other priviledges were reſtored them, the reſt of the townes bought alſo their peace with money, for they had attempted no great matter againſt the Duke.

By this example a man may perceive how great good enſueth victory in a Battle, and how many inconveniencies the overthrow. Wherefore a Prince ought to beware how he hazard his eſtate upon a day unleſſe neceſſity force him thereunto: and if that happen, then muſt he bethink himſelf before the hour of all doubts and dangers that may be imagined. For thoſe chat fear a matter commonly provide well for it, and have oftner good ſucceſſe, than they that proceed with a careleſſe contempt: unleſſe God be fully reſolved to ſtrike the ſtroke, againſt whom mans wiſdome cannot prevail. Which point is ſufficiently proved by the example of theſe Liegeois above mentioned; who had been excommunicated the ſpace of five years for their variance with their Biſhop, whereof notwithſtanding they made no account, but they continued ſtill in their folly and naughtineſſe, moved thereunto onely through wealth and pride: wherefore King *Lewis* was wont to ſay, that when pride rideth before, ſhame and damage followeth after, (a very wiſe ſaying in my opinion and ſure for his part he was free from that vice.

[1] Yet the citizens of *Gaunt* anno 1338. conſtrained *Lodovicus Nivernenſis* E. of *Flanders* to flie for the ſafety of his life into a Caſtell in *Gaunt* called *Petra Comitis*, where they alſo beſieged him. Againe *Anno* 1346. they conſtrained *Lodovicus Malcanus* perforce to go with them to *Bergen*, and againſt his will to give his faith to *Iſabell* daughter to K. *Edward* the third: they ſet a guard alſo about his perſon, but he eſcaped and fled into *France* *Meyer*.

CHAP. V.

How the King seeing what had happened the Liegeois, made war in Brittain *upon the Duke of* Burgundy's *Confederates, and how they two met and communed together at* Peronne.

THese troubles being thus ended, the Duke went to *Gaunt* where he was received with great pomp and triumph, for he entred in arms, and the Citizens made a postern into the fields, by the which he put men in and out at his pleasure. Many messengers ran between him and the King, and likewise between the Duke of *Brittain* and him, and thus passed this winter. The King travelled continually with the Duke of *Burgundy* to suffer him to invade *Brittain* at his pleasure making him divers offers in consideration thereof: whereunto the Duke would not condiscend, for the which cause partly, and partly for the overthrow given to the Liegeois his confederates, the Kings displeasure was so kindled, that longer he could not forbear, but in the very beginning of
1468. summer entred into *Brittain*, at the least his forces for him, and took two small Castles, the one called *Chantosse*, the other *Ansenу*, whereof the D. of *Burgundy* was incontinent advertised, and earnestly pressed by the Dukes of *Normandy* and *Brittain*, with all speed to levy his army for their aid: whereupon he wrote to the King, humbly beseeching him, to relinquish his enterprise, seeing these two Dukes were comprehended in the truce, as his confederates, but receiving such answer as liked him not, he encamped with great force near to *Peronne*. The Kings army was still in *Brittain*, but the Court lay at *Compiegne*, from whence the King sent Cardinall *Balue* to the Duke, within three dayes after his arrival at *Peronne*, who stayed not long with him, but made certain overtures of peace, advertising him also that they in *Brittain* could make their composition well enough without him, for the Kings drift was to sever them. The Cardinall was honourably received, well feasted, and soon dispatched, and returned with this answer; that the Duke was not come forth into the field to offend the King in any respect, but onely to succour his confederates: so the messages that passed between them were very courteous on both sides.

Immediately after the Cardinals departure, a Herauld called *Bretaigne*, arrived at the Duke of *Burgundies* camp, with letters from the Dukes of *Normandy* and *Brittain*; wherein they advertised him, that they had made peace with the King, and renounced all leagues and confederacies, and namely their league with him, and further, that the Duke of *Normandy* had surrendred *Normandy* (lately given him for his partage) to the King, and should receive in recompence thereof, and of all other partages, the yearly reveneues of threescore thousand franks, which conditions (though never so unreasonable) necessity forced the Lord *Charles* of *France* to accept. The Duke of *Burgundy* was wonderfully abashed at this news: for he had put himself into the field onely to aid the said Dukes. And sure the Herauld was in great danger; for because he passed by the Court, the Duke suspected the King had forged these letters, notwithstanding he received immediately after, the like advertisement from other places. The King thought now his enterprise half atchieved, and that he should easily perswade the Duke of *Burgundy* to forsake these two Dukes, as they had him: whereupon secret messengers ran between them, and the King gave the Duke six score thousand crowns, whereof he payed the one half presently, the better to content the said Duke, who had consumed great summes in levying this army. Further, the Duke sent to the King a groom of his chamber very near about him, named *John Vobrisset*, whereupon the King conceived great hope of his enterprise, and seemed desirous to commune with the Duke in person, trusting to obtain of him all that he required; both because of the two aforesaid Dukes ingratitude towards him, and also because of the great summe of money he had given him. Wherefore he advertised the Duke of certain matters by the said *Vobrisset*, and sent back with him Cardinall *Balue* and Master *Tanneguy du Chastell* Governour of *Rousillon*, who gave the Duke to understand by their words, that the King desired greatly, that they two might commune together in person.

They found the Duke at *Peronne*, who seemed to have no great devotion to this meeting, because the Liegeois made shew as though they would rebell a new, being sollicited thereunto by two ambassadors, sent thither by the King for that purpose, before the truce was made, which he and the Duke concluded, for certain dayes, between them and their confederates. But Cardinall *Balue*, and the other ambassadors put this doubt out of his head,

head, alledging that the Liegeois durſt attempt no ſuch thing, conſidering he had vanquiſhed them, and raſed their walls but the year before: and further, if they had any ſuch deſire, yet when they ſhould ſee this amity between him and the King, they would ſoon alter their mindes. Thus in the end, it was concluded that the King ſhould come to *Peronne*, ſeeing it pleaſed him ſo to do, and the Duke ſent him a letter written with his own hand, containing ſufficient ſurety to come and go at his pleaſure. And thus departed the ambaſſadors, and returned to the King, being then at *Noyon*. But the Duke minding to make all ſure in the country of *Liege*, ſent thither their Biſhop, for whoſe quarrell all the Warres above mentioned firſt began, and in his company the Lord of *Hymbercourt* (the Dukes Lievtenant in thoſe parts) with certain bands of men.

You have heard how it was concluded that the King ſhould come to *Peronne*, according to which determination thither he came, without his guard, for his pleaſure was wholly to put himſelf under the guard and ſurety of the Duke, and that Monſieur *de Cordes* (who then ſerved the Duke) ſhould convey him thither with the ſaid Dukes archers, which was done accordingly. The Kings train was very ſmall, notwithſtnading he came accompanied with divers noble perſonages; namely, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Cardinall his brother, and the Earl of *Saint Paul* Conſtable of *France*, who had not buſied himſelf about this meeting, but much miſliked it. For he was now grown proud and high minded, and behaved not himſelf to the Duke of *Burgundy* with ſuch lowlineſſe and humility as he was accuſtomed: wherefore there was no good will between them twain. Thither came alſo Cardinal *Balue*, the Governour of *Rouſſillon*, and divers others. And when the King drew near to *Peronne*, the Duke with a goodly train iſſued forth to receive him, and brought him into the town, and lodged him in a goodly houſe near to the Caſtle, being the Receivers, for the Caſtle was a little old thing naught worth.

War between two great Princes is eaſily begun but hardly ended, becauſe of a number of accidents depending thereupon: for each party diſpatcheth meſſengers to and fro to hurt his enemy, which ſuddenly cannot be countermanded nor revoked, as appeared by theſe two Princes, who concluded this meeting upon a ſudden, not advertiſing their ſervants thereof, who were far from them, executing the charge their Maſters had given them. For you ſhall underſtand that the Duke had ſent for his army into *Burgundy*, being repleniſhed at that time with a number of Noblemen, among the which were the Lord of *Breſſe*, and his two brethren, the Biſhop of *Geneva*, and the Earl of *Romont*, all three ſons to the Duke of *Savoy*: for the Savoyans and Burgundians, have ever born great affection each to other. In this army were alſo certain Almains, borderers upon *Savoy* and the County of *Burgundy*. Now you ſhall underſtand, that the King in times paſt, had held the Lord of *Breſſe* in priſon, becauſe of two Knights he commanded to be ſlain in *Savoy*, wherefore there was no good will between them two. In this army were alſo the Lord of *Urſe*, Maſter of the horſe afterward to King *Charles*; Maſter *Poncet* of *Riviere*, and the Lord of *Lau*, whom the King after ſpeciall good liking of him had alſo held long in priſon, but he eſcaped and fled into *Burgundy*. All this company above mentioned, arrived near to *Peronne*, even at the very inſtant that the King came thither, and the Lord of *Breſſe*, with the three above mentioned, every one of them wearing the Saint *Andrews* croſs entred the town, ſuppoſing they had come time enough to accompany the Duke, when he ſhould go to receive the King, but becauſe they came too late they went ſtraight to the Dukes chamber, to do their duty to him, where the Lord of *Breſſe*, humbly beſought him that the three above named, notwithſtanding the Kings coming, might be there under his ſafeguard and protection, as he promiſed them in *Burgundy*, at their firſt arrivall into his dominions, adding that they were ready to ſerve him againſt all men none excepted: which requeſt the Duke granted with his own mouth, and for their good will thanked them. The reſt of this army led by the Marſhall of *Burgundy*) lodged without the town, as they were appointed. The ſaid Marſhall hated the King no leſſe than the others above named, becauſe of *Pinall* a town in *Lorrain*, which the King had once given him, and afterward taken from him to beſtow upon *John* Duke of *Calabria*, ſo often mentioned in this Hiſtory. The King being forthwith advertiſed of theſe Noble mens arrival, and the apparell they wore, [1] fell ſuddenly into great fear, and ſent to the Duke deſiring him that he might lodge in the Caſtle, becauſe all theſe above named were his enemies. The Duke rejoyced to ſee him in ſuch fear, and cauſed his lodging to be made there, willing him to be of good cheer and doubt nothing.

[1] He meaneth by apparell the Saint *Andrews* croſſe.

CHAP. VI. *A diſcourſe wherein is declared how greatly learning eſpecially in Hiſtories profiteth Princes and Noblemen.*

IT is great folly, for one Prince to put himſelfe under the power of another, eſpecially when they are in war together, as thoſe Princes well know that have ſtudied Hiſtories in their youth, wherein they finde divers examples of great falſehood and treaſon uſed in times paſt at ſuch interviewes, and of divers that have ſtayed as priſoners, and ſlain thoſe that have come to them under their ſurety[1]. I ſay not that all have uſed ſo to do, but the example of one is ſufficient to inſtruct a number how to look to themſelves. My ſelfe for my part have ſeen ſome experience in the world, having been by the ſpace of eighteen years and better, employed continually in Princes ſervices, and privy all that while to the weightieſt and ſecreteſt affairs that have paſſed in this Realm, or the countries bordering upon it and ſure in my opinion, the beſt way to learn wiſdom is to read ancient Hiſtories. which will teach us by example of our Anceſtours, wiſely to behave ourſelves, ſafely to defend ourſelves, and adviſedly to attempt any enterpriſe. For our life is ſo ſhort, that experience cannot ſufficiently inſtruct us, conſidering withal that our years are abridged, and neither our lives ſo long nor our body ſo ſtrong, as were our Anceſtours in ages paſt: which way as we are weakened, ſo is our faith alſo each to other much diminiſhed[2]; in ſuch ſort, that I know not how one may aſſure himſelf of another eſpecially great Princes, who are commonly inclined to all willfullneſſe, without any regard of reaſon, and (which is worſt of all) have for the moſt part ſuch men about them as ſtudy onely to flatter them, and ſooth them in all their doings be they good or bad, and if ſome one endeavour himſelf to redreſſe this inconvenience, all the reſt will ſtraight be upon his top.

Further I muſt needs blame ignorant and unlearned Princes in this reſpect alſo; they have all commonly about them great Clearks and Lawyers, as it is requiſite they ſhould if they be good; but if they be otherwiſe they are the dangerouſeſt people in the world to be about a Prince, for they have ever a Law or an Hiſtory at their fingers ends, which be it never ſo good they writhe and wreſt in ſuch ſort, that they will make black white, and white black. But thoſe Princes that be wiſe and have read as well as they, will not ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed by them, neither dare they be ſo hardy as to report untruthes to ſuch Princes. Further think you that God hath eſtabliſhed the Office of a King or Prince, to be executed by ſuch beaſts as glory in ſaying: I am no Scholar, I truſt my Counſell well enough, and refer all matters to them, and ſo without further anſwer depart to their ſports and paſtimes; No, no, if they had been well trained up in their youth, they would uſe other language, and ſeek to be eſteemed for their own vertues and worthineſſe. I ſay not that all Princes are ſerved by evill conditioned perſons, but ſure the moſt part of thoſe that I have ſeen have not alwayes had their courts free from ſuch, although ſome Princes, I confeſſe, I have known that in time of neceſſity could make choice of their men, and uſe the ſervice of the beſt and wiſeſt. Wherein ſure the King our Maſter far paſſed all the Princes of his time, for never Prince advanced ſo highly nor made ſo great account of wiſe and worthy men as he did. He was himſelf reaſonably well learned[3],

[1] Of treaſon in treaty we have numbers of examples. Firſt of *Jugurtha* taken by his father in law *Bocchus* and delivered to the Romans. *Sertorius* ſlain at a banquet by *Perpenna*. In *England* wee have the treaſon of *Hengiſt* to *Vortiger*. In *Scotland* wee read of *William* Earl of *Douglaſſe* ſlain by *James* King of Scots in treaty. In *Germany Albert* Earl of *Francona*, betrayed in treaty by *Otho* Biſhop of *Mentz*. *John* of *Argier* ſlain by *Albertus Bavarus* E. of *Heynault* and *Flaunders*, notwithſtanding his ſafe conduct. In *France* *John* Duke of *Burgundy* ſlain by *Charles* the ſeventh. *William* D. of *Normandy* by *Arnulph* Earl of *Flaunders*. *Lewis* King of *France* taken priſoner by the Normans & Danes at *Roan*. *John* Duke of *Brittain* taken at a banquet and impriſoned by *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Pontibera*. *Guido* Earl of *Flaunders*, twice taken priſoner under ſafe conduct by *Philip le Bel* King of *France*. *Charles* the ſimple ſlain by the Earl of *Vermandoys*. What ſhould I ſpeak of the treaſons of *Ferrande* and *Alfonſe* King of *Naples*, or of *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*, with numbers of others recorded in Hiſtories as our Author here very truly reporteth.

[2] Others be of a contrary opinion, that our life is as long as in *Davids* time appeareth by the 90. Pſalm, where he ſheweth the uſuall age of man, in his time to have been ſeventy and ſometimes eighty years, which men reach to at this day alſo, and if mans life be as long now as then, it is a good conſequent that his body is as ſtrong, as is to be proved by many reaſons too long to rehearſe. Now that our faith is as good as theirs was in ages paſt, appeareth alſo by the ancient Hiſtories, for if this be a ture ſaying, *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis*. And the Princes in time paſt were ſo evill as none could be worſe, (as who ſo liſt to read without partiality ſhall be forced to confeſſe) I ſee no reaſon that the world ſhould be worſe now then in times paſt, although it ſeem ſo to many becauſe we ſee the worſt of our own age, yea and feel too many times, but commonly the Hiſtories delivers to us but the beſt of times paſt, and bury the worſt: and though they did yet the evil ſeen with our eye is more lively imprinted in our mind, than the evill we conceive by our ear, which is the cauſe men think ever better of the times paſt then of the preſent eſtate.

[3] I marvel if King *Lewis* were learned, he would have his ſon to learn onely this leſſon, *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*.

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he was very inquisitive and desirous to understand of all matters, and had an excellent wit, which passeth all learning obtained by study: for as reading profiteth two manner of ways, the one by acquainting us with ages past: and the other by teaching us more in a book in three months, than twenty men living successively can learn by experience: so if a man lack wit to put that which he readeth in practise, his reading serveth to no purpose. Wherefore to end this discourse, me thinks the greatest plague, that God can lay upon a Realm, is to give them an unwise Prince, the root and fountain of all mischief: for first division and civill wars arise thereof, among his subjects, because he giveth his authority to others, which especially above all things he ought reserve to himself. After division ensueth famine and mortality, and all other evils that accompany the wars, wherefore hereby we may consider how much a Princes subjects ought to lament, when they see his children wantonly brought up, and governed by evill conditioned persons.

CHAP. VII. *How and for what cause the King was stayed and held prisoner in the Castle of* Peronne *by the Duke of* Burgundy's *commandment.*

YOu have heard how the King and this army of *Burgundy* arrived at *Peronne*, both in one instant, for the D. could not countermand them in time, because they were well forward upon the way when the Kings coming was first communied of. Their arrival troubled the feast, because of divers jealousies that sprung thereof. Notwithstanding these two Princes appointed certain of their servans to negotiate together about their affairs, in most loving and friendly sort. But after three or four days conference, this strange news came from *Liege*, which I will now rehearse. The King coming to *Peronne* had clean forgotten his two ambassadors sent to *Liege*, to sollicite them to rebell against the Duke, who so diligently executed their charge, that before the Kings arrival at *Peronne*, the Liegeois had levied great force, and were gone to surprise the town of *Tongres*, where the Bishop of *Liege* and the Lord of *Hymbercourt* lodged, accompanied with two thousand men and better: and the said Bishop and *Hymbercourt* they took, with certain other of the Bishops familiar friends; but few they slew, neither was the number of prisoners great: the rest fled as men discomfited, leaveing bag and baggage behind them. This done the Liegeois returned towards their City, not far distant from *Tongres*: and upon the way thitherward, the Lord of *Hymbercourt* compounded for his ranſome with a Knight, called Master *William de Ville*, named by the French *Le Sauvage*, who fearing lest this furious people should kill him, suffered him to depart upon his word: which notwithstanding he never challenged, for soon after himself was slain. The people rejoyced much for the taking of their Bishop. Further, you shall understand, that they hated extreamly certain chanons of the Church taken prisoners that day: of whom for the first repast they slew five or six, one of the which was named M. *Robert* the Bishops speciall friend, whom my self have often seen armed at all peeces, waiting upon his Master, for such is the manner of the *Alemaigne* Prelates. [1] The said Master *Robert* they slew in the Bishops presence, and hewed him into a number of small gobbets, which they threw one at another in derision. To be short, before their return to *Liege* which was but eight leagues from *Tongres*, they slew sixteen chanons and others, all in manner the Bishops servants. This done, they received advertisement that the treaty between the King and the Duke was already begun, wherefore they dismissed certain Burgundians, supposing to excuse their fault, by seeming to have attempted nothing against the Duke, but only against their Bishop, whom they led prisoner into the City. Those that escaped, put all the country in an uproar as they went, by means whereof this news came soon to the Duke: some said all were slain, others the contrary, for such advertisements are never reported after one sort. At the length certain arrived that saw these chanons slain, who supposing the Bishop and *Hymbercourt* to be of the number, avowed constantly that all were murthered, and further, that they saw the Kings ambassadors in the company, whom also they named. All this was told the Duke, who forthwith believed it, and fell into an extream fury, saying that the King was come thither to abuse him, and gave commandment to shut the gates of the castle and the town, spreading a fond rumour that he did it, because of a budget with jewels and mony that was lost. The King seeing himself shut into this little castle, and a number of archers before the gate: stood in a great doubt of his person, the rather because he lodged hard by a great tower, in the which an Earl of *Vernandois*

[1] These were chanons of *S. Lambert* in *Liege*, the which were not forced to be Priests, but might come forth and marry if they had not sung mass. *Guicc.*

nandois had in times past caused a King of *France* one of his predecessours to be slain[2], I was yet in service with the Duke, and one of his privy Chamber, into the which I entred at my pleasure according to the use of this house of *Burgundy*. The Duke when the town gates were shut commanded all men to avoid his chamber, and said to two or three of us that tarried with him, that notwithstanding he for his part had never any taste in this meeting, but agreed to it only to content the King: yet the King on the contrary side was come thither purposely to abuse him. Then rehearsed he all these newes of *Liege*, how the King had ordered the matter by his Ambassadours, and caused all his men to be slain: and such a rage he was in against the King, and so threatened him that, I think verily, if those to whom he spake had pressed forward the matter, and counselled him to work the King some mischief he would have done it, at the least have imprisoned him in the great tower above mentioned. None were present when these words passed the Duke, but my self and two groomes of his Chamber, one of the which was named *Charles* of *Visin* born at *Dyion*, an honest Gentleman and in good credit with his Master. We exasperated not the matter but sought to apease the Duke as much as in us lay, notwithstanding soon after he used the like speech to others, by means whereof it was blown all over the town, and came at length into the Kings Chamber, who was in marvellous fear as universally all men were, because of the great evils they saw like to ensue a quarrell begun between two so great Princes; who sure were both blame worthy, for that they advertised not their servants of this meeting, who were far from them executing their commandments, whereby some great inconvenience were sure to ensue.

[2] This Earl of *Vermandois* was named *Hebart* or *Herbart*, and the King of *France Charles le Simple*, whom this *Hebert* slew in the tower here mentioned *anno* 926, or after *Annal. Burgund.* 921, because the King had slain in battel *Robert* Duke of *Aquitain*, or after some, of *Anjou*, who had married this *Hebarts* sister. But note here *pænam talionis* upon the King, for as he was stayed here notwithstanding the Dukes safe conduct: so had he himself taken and imprisoned by the space of two yeats *Phillip* Lord of *Bresse*, having called him to him under his safe conduct, *Meyer*. of the Lord of *Bresses* imprisonment our Author maketh mention in the fifth chapter of this Book.

CHAP. VIII.

A Discourse wherein is shewed that an enterview betwen two great Princes, for treaty of their affairs hurteth more then profiteth.

IT is great folly for two Princes being in manner of equal force and estate to meet together, unless it be in their youth when their mindes are wholly set upon pleasures and pastimes, but after they are come to mans estate and grown desirous to encroch each upon other, such interviewes do but increase their hatred and evill will, though happily their persons might be there in safety, which notwithstanding, I hold almost a thing impossible, wherefore it is better to pacifie all controversies by wise and discreet men, as before I have said: for proof whereof I will rehearse certain examples that have happened in my time, some of the which my self have seen, and of the rest have been credibly informed.

A few years after King *Lewis* his coronation before the war called the WEAL PUBLICK began, a solemn meeting was appointed between him and the King of *Castile*[1], who are the two neerest confederated Princes in Christendome, for their League is between King and King, Realm and Realm, and man and man of their subjects, which also they are both bound under great curses to keep and observe inviolable. To this meeting came *Henry* King of *Castile* with a goodly train to *Fontarabia*, and the King our Master to *Saint John de Luz* four leagues distant both of them being upon the frontiers of their dominions. I was not present my self at this meeting, but I have heard both the King and the Lord of *Lau* make report thereof, and have been enformed of it also by certain Lords of *Castile*, there present with the King their Master, who came to this enterview accompanied with the Lord great Master of *S. James*, and the Archbishop of *Tolledo*, which two bare all the sway in *Castile* at that time, the Earl of *Lodesme* the King of *Castile*'s minion was there also in great bravery, and all the said Kings guard, being to the number of three hundred horse, all Moors of *Granado* and some of them Negroes. But King *Henry* himself was a man of so small understanding, that he gave away all his inheritance, at the least suffered every man that would to spoil him of it: our King was also accompanied with a goodly train, as you know his manner was, but his guard especially was brave and in very good order. To this meeting came in like manner the Queen of *Arragon* about a controversie

[1] The meeting of the King, & the King of *Castile*, was *anno*. 1463.

troverſie between her and the King of *Caſtile* for *Eſtelle* and certain other places in *Navarre*: whereof the King was made Arbitrator. But now for proofe that ſuch enterviews between great Princes are not meet nor convenient, you ſhall underſtand that theſe two Kings had never been at variance, there was no quarrell between them, neither ſaw they one another paſt once or twice upon a River ſide that parteth both their Realmes[2], hard by a little Caſtle called *Heurtebiſe*, where the King of *Caſtile* paſſed to the hither ſide of the River. At their firſt meeting they had no great liking one of another, eſpecially our King, who perceived the King of *Caſtile* to be but a ſimple man doing nothing of himſelfe, but wholly governed by the great Maſter of *Saint James*, and the Archbiſhop of *Tolledo* above mentioned. Wherefore he made no account of their Maſter, but ſought their friendſhip, whereupon they came to him to *Saint John de Luz*, where he entred into amity with them, and had great intelligence by their means. The greateſt part of both theſe Princes trains lay at *Bayonne*, and at the very firſt meeting fell together by the ears, notwithſtanding their league: and no marvell. For their manners and languages differed. Afterward the Earl of *Lodeſme* came alſo to viſit the King, and paſſed the River in a boat, the ſail whereof was cloth of gold. Further he wore a pair of buſkins embrodered thick with ſtone, for he was a Prince of great wealth and revenues in *Caſtile* and created ſince Duke of *Albourg*. In the end, theſe two confederate nations began to ſcoff and jeſt each at other, the King of *Caſtile* was deformed, and the French miſliked his apparell, wherefore they derided him. Our King wore his apparell very ſhort, and marvellous uncomely, and was clad ſometime in very courſe cloath; beſides that, he wore an old hat, differing from all the reſt of his company, and an Image of lead upon it; whereat the Caſtilians jeſted, ſaying that this proceeded of miſery. Thus ended this enterview, with ſuch ſcoffs and taunts, that afterward theſe two Princes never loved together. Further, great diſſention aroſe among the King of *Caſtiles* ſervants, which continued till his death and long after, in ſuch ſort that I have ſeen him the pooreſt Prince that ever reigned, and abandoned of all his ſervants and ſubjects. The Queen of *Arragon* departed alſo diſcontented, for the King pronounced ſentence for the King of *Caſtile*. Wherefore both the King of *Arragon* her husband and ſhe hated him ever after. And notwithſtanding that they uſed his help a while in their neceſſity, againſt the town of *Barcelonne*, yet endured not their friendſhip, but wars aroſe between them, which continued above ſixteen years, and the controverſie remaineth yet undecided. Now to proceed to other examples.

[2] The River where the two Kings met was named *Andaye*.

Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy* ſince the time above mentioned, by his own great ſuite and ſollicitation, met with the Emperour *Frederick* now reigning, at *Treves*[3], where the Duke made great preparation to ſhew his pomp and magnificence. The Emperour and he treated there of many matters, and among the reſt, of their childrens marriage, which was afterward accompliſhed. But when they had been together a certain ſpace, the Emperour to the Dukes great reproach and diſhonour, departed without leave taking, wherefore they never loved after neither themſelves nor their ſubjects. The Almains diſdained the Dukes pomp and lofty manner of ſpeech, ſaying that it proceeded of pride; the Burgundians on the contrary ſide, deſpiſed the Emperours ſmall train, and ſimple attire. To be ſhort, this jar grew ſo great that the Warres of *Nuz* ſprung thereof.

[3] The meeting betweene the Emperour and the Duke was ſaith *Munſter*, *anno* 1469. *Berlandus* ſaith *anno* 1472. *Meyer* 1473. the 28. of *September*.

I was alſo at *Saint Paul* in *Artois*, when the Duke of *Burgundy* and King *Edward* of *England* met there[4]. The Duke had married his ſiſter, they were companions of one order, and abode there together two daves. The Kings ſervants were divided into two factions, and both the parties complained to the Duke, who enclining more to the one than the other, encreaſed their hatred; and notwithſtanding that he aided the King for the recovery of his Realm, (out of the which he was chaſed, by the Earl of *Warwick*) and furniſhed him both of men, mony, and ſhips: yet after this meeting, they never loved together, neither could afford each other a good word.

[4] What year the meeting of King *Edward* and the Duke was at *Saint Paul* appeareth afterward *lib.* 3 *cap.* 6.

I was likewiſe at *Bruxels*, when the Palſegrave of the *Rheine* came thither to the Duke of *Burgundy*, where he was honourably received, ſumptuouſly feaſted, and lodged in a chamber richly furniſhed. The Dukes men reported the Almains to be ſlovens, and void of civility, alledging that they threw their miry boots upon theſe rich and ſtately beds, wherefore ever after they made leſſe account of them, than before they knew them. The Almains on the contrary ſide, like envious perſons miſliked this great pomp. To conclude, after this they never loved together, neither ſought to pleaſure one another.

I saw also the meeting of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and D. *Sigismunde* of *Austrichs*, who sold unto the said Duke the County of *Ferrette*, bordering upon the County of *Burgundy*, for a hundred thousand gildons, not being able to defend it against the Switzers: These two Princes liked not greatly one another. Afterward also Duke *Sigismunde* made peace with the Switzers, and took again the said County of *Ferrette*, without paying back the money, whereof ensued infinite harms to the Duke of *Burgundy*. At the self same time also came the Earl of *Warwick* to the Duke, who after their meeting were mortall enemies each to other.

I was also present at the enterview between the King our Master, and King *Edward* of *England* at *Picquigny*, near to *Amiens*, whereof I will make mention hereafter more at large. All that they did there was but meer dissimulation, for they performed no whit of that they promised. And notwithstanding, that they were never after in war together (because the Sea severed them) yet perfect friendship was there none between them. Wherefore to conclude this discourse, me thinks that two great Princes minding to continue in amity, ought never to meet together. The occasions of troubles that arise at such assemblies are these, their servants cannot refrain from talking of matters past, and words will easily be taken in ill part. Secondarily, it is impossible but that the train of the one should be in better order than the other, whereof scoffs arise, which they that are scoffed stomach. Thirdly, if they be two Nations, their language and apparell differ, and that which pleaseth the one displeaseth the other. Last of all, it commonly happeneth that the personage of the one Prince is Comlier & better to be liked than the other. Wherefore he is praised, and rejoyceth & glorieth to hear his own commendation, which cannot be without the dispraise of the other. And notwithstanding that three or four dayes peradventure after the assembly ended, these matters be communed of closely and covertly in mens ears: yet by use they fall in time in open talk, at dinners and suppers, and so are reported to both the parties, for few things in this world can be concealed, especially tales and reports. Thus you have heard the reasons and examples, that my selfe have seene touching this point.

s *Ferrette* was engaged to the Duke about midsummer, *anno* 1469. for seventy thousand crownes. *Annal. Burgund.* but *Meyer* saith *anno* 1467. for fifty thousand gildons, and other say for 80. thousand gildons.

When this meeting was at *Picquigny* look *lib.* 4.

CHAP. IX. *How the King to deliver himself out of the Castle of* Peronne, *renounced his league with the Liegeois.*

NOw to return after my long discourse, to the King who was stayed at *Peronne*, as you have heard, the gates remained shut with watch and ward before them, two or three dayes; all the which time the Duke saw not the King, neither entred any French man into the Castle but by the wicket, and but few after that sort; notwithstanding none of the Kings servants were forbidden to repair to him, but few or none of the Dukes went to commune with him, neither yet into his chamber, especially of those that were of any credit with the Duke. The first day all men were in great fear, and muttered up and down the town: the second the Duke was somewhat pacified, and sate in counsell almost the whole day, and part also of the night. The King caused all those to be laboured, that he thought could aid him in this extremity, making them large offers and promises, and commanded also fifteen thousand crowns to be divided among the Dukes servants, but he to whom the chage was committed, acquited himself not faithfully thereof: for part of the money he retained to his own use, as the King afterward understood. The King feared especially those above named, that came with this army of *Burgundy*, whom in times past had been his own servants, but were now his brother the Duke of *Normandy's*, as they said. In this counsell above mentioned this matter was diversly debated, some were of opinion that the safe conduct given to the King should not be broken, seeing he offered to swear the treaty as it was articled in writing: others gave counsell rudely, to imprison him without further ceremony, and others to send for his brother the Duke of *Normandy*, and to conclude a peace for the advantage of all the Princes of *France*. They that gave this advice thought if their opinion took place, that the King should be restrained of his liberty for ever, and held continually under guard, because a great Prince being in the hands of his enemy, and used after such sort, never or very hardly recovered his liberty for fear of revenge. This last opinion failed not much to take effect: for the matter was so far forward, that I saw a man booted, and ready to depart with a packet of letters to

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the Duke of *Normandy* being then in *Brittain*, and ſtayed onely for the Duke of *Burgundies* Letter, notwithſtanding all this was daſhed again. The King cauſed certain overtures to be made, offering to leave there in Hoſtage the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Cardinall his brother, and the Conſtable, and divers others, under this condition, that the peace being concluded he might depart to *Compeign*, promiſing incontinent either to cauſe the Liegeois to repair the harmes done, or to declare himſelf their enemy. They whom the King named for Hoſtages outwardly made earneſt offer of themſelves, I know not whether they meant as they ſaid, and I doubt me they did not: for I verily believe if the King had left them there, they ſhould never have returned into *France*.

All this night, being the third after the newes came, the Duke never unclothed himſelfe, but lay down twice or thrice upon his bed, and then roſe and walked: for ſuch was his manner when he was troubled. I lay that night my ſelfe in his chamber, and communied with him divers times. *In* the morning he was further out of patience than ever before, uſing terrible menaces, and being ready to execute ſome great matter: notwithſtanding in the end he was pacified and reſolved to hold himſelf contented, if the King would ſwear the treaty and go with him to *Liege* to help to revenge the injuries the Liegeois had done him, and the Biſhop of *Liege* his couſen; with the which meſſage ſuddenly he departed into the Kings chamber, whereof the King had a privy watch word by a friend, who adverti-ſed him that nothing was to be feared, if he agreed to theſe two points, otherwiſe that he ſhould put himſelfe into ſo great danger that none could be greater. When the Duke came to the Kings preſence his voice trembled, and even there he was like to fall into a new rage, ſo much was he troubled. His behaviour towards the King was humble and lowly, but his countenance furious and his language ſharp; for he asked him in few words whether he would obſerve the treaty concluded, and alſo ſwear it: Whereunto the King anſwered that he would. For you ſhall underſtand that the ſaid treaty, as touching the Duke of *Burgundy* himſelf was altered in no point, otherwiſe than it was concluded before *Paris*, and as touching the Duke of *Normandies* partage, it was much amended for the King. For it was agreed that inſtead of *Normandy* he ſhould have *Champany* and *Bry*, and certain other places there about, for his partage. Then the Duke asked him again, whether he would go with him to *Liege* to help him to revenge the treaſon the Liegeois had wrought by his meanes, and by his comming thither, putting him alſo in mind of the near Kindred that was between the ſaid King and the Biſhop of *Liege*, being of the houſe of *Bourbon*, whereunto the King anſwered, that after he had ſworn the treaty (which was the thing he moſt deſired) he would accompany him to *Liege* and lead thither with him, as ſmall or as great force as the Duke ſhould think good: at which words the Duke much rejoyced and incontinent the treaty of Peace was brought, and the ſelfe ſame Croſſe that *Charlemaine* uſually wore, called the Croſſe of victory: taken out of the Kings coffers, and there the two Princes ſware the treaty: [2] whereupon all the bells in the town rang for joy, and all men were glad and rejoyced. It hath pleaſed the King ſince to attribute this honour to me, that I did him great ſervice in furthering this accord. The Duke ſent theſe newes forthwith into *Brittain* and the treaty with all, wherein he ſevered not himſelfe from the ſaid two Dukes, but named them his confederates.. And ſure the Lord *Charles* had now a good partage in reſpect of the treaty made in *Brittain*, whereby he ſhould have had but a penſion only of ſixtie thouſand Franks, as before you have heard.

[1] It was *Commines* himſelf that gave the King adviſe not to refuſe to go to *Liege* with the Duke *Annal. Burgund.*

[2] the peace of of *Peronne* was ſworn the fourteenth day of *Octob. anno* 1468 *Meyer* lib. 17. fol. 346. pag. 1 where read alſo the conditions of the peace.

CHAP. X. *How the King accompanied the Duke of* Burgundy, *making War upon the Liegeois, who before were his confederates.*

THe next day after the treaty ſworn, the King and the Duke departed from *Peronne* and went to *Cambray*, and from thence into the country of *Liege*, in the very beginning of Winter, and in a marvellous foul ſeaſon. The King had with him few ſouldiers or none, other than the Scottiſh men of his guard, but gave command that three hundred men of arms ſhould follow after him. The Dukes army was divided into two bands; the one led by the Marſhall of *Burgundy* (ſo often already mentioned) in the which were all the Burgundians, and the Noblemen of *Savoy* abovenamed, beſides great forces of the countryes of *Heynault*, *Luxemburgh*, *Namur*, and *Lamburg*, the other band the Duke himſelf lead, and when they drew near the City of *Liege*, they debated in the Dukes

Dukes preſence what was to be done, Some gave adviſe to diſmiſſe part of the Army, conſidering that the Gates and Walles of the City were raſed the year before, and the Citizens in utter deſpaire of ſuccour, the King himſelf being there in Perſon againſt them, and offering in manner the ſelf ſame conditions of peace on their behalfe that were demanded The Duke allowed not of this opinion, which was a happy turn for him, for if he had; he had marred all, but his ſuſpition of the King cauſed him to take the wiſeſt courſe: and ſure his Captaines opinion in thinking themſelves too ſtrong, proceeded either of great pride or of great folly. Notwithſtanding I have often heard divers Captains give the like advice, ſome becauſe they think thereby to win an opinion of hardineſs, and ſome for that they underſtand not the matters debated, but wiſe Princes weigh not ſuch fond opinions. As touching this point the King our Maſter had learned this leſſon, for he was ſlow and fearfull in attempting any thing: ſo when he once took an enterpriſe in hand, he ſō throughly furniſhed himſelfe of every thing thereunto appertaining, that he could not but obtain his purpoſe.

Order was then given that the Marſhall of *Burgundy* with his band ſhould go before and lodge in the City, and if the Citizens made difficulty to receive him, as it was thought they would not, becauſe divers of them were already come to the Duke to treat of peace, that then he ſhould attempt to enter by force. The ſaid Marſhall and his company went to *Namur*, and the next day departed thence, and the King and the Duke arrived there. But when the Marſhall approached near the City, this fooliſh people ſallied forth to the skirmiſh, and were eaſily repulſed, and a great number ſlain, and the reſt retired into the town, and at that very inſtant eſcaped their Biſhop and came to us. Within the town was a Legate ſent thither by the Pope to underſtand of the variance between the Biſhop and the People, and to pacifie the matter. For the ſentance of excommunication pronounced againſt them, was yet unrevoked, becauſe of their offences above rehearſed. This Legate paſſing the bounds of his commiſſion, favoured altogether the people in hope to obtain the Biſhoprick for himſelfe, and commanded them to take armes for their defence and encouraged them to divers others follies. Notwithſtanding now ſeeing the City in this danger, he iſſued forth with intent to fly, but was taken and all his train, being to the number of five and twenty very well mounted. The Duke hearing theſe newes ſeemed notwithſtanding to take no notice thereof, but ſent word to thoſe that took him that they ſhould lead him into ſome ſecret place, and make their profit of him as of ſome Merchant, and in no wiſe to advertiſe him of this accident, alledging that if he came openly into his camp, he could not ſuffer them to keep him, but muſt of force deliver him for honour of the Sea Apoſtolick. Notwithſtanding they could not do as they were commanded, but fell at variance for him in ſuch ſort, that openly at dinner time, certain that claimed part in the Booty, came and complained to the Duke, wherefore he ſent immediately and took him from them, and reſtored him all that he had loſt, and entertained him very honourably.

This vaward led by the Marſhall of *Burgundy*, and the Lord of *Hymbercourt*, marched ſtraight to the City, ſuppoſing to enter without reſiſtance and through covetouſneſſe (hoping to have the ſpoile thereof to themſelves) refuſed the compoſition that was offered, neither thought it needfull to tarry for the King and the Duke, being ſeven or eight leagues behinde them, but marched with ſuch ſpeed, that they arrived at the town by twy-light, and entred into certain ſuburbs leading ſtraight to a gate, that the Citizens had ſomewhat repaired. There the Liegeois and they parlied together but could not agree: In the mean time they were benighted and their Lodgings were unmade, neither was the place large enough for the ſeat of their camp; beſides that they were in great diſorder ſome walked up and down, ſome called their maſters, their companions, and their captains: which folly and diſorder Maſter *John de Villette* and other captains of the Liegeois perceiving, took heart and determined to iſſue forth, and their misfortune, I mean the Ruin of their walls, ſerved them to good purpoſe in this enterpriſe: For they ſallied forth where liked them beſt by the breaches thereof, and came in order of battell to the formoſt ranks of the Burgundians: Further among the vines and little hils, they aſſailed the Pages and Straglers, that walked their Maſters horſes without the ſuburbs by the which our men entred. A great number of good ſouldiers where there ſlain, but a great number fled, for the night covered all ſhame. To be ſhort the Liegeois, ſo couragiouſly executed their enterpriſe. that they ſlew at the leaſt eight hundred, one hundred of them being men of Armes. But the hardy and valiant ſouldiers of this vaward being in manner all men of

Armes

Armes, and gentlemen of good houſes, joyned themſelves together, and marched with Enſigne diſplayed ſtraight to the gate, fearing the Citizens ſally there. The wayes were marvellous deep; becauſe of continuall rain, in ſuch ſort that the men of Armes being all on foot ſtood in mire above the Ankles. Once, all the Citizens thought to ſallie forth at the ſaid gate, with great torches and lights: but our men had mounted four good peeces of Artillery in the very mouth thereof, the which ſhot twice or thrice along the high ſtreet, and ſlew a great number, whereupon they all retired out of the ſuburbs, and ſhut their Gates. But during this skirmiſh in the ſuburbs, the other that had ſallied forth to aſſail the pages above mentioned, took certain Carts near to the town, in the which they lodged themſelvs very uncommodiouſly, and tarried without the City from two of the clock after midnight, till ſix in the morning: but ſo ſoon as the day brake, that one might deſcry another, they were repulſed, and in their retract Maſter *John de Villette*, and one or two more of their Captains were hurt, who died all within two daies after.

CHAP. XI. *How the King arrived in perſon with the Duke of Burgundy, before the City of* Liege.

NOtwithſtanding that ſallies out of a town be ſometimes neceſſary, yet are they very dangerous for thoſe that defend the place; for the loſſe of ten men is more to them, than of an hundred to thoſe that beſiege them; firſt becauſe their number is not equal, ſecondarily, becauſe they cannot put men into the town at pleaſure; and laſtly becauſe happily they may loſe one of their principall leaders, which miſhap cauſeth oftentimes the loſſe alſo of the place. Theſe diſcomfortable newes were forth with brought to the Duke, lying four or five leagues from the town; and the firſt report was, that his whole vaward was diſcomfited; yet, that notwithſtanding, he and the whole Army mounted on Horſeback, commanding that no word ſhould be made to the King of this misfortune. And when he drew near the City, on the contrary ſide to that where his vaward lay; he was advertiſed that all was well, and the loſſe nothing ſo great as was thought, neither any man of name ſlain, but a Knight of *Flaunders* named Monſieur *de Sergine*: notwithſtanding they ſent him word that the valiant Gentlemen and ſouldiers of this vaward were utterly wearied and in great trouble and diſtreſs: for all that night they had ſtood upright in the mire by the Town gate. Further they told him, that certain of the foot men that fled were returned ſo diſcouraged that they ſeemed unfit for any great exploit. Wherefore they deſired him for Gods love to make haſte, to the end the Citizens might be forced to retire every man to the defence of his own quarter, and that it would pleaſe him to ſend them ſome victuals, for they had not one morſell of meat. The Duke forthwith commanded two or three hundred to ride thither as faſt as their Horſes could gallop, to comfort his ſouldiers, and ſent after them all the victuals he could come by, and ſo was it high time, for by the ſpace of two dayes almoſt and a night, they had neithere eaten nor drunk, unleſſe it were ſome one that carried a draught of wine in a bottle. Beſides that, the weather was marvellous foul, neither could they poſſibly enter the town on that ſide they lay, unleſſe the Duke embuſied the enemy on the other ſide. A great number of them were hurt, and among the reſt the Prince of *Orenge* (whom I had forgotten to name before) who behaved himſelf that day like a couragious Gentleman, for he never moved foot off the place, he firſt poſſeſſed. The Lords of *Lau* and *Urſe* did alſo very valiantly; but the number of the footmen that fled the night of the skirmiſh, was at the leaſt ten thouſand. It was almoſt dark night when the Duke received this news, but after he had diſpatched all his buſineſſe, he returned to his Enſigne, and rehearſed the whole order of the skirmiſh to the King, who rejoyced to hear that all was ſo well, for the contrary might have turned to his prejudice. When they approached near the town, a great number of gentlemen and men of arms lighted on foot, with the Archers to take the ſuburbs; which were eaſily won, and there the Baſtard of *Burgundy* (who had great charge in this Army under the Duke) the Lord of *Ravaſtain*, the Earl of *Roucy* the Conſtables ſon, and divers other gentlemen, lodged even hard by the gate, which the enemies had alſo repaired as the former. The Duke lodged in the midſt of the ſuburbs; but the King lay that night in a great grange, a quarter of a league from the town, where was very good lodging, being accompanied with a great number of men as well of his own as of ours.

[1] O. the ſeat of this town, read *Guicc.* pag. 375.

This Town is ſcituate upon Mountains and Vallies, and in a marvellous fruitfull ſoile, the River of *Maze* runneth through it: it is about the greatneſſe of *Roan*, and was at that time a marvellous populous City. From the gate where we lodged, to the other where our vaward lay, the way was ſhort through the town; but without, it was at the leaſt three leagues going: ſo crooked and foul are the wayes eſpecially in winter, in the midſt whereof we came thither. Their walls were all raſed, ſo that they might ſally forth where beſt liked them, and their defence was onely a little rampier of earth: for the town was never ditched, becauſe the foundation is hard, and ſharp rock. The firſt night of the Dukes arrivall, our vaward was much refreſhed and eaſed: for the force within the town was then divided into two parts. About midnight they gave us an hot alarm; whereupon the Duke iſſued forthwith into the ſtreet, and ſoon after arrived alſo the King and the Conſtable with great ſpeed, conſidering how far off they lay: Some cried, They ſallie out at ſuch a gate, others ſpake divers diſcomfortable words, the darke and rainy weather increaſed alſo their fear. The Duke lacked no courage, but failed ſometime in good order giving; and to ſay the truth, at this time he behaved not himſelf ſo adviſedly, as many wiſhed, becauſe of the Kings preſence. Wherefore the King took upon him authority to command, and ſaid to the Conſtable, lead your men into ſuch a quarter, for if they ſally that is their way: and ſure both his words and behaviour ſhewed him to be a Prince of great vertue and wiſdome, and well acquainted with ſuch exploits: notwithſtanding, this great alarm proved nothing, whereupon the King and the Duke returned to their lodgings.

The next morning came the King, and lodged alſo in the ſuburbs in a little houſe hard by the Dukes lodging, accompanied with an hundred Scottiſh men of his guard, and his men of armes lying in a little village hard by him: which bred great ſuſpicion in the Duke, that he would either enter the City, or eſcape, before it was taken [2], or peradventure work him ſome diſpleaſure lying ſo near him. Wherefore he put into a great Grange juſt between their two lodgings three hundred men of arms, being all the flowre of his houſe, who brake down the panes of the walls to ſally forth the more ſpeedily if need ſo required, and theſe had their eyes continually upon the Kings lodging, which was hard by them. The ſiege continued eight dayes; during which ſpace, neither the Duke, nor any of the company unarmed themſelves. But the evening before the town was taken, the Duke determined to aſſault it the next morning being *Sunday* the 30th of *October*, the year 1461, and the token given to our vaward was this, that when they heard one Bombard and two great Serpentines diſcharged, one in continent after another, without any more ſhot; they ſhould then go courageouſly to the aſſault, and the Duke on his ſide would do the like. Further the hour appointed for the enterpriſe was eight a clock in the morning. The ſame night the aſſault was thus concluded, the Duke unarmed himſelfe, which ſince the beginning of this ſiege he had not done; and commanded the whole army, eſpecially thoſe that lodged in the grange between his lodging and the Kings, to do the like, to the end they might refreſh themſelves: but the ſelf ſame night the Citizens, as though they had been advertiſed of this determination, concluded to make a ſally out of the town on this ſide, as they hade befor on the other.

[2] *Baſſianus* writeth, that the Duke for divers conſideations had rather have lacked the Kings company, than have had it, but that the King to blind the Duke with a pretence of good will offered himſelf to go with him. Which report, all the circumſtances conſidered, ſeemeth utterly repugnant to truth.

CHAP. XII.

How the Liegeois made a deſperate ſally upon the Duke of Eurgundyes *men, where he and the King were in great danger.*

I Will now rehearſe an Example, whereby you ſhall perceive how eaſily, even a few enemies may work a great Prince diſpleaſure, and how much it importeth Princes throughly to weigh their enterpriſes before they attempt them. Within this City was not one man of war but of their own territory; they had with them neither Knight nor Eſquire: for thoſe few they had were either ſlain or hurt, two or three dayes before in the ſally above mentioned They were unfurniſhed of gates, walls, trenches, and Artillery ought worth. To be ſhort, within the town were none but the Citizens themſelves, and ſeven or eight hundred footmen of a little territory beyond *Liege*, called *Franchemount*: true it is, that the people of thoſe parts have ever been accounted good ſouldiers. But now to the matter

matter. Theſe Liegeois deſpairing of ſuccours, ſeeing the King there in perſon againſt them, concluded to make a deſperate ſally, and to put all things in adventure, knowing themſelves to be but loſt men.

Their enterpriſe was this, they determined that by the breaches of their walls, hanging over the backſide of the Dukes lodging, their beſt ſouldiers being ſix hundred men of the country of *Franche-mont*, ſhould ſally forth, leading with them for guides, the hoſts of the Kings lodging and of the Dukes. Further, there lay a privy way through the rocks, by the which they might come under covert, almoſt to the lodgings of both theſe Princes, before they were diſcovered, provided that they made no noiſe: and as touching our ſcouts, that lay in their way, they made account either to kill them, or be at the Princes lodgings as ſoon as they. Thus they reſolved to follow theſe two hoſts into their houſes, where the two Princes lodged, without ſtaying by the way in any place, hoping to ſteal upon them on ſuch a ſudden, that either they would kill them, or lead them away priſoners before their forces could come to ſuccour them, conſidering withall how ſhort their retreat was into the town, and if the worſt fell (that was, to die) they were fully reſolved in the executing of ſuch an enterpriſe, to take their death in good part: for they ſaw themſelves but loſt men on all ſides. They gave order alſo that all the people of the town with hue and cry, ſhould iſſue forth at the gate, opening upon the ſuburbs where we lay, truſting thereby to diſcomfite all our company that lodged there. Neither were they out of hope of a goodly victory; at the leaſt, they were ſure of a glorious end. This their enterpriſe, notwithſtanding it had been deſperate and dangerous, though they had been accompanied with a thouſand valiant men of arms: yet theſe few failed not much, to atchieve it. For according to their determination, theſe ſix hundred men of *Franche-mont*, ſallied forth by the breaches of their walls, about ten of the clock at night, and came on a ſudden upon our ſcouts and ſlew them, three of them being Gentlemen of the Dukes houſe, and if they had gone ſtraight forth without any noiſe to the place appointed, undoubtedly they had ſlain both theſe Princes in their beds. But you ſhall underſtand, that behind the Duke of *Burgundy*'s lodging, there was a Pavilion where the Duke of *Alenſon* that now is, and Monſieur *de Cran*, lodged. There theſe Liegeois ſtayed a while, and thruſt their pikes through it, and ſlew a ſerving man within it: whereupon a noiſe aroſe in the camp, which cauſed ſome to arm themſelves, at the leaſt to ariſe. From this Pavilion they departed towards the two Princes lodgings, whereunto adjoyned the Grange above mentioned, into the which the Duke had put three hundred men of arms. There they ſtayed a while alſo, and thruſt their pikes in at the panes of the walls, which theſe men of arms had broken down to ſally forth with the more ſpeed. All the Gentlemen that lay there, had unarmed themſelves not paſt two hours before, to refreſh them againſt the aſſault the next morning: in the which eſtate theſe Liegeois found them. Notwithſtanding, a few of them having put on their quiracies, becauſe of the noiſe they heard at the Duke of *Alenſon*'s Pavilion, fought with their enemies at the broken panes of the walls, and at the door, which was the onely preſervation of theſe two great Princes lives: for this delay gave a great many leiſure to arm themſelves, and to come forth into the ſtreet. I lay that night in the Dukes chamber (which was very ſtrait) with two other Gentlemen of his privy chamber, and above him lodged twelve archers that kept the watch and ſate up at dice, but the body of his watch ſtood by the town-gate farre from his lodging. To be ſhort, the Dukes hoſt came with a band of Liegeois, and aſſailed his own houſe, the D. being within it, upon ſuch a ſudden, that we hardly had leiſure to buckle his quirace about him, and put a ſallet on his head: for immediately, as we went down the ſtairs, to iſſue forth into the ſtreet, we found our archers buſied in defending the door and windows againſt the Liegeois: further there was a marvellous noiſe in the ſtreets; ſome cryed, God ſave the King, and others God ſave the Duke, and others God ſave the King, kill, kill, kill. It was two Pater-noſters while, before our archers and we could get forth of the houſe: we knew not in what eſtate the King was, nor whether he were with us or againſt us, which much troubled us. Incontinently after we were iſſued forth with two or three torches, we met others in the ſtreets with lights alſo, and ſaw fighting and killing round about us, but the conflict ſoon ended: for men came running on all ſides to the Dukes lodging. The firſt man of the enemies that was ſlain was the Dukes hoſt, but he died not preſently; for my ſelf heard him ſpeak. To be ſhort, all the Liegeois that accompanied him, a very few excepted, were alſo ſlain. They aſſaulted in like manner the Kings lodging, into the which his hoſt entred, and was ſlain by the Scottiſh men of his guard, who ſhewed themſelves tall fellows: for they never ſtirred

from their Maſters foot, but ſhot arrows continually; which hurt more Burgundians then Liegeois. The Citizens appointed to iſſue forth at the town gate ſallied accordingly, but our watch being aſſembled repulſed them incontinently, neither ſhewed they themſelves ſo deſperate as theſe others. Immediately after theſe were beaten back, the King and the Duke met; doubting, becauſe of the number they ſaw ſlain, their own loſſe to be great: notwithſtanding of their men few were ſlain, but many hurt. Undoubtedly if theſe Liegeois had not ſtayed at theſe two places above mentioned, eſpecially at the grange where they found reſiſtance, but had followed theſe two hoſts being their guides, they had ſlain both the King and the Duke, and thereby peradventure diſcomfited the whole army: both the Princes returned to their lodgings, wonderfully abaſhed at this deſperate enterpriſe, and forthwith ſate in counſell to take advice what ſhould be done touching the aſſault the next morning. The King ſeemed to ſtand in great doubt of the matter, in reſpect of himſelf in very deed, for knowing how greatly the Duke doubted Wars with *France*, if he were once out of his hands: he feared if the City could not be taken by aſſault, that his return into his Realm ſhould be delayed, and peradventure himſelf impriſoned for the Dukes better ſecurity. Whereby you may perceive in how miſerable eſtate theſe two Princes lived, which could by no means aſſure themſelves each of other: for they had concluded and ſolemnly ſworn a final peace not paſt fifteen dayes before, yet could all this put neither of them in aſſurance.

CHAP. XIII. *How the City of* Liege *was aſſaulted, taken, and ſpoiled, and the Churches alſo.*

THe King to rid himſelf of all danger, about an hour after his return from this ſally above mentioned to his lodging, ſent for certain of the Dukes principall ſervants, that had been in counſell about the aſſault, and enquired of them what was concluded. They told him that the reſolution was to aſſault the City the next morning, according to the order firſt appointed. Then he very wiſely began to alledge divers great doubts, which pleaſed well the Dukes men; for they all feared the aſſault marvellouſly, both becauſe of the great number of people within the town, and alſo becauſe of the deſperate ſally made not paſt two hours before: wherefore being deſirous to ſtay the aſſault for two or three dayes, and take the town by compoſition; they went forthwith to the Duke to make report of the Kings allegations, my ſelf being preſent when they came. There they rehearſed all the doubts the King alledged, and as many as they themſelves could deviſe, but all they fathered upon the King, doubting that he would not take it well at their hands. The D. anſwered, that the King alledged theſe doubts onely to ſave the Citizens, and took it in ill part, ſaying that there could be no danger in the enterpriſe, conſidering that they within could make no counter battery, neither had any walls for their defence, adding alſo that the rampiers they had made at the gates were already beaten down, wherefore he would uſe no further delay, but go to the aſſault the next morning, as it was concluded. Notwithſtanding he would be contented that the King, if it ſo pleaſed him, ſhoul dgo to *Namur* till the taking of the town, under this condition, not to depart thence till the iſſue of this enterpriſe were ſeen: which anſwer pleaſed none of them all, for every man feared the aſſault becauſe of this ſally. The Dukes anſwer was reported to the King, not in ſo hard terms as he delivered it, but in much milder language. The King underſtood the meaning of it well enough, and ſaid he would not go to *Namur*, but be at the aſſault the next day among the reſt. In my opinion if he had been ſo diſpoſed, he might very eaſily have eſcaped that night, for he had with him an hundred archers of his guard, and certain Gentlemen of his houſe, beſides three hundred men of arms that lodged hard by him: but undoubtedly where he ſtood upon his honour he would not be ſtained with cowardiſe. Every man repoſed himſelf in his armour till morning, and ſome diſpoſed of their conſciences, becauſe the enterpriſe ſeemed very dangerous. When it was broad day light, and that the hour appointed drew near, which was eight of the clock, the Duke commanded the bombard and the two ſerpentines to be diſcharged, thereby to advertiſe our vaward of the aſſault, which lay on the other ſide far from us, if you take the way without the town, but not far going through it, as before you have heard. They hearing the ſhot, incontinently prepared themſelves to the aſſault. The Dukes Trumpets ſounded, and his Enſignes were advanced towards the walls, their bands following them. The King ſtood in the midſt of the ſtreet, very well accompanied,

for

for all his three hundred men of arms, his guard, and certain Noblemen, and Gentlemen of his houſe were with him. And when we approached ſo near the walls, that they and we ſhould have joyned, no reſiſtance was found, neither any man upon the walls, ſave two or three of the watch: all the reſt were gone to dinner, ſuppoſing we would not give the aſſault upon the Sunday, ſo that we found the cloth laid in every houſe at our entry. Small account is to be made of rude people, unleſſe they be led by ſome Captain whom they reverence, although ſometime in their fury they be greatly to be feared.

Theſe Liegeois were before the aſſault marvellouſly ſpent and wearied, partly becauſe of their two ſallies, wherein they loſt a great number of their men, and all their leaders, and partly becauſe of the great labour and travell they had ſuſtained the ſpace of eight dayes: for becauſe they lay open to the enemy on all ſides, they were all forced to be continually upon the walls: and I ſuppoſe, they thought to repoſe themſelves this day becauſe of the Sabbath, but it chanced to them contrary to their expectation. On that ſide we entred was no reſiſtance made, and leſſe on the other, where our vaward lay, which entred the town before us. Few were ſlain [1], for all the people fled by the bridge over the River of *Maze*, towards the country of *Ardennes*, and from thence to other places for their more ſafety. On the ſide that we entred I ſaw but two men and one woman ſlain, neither think I that there died two hundred perſons in all, for the reſt fled or hid themſelves in Churches and Houſes. The King ſeeing no reſiſtance, and the whole army (being as I gueſſe to the number of forty thouſand) throng into the town at two breaches, marched forward at leiſure, to whom the Duke being entred a good way into the City ſuddenly returned, and accompanied him to the palace, from whence he went to the cathedrall Church of Saint *Lambert* [2], which his men were about to break into by force, to take priſoners, and the ſpoil that was conveyed thither. And notwithſtanding that he had appointed certain of his houſe to guard the ſaid Church: yet could they not do it, becauſe the ſouldiers aſſaulted both the doors. Wherefore the Duke himſelf went thither, and one man I ſaw him kill with his own hand [3], whereupon all the company diſparkled, and the Church was unſpoiled. Notwithſtanding in the end, they that were within it were taken and their goods alſo. The reſt of the Churches, (being ſo many in number, that I have heard the Lord of *Hymbercourt*, who knew the town well, report as many maſſes to be ſung there every day as in Rome [4]) were in a manner all ſpoiled under colour of taking priſoners. For mine own part, I entred into none but the cathedrall Church, but thus I was advertiſed, and ſaw alſo good proof thereof: for the Pope many years after excommunicated all thoſe that withheld any of theſe Church goods, unleſſe they reſtored them, and the Duke appointed certain commiſſioners to go through his country, to ſee the Popes commandment executed. The City being thus taken and ſacked, about noon, the Duke returned to the palace. The King had already dined, and ſeemed greatly to rejoyce at the taking of the town, and commended alſo much the Dukes courage and valiantneſſe, knowing that report thereof ſhould be made to him, and that theſe good words would ſomewhat further his return into his Realm, which was his ſpeciall deſire. After dinner the Duke and he met and communed together very pleaſantly: and if the King commended his valiantneſs behind his back, I warrant you he diſpraiſed it not before his face, which the Duke took in very good part.

I muſt now return to ſpeak ſomewhat of this miſerable people that fled out of the City, for proof of a diſcourſe, I made in the beginning of this hiſtory touching the inconveniences, I have ſeen enſue a battle loſt by a King, a Duke, or a meaner Prince. Theſe miſerable ſouls fled through the country of *Ardennes* with their wives and Children: but a Knight dwelling in thoſe parts, who ever before had taken part with them, ſlew now a great number of them; and to recover the Conquerors favour ſent word thereof to the Duke, reporting the number of thoſe that were ſlain and taken, to be much greater than indeed it was, notwithſtanding that it were great: whereby he made his peace with the Duke, and ſaved himſelfe. Others fled towards *Mezieres* upon the *Maze* being within the Realm of *France*, but upon the way two or three of their Captaines were taken, (one of the which was named *Madoulet*) who were led to the Duke, and by his commandement put to death. Some of theſe people died alſo of hunger, ſome of cold, and ſome for lack of ſleep.

[1] Some write that there were ſlain in one day at *Liege* 100000. And *Munſter* writeth forty thouſand, & 12000. women drowned in the River, which ſeemeth to diſagree with *Commines*, who reporteth not above 200. to have beene ſlain: notwithſtanding, our Author muſt here not be underſtood ſo ſtrictly, as though there had not dyed above 200. in all. For his meaning is only that at the entrance into the town, there were not ſlain above two hundred: conſidering the number that were ſlain in Churches, Houſes, and flight, it cannot be but that many thouſands died, neither is our Authors meaning otherwiſe.

[2] Some copies have, Saint *Laurence*, but the old copy Saint *Lambert*, which *Annal. Burgund.* and *Guicci.* report to be the principall Church in *Liege*.

[3] The Duke ſlew before the Church of St. *Lambert* two or three archers with his own hand. *La Marche*.

[4] There were in *Liege* to the number of two and thirty Churches and eight Colledges of Prieſts. *Meyer.* four Abbies, four Frieries, three Nunneries, and without and within the town above an hundred Churches. *Guicci. Hubertus.*

CHAP. XIV. *How King* Lewis *returned into* France *with the Duke of* Burgundy's *consent, and how the Duke proceeded in destroying the countries of* Liege *and* Franchmont.

FOur or five dayes after the taking of the town, the King began to solicite such of the Dukes servants, as he held for his friends, to move their Master for his departure, but himselfe first brake the matter to the Duke after a sage and wise sort; saying, that if he could stand him in any more stead he should not spare him, otherwise he desired to return to *Paris*, to cause the treaty to be recorded in the Court of Parliament: For the manner in *France* is to record all treaties there, otherwise they are of no force; notwithstanding the Kings authority may do much therein. He required also the Duke, that the next summer they might meet again in *Burgundy*, and make merry a month together, whereunto the Duke in the end agreed, mumbling somewhat to himselfe. Further the Duke commanded the treaty to be read again before the King, to know whether ought were passed in it that he misliked, puting him to his choise to allow or disallow thereof at his pleasure: Somewhat also he excused himselfe for bringing him to the siege. Lastly he besought him that one article might be added to the treaty in favour of the Lords of *Lau* and, *Urse*, and *Poncet* of *Riviere*, to wit, that they might be restored to all their estates and offices, that they enjoyed before the wars began; which request misliked the King for there was no reason why the Duke should require to have them comprehended in the treaty, both for that they were none of his partakers in the wars above mentioned[1], and also because they served the Lord *Charles* the Kings brother, not the Duke. Notwithstanding the King answered that he would grant his demand upon condition that he would accord the like to the Lords of *Nevers* and *Croy*, whereunto the Duke replied nought. This was a very wise answer of the King, for the Duke hated these Lords by him named so extreamly, and held so goodly possessions of theirs that he would never have condescended to restore them: Of the other articles the King answered he would alter none, but confirmed the whole treaty as they two had sworne it at *Peronne*. Thus was it agreed that the King should return home, and the Duke accompanied him but halfe a league. But at their leave taking the King said thus unto him, if my Brother, who is now in *Brittain*, will not accept this partage that I have given him for your sake, what will you that I do. Whereunto the Duke answered suddenly without further deliberation, if he will not, I refer the order thereof to you two, of the which demand and answer sprung a great matter, as hereafter you shall hear. Thus returned the King in great joy being safe conducted by the Lords of *Cordes*, and *Demeriez*[2] great Bailiff of *Heynault*, to the frontiers of the Dukes dominions. The Duke abode still in the City of *Liege* which was extreamly handled, I must needs confesse; but sure they had well deserved so to be dealt with, because of the great cruelties, they had continually used against the Dukes subjects ever since his Grandfathers dayes. Besides that, they never performed any promise, nor kept any treaty they made, and this was the fifth year that the Duke himselfe had been there year by year in person, and concluded peace which ordinarily the next year they brake. Further they had continued excommunicated a long time for their great cruelty against their Bishop, whereof notwithstanding they made no account neither would they obey the commandements of the Church on that behalfe.

Immediately after the Kings departure, the Duke with small force determined to go into *Franchemont* a Country a little beyond *Liege*, lying among sharp rocks & thick woods. From thence came the best Souldiers the Liegeois had, & of this country were they that made the desperate sally above mentioned, before his departure a great number of poor prisoners that had hid themselves in houses at the taking of the town were drowned. Further it was concluded that this City, heretofore so populous, should be burned at three severall times[3], and three or four thousand footmen of the country of *Lambourg*[4], being neighbours to the Liegeois, & almost of the same manners and language, were appointed to fire it, but to save the Churches. First the great bridge built over the River of *Maze* was beaten down, then

[1] This was the treaty of *Conflans*, at the conclusion whereof these three here named (as our Author himself before rehearseth,) were the Dukes enemies and took part with the King: wherfore no reason it was that the Duke should seek to have them comprehended in the treaty as his friends, seeing at the conclusion thereof they were his enemies.

[2] This *Demeriez* the French copy nameth *des Murz*, the old copy *de Meriens*, *La Marche de Emeries*, *Annal. Burgun. d' Aymeries*. The towns name is *Aymeries* in *Heynault*, upon the river of *Sabre*, *Guicci*. In the description of *Heynault*, yet the same Author in his description generally nameth the man *d'Emery*, *An. Burg.* in another place nameth him *d' Esmeriez*, *Meyer Emericus* and *Emericus*, so that I suppose it best to read it as I have translated it, but that *des Murz* is very corrupt, I am out of doubt.

[3] This city was divided into three quarters, as appeareth by *Guic.* description for the which cause it was fired at three several times.

[4] The old copy hath *Lambourg*, as I have translated it, the new *Luxembourg*, as have also *Annal. Burgund*, but not well in my opinion. For *Lambourg* is hard by *Liege*, but *Luxembourg* further off.

a great number were choſen to defend the canon houſes about the Cathedral Church, to the end they might have lodging that ſhould ſay divine ſervice. In like manner alſo divers were appointed for defence of the other Churches. This done the Duke departed into the country of *Franchemont*, and immediately after he was out of the town we ſaw a great number of houſes on this ſide the River on fire: he marched forward and lodged four leagues off, yet heard we the noiſe as eaſily as if we had been there preſent: I know not whether it were becauſe the wind ſat that way, or becauſe we lodged upon the River. The next day the Duke departed thence, and thoſe that were left behinde in the town continued ſtill the fire as they were commanded: but the Churches where all ſaved a few excepted, and above three hundred houſes to lodge the Church-men, which cauſed the town ſo ſoon to be repleniſhed again: for much people returned to dwell with theſe Prieſts.

Becauſe of extream froſt and cold the greateſt part of the Dukes army was forced to go on foot into the country of *Franchemont*, which had never a walled town in it but all villages. The Duke lodged five or ſix dayes in a little valley called *Pollenee*, his army was divided into two bands, the ſooner to deſtroy the country. All the houſes he commanded to be burned and all the iron mils broken, which is their only trade of living. Further our men hunted the poor people out of great woods, and forreſts where they lay hidden with their goods, and many they ſlew and took priſoners, and there the ſouldiers got good bootyes. The cold was more extream than is almoſt credible; for I ſaw a Gentleman that with cold loſt the uſe of his foot, and never recovered it, and a Page that had two of his fingers rotted from his hand, and in like manner a woman dead with cold and her childe with her, whereof ſhe was newly delivered. Further by the ſpace of three dayes all the wine that was drunk in the Dukes lodging, was cut with hatchets: for it was ſo frozen in the veſſels that he was forced to break them, and cut the wine being a maſs of ice into ſmall peeces, which men bear a way in hats and baskets as beſt liked them. I could rehearſe divers others ſtrange accidents of the cold to long to write. To conclude, at eight dayes end huger drave us thence in haſte, and the Duke departed to *Namur*, and ſo into *Brabant*, where he was honourably received.

CHAP. XV.

How the King by ſubtile means perſwaded the Lord Charles *his brother to take the Dutchy of* Guienne *for* Bry *and* Champaigne, *to the Duke of* Burgundy*'s diſcontentment.*

THe King after his departure from the Duke returned with great joy into his realm, attempting nothing againſt the Duke for his evill uſage at *Peronne* and *Liege*, but ſeeming to take all in good part. Notwithſtanding ſharpe war aroſe afterward between them, but not ſoon, neither was this the chief cauſe thereof, (though happily it might in part further it:) for if this treaty had been concluded at *Paris*, it had paſſed in effect as it did at *Peronne*. But the Duke by his officers advice ſought to advance the bounds of his dominions, beſides that divers ſubtile practiſes were uſed to ſet theſe two Princes again at variance, as you ſhall hear when occaſion ſerveth. The Lord *Charles* of *France* the Kings onely Brother and late Duke of *Normandy*, being advertiſed of this treaty made at *Peronne*, and the partage aſſigned to him thereby: ſent forthwith to the King deſiring him to accompliſh the treaty and performe his promiſe. The King ſent in like manner to him about that matter, and many meſſengers ran to and fro between them. The Duke of *Burgundy* ſent alſo his ambaſſadours to the ſaid Lord *Charles*, deſiring him to accept no other partage than *Champaine* and *Bry*, which by his meanes was granted him, ſhewing him withall how great good will he bare him, ſince notwithſtanding he had abandoned him, yet would he not do the like as the ſequell well declared; but had alſo comprehended the Duke of *Brittain* in the treaty as his confederate; Further he ſent him word that *Champaine* and *Bry* lay very commodiouſly for them both, becauſe if the King ſhould at any time attempt ought againſt him, he might within two dayes warning have ſuccours out of *Burgundy*, the two countryes bordering one upon another: laſtly he advertiſed him that his partage was very good, and that he might levy in his countryes aides, cuſtomes, and ſubſidies; neither could the King claim any thing there, but homage, reſort, and ſoveraignty. This Lord *Charles* was a man doing little or nothing of himſelfe, but wholly led

and

and governed by others : notwithſtanding that he were above five and twenty years of age. Thus paſſed the winter which was wellſpent before the Kings departure from us. Meſ-
1469 ſengers ran continually to and fro about this partage : for the King meant nothing leſſe than to give his brother that which he had promiſed, becauſe he would not have him and the Duke of *Burgundy* ſo near neighbours : but he treated with his brother to take *Guienne* (which is in a manner all *Aquitain*) for *Bry* and *Champaign*. The Lord *Charls* feared to diſpleaſe the Duke of *Burgundy*, and doubted if he yielded to the Kings requeſt, and ſhould not keep touch with him that then he ſhould loſe both friend & partage, and ſo be left bare boord. But the King, being the ſubtileſt Prince then living, and the cunningeſt dealer in ſuch treaties, perceiving that he ſhould do no good unleſſe he wan thoſe that were in credit with his brother, fell in communication of this matter with *Oudet* of *Rie*, L. of *Leſcut*, afterward Earl of *Comminges* (who was born and married in the Countrey of *Guienne*) deſiring him to perſwade his Maſter to accept this partage, being much better, than that he demanded, and that they might be friends and live together like brethren; adding alſo that this partage ſhould be much more beneficiall both for his brother and ſervants, (eſpecially for the ſaid *Oudet*) than the other; and further aſſuring him that without fail, he would deliver his brother quiet poſſeſſion of the ſaid country. By this means, was the Lord *Charls* won to except this partage of *Guienne*, to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s great diſcontentment, and his ambaſſadours there preſent. And the cauſe why Cardinall *Balue* Biſhop of *Angiers*, and the Biſhop of *Verdun* were impriſoned, was, for that the ſaid Cardinall writ to the Lord *Charles*, adviſing him to accept none other partage, but what the Duke of *Burgundy* had procured him by the treaty of *Peronne*, which alſo the King had ſworn and promiſed (laying his hand within the ſaid Cardinals) to deliver him, alledging withall ſuch reaſons to perſwade him thereunto, as he thought neceſſary, wherein he did clean contrary to the Kings purpoſe. Thus the Lord *Charles* was made Duke of *Guienne*, the year 1469: and the poſſeſſion of the Country together with the Government of *Rochel* was delivered him, and then the King and he ſaw one another, and were together a long time.

The Cardinals impriſonment was becauſe he perſwaded the K. to go to *Peronne*, & adviſed the Duke of *Guienne* to beware of poiſon, and not to take the partage of *Guienne*, *Meyer*.

and for diſcloſing the Kings ſecrets by letrers to the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Gaguin*. But if the Duke of *Guienne* had been wiſe, he would of himſelf without perſwaſion have refuſed this partage. For when a mans enemy offereth him that, which hath an appearance of good, let him ever refuſe it : *nam latet anguis in herba*, as the ſequell of this matter well declared: for the accepting of this partage, which the King alledged, and that truely, to be better than the other the Duke demanded, coſt the Duke of *Guenne* his life, as hereafter ſhall appear.

THE

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I. *How the King took occaſion to make war a new upon the Duke of* Burgundy, *and how he ſent a Purſevant of the Parliament to* Gaunt *to ſummon him to appear at* Paris.

THE year 1470 the King determined to be revenged of the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſuppoſing he had now found a time convenient ſo to do, for he privily ſolicited and cauſed others to ſolicit the towns ſcituate upon the River of *Somme*; namely *Amiens*, *Saint Quintin*, and *Abbeville* to rebell againſt the Duke and to ſend for ſuccours into *France*, and to receive them into their towns. For all great Princes (if they be wiſe) will ſeek ever ſome colour for their doings. And to the end you may perceive, what cunning is uſed in *France*, I will ſhew you how this matter was managed, for the King and the Duke were both abuſed, whereof aroſe hot and ſharp war, which endured thirteen or fourteen years. The King deſired greatly to move theſe towns above named to rebellion, pretending (to the end he might have the better means to practiſe with them) that the Duke advanced his limits further than the treaty would bear: whereupon ambaſſadors ran to and fro; who under colour of their ambaſſage practiſed continually as they paſſed through theſe towns, to the end above mentioned. In the ſaid towns where no garriſons but all was quiet both in the Realm in *Burgundy* and in *Brittain*. And the Duke of *Guien* lived to all mens judgement in great amity with the King his brother. Notwithſtanding when the King firſt moved this war, his meaning was not to take one or two of theſe towns onely, but he ſought to ſtir all the Duke of *Burgundies* ſubjects to rebellion, truſting to atchieve his enterpriſe by this means. Divers to obtain his favour entertained theſe practiſes, and reported their intelligence to be far greater than it was: for one promiſed to take this town and another that, and yet indeed all was nothing. Wherefore notwithſtanding that the King had juſt cauſe to be diſpleaſed for his evill uſage at *Peronne*; yet if he had thought this enterpriſe would have fallen none otherwiſe out than it did, he would not have broken the treaty nor moved: for he had made the peace to be proclaimed at *Paris* three months after his return into his Realm, and began this war with ſome fear; but the great hope he had conceived thereof pricked him forward: and marke, I pray you, what cunning he uſed to further it. The Earl of *S. Paul* Conſtable of *France* (a very wiſe man) and certain of the Duke of *Guien* his ſervants, with divers others deſired rather war than peace between theſe two great Princes for two reſpects: The one they feared leaſt their great offices and penſions ſhould be diminiſhed, if peace tontinued; for you ſhall underſtand that the Conſtable had under his charge four hundred men of armes or launces paid by his own hands every muſter, without controulor: further beſides the fees amd profits of his office, he had an iyearly penſion of thirty thouſand franks and better, and received alſo the revenues of many goodly places that he kept.

1470

The Kings colour was this he would not ſeem to make warre upon the Duke, but only to have ſent men to theſe townes at their requeſt, who becauſe of the Dukes cruel exactiones had prayed in aid of him as of their ſovereign

The other reſpect was this, they ſought to perſwade the King, and talked alſo to like purpoſe among themſelves, that his diſpoſition was ſuch, that his head could never be idle, wherefore unleſſe he was buſied with great Princes abroad, he would be in hand with his ſervants and officers at home. For theſe two reaſons therefore they ſought to entangle him with wars: whereunto the better to perſwade him, the Conſtable promiſed to take *Saint Quintin* at all times when he liſted, becauſe his Lands lay round about it, vanting further that he had great intelligence in *Flanders* and *Brabant*; ſo far forth that he would make a number of towns to revolt from the Duke. The Duke of *Guienne* alſo being there preſent and all his principall ſervants, offered very earneſtly and promiſed very faithfully to ſerve the King in this quarrell, and to lead with them four or five hundred men of armes that the ſaid Duke had in ordinary pay: but their driſt was other than the King ſuppoſed, as hereafter you ſhall hear. The K. becauſe he would ſeem to proceed with due advice and deep conſideration, called a Parliament of the three eſtates of his Realm at *Tours*, in the months of *March* and *Aprill* in the year 1470, which was the firſt and laſt Parliament that ever he aſſem-

assembled. But to this Parliament came onely such as were purposely named, and such as the King knew would not gainsay him in any point. There he caused divers enterprises to be discovered, that the Duke of *Burgundy* had attempted against the crown; and made the Earl of *Eu* openly to complain of him: Saying, that the Duke detained from him contrary to all Law and equity *Saint Valery*, & certain other lands, that he the said Earl held of the Duke, as parcells of the Siegnorie of *Abbeville*, and the County of *Pontieu*: the only cause whereof was, for that a little ship of war of *Eu* had taken a Flemish hoy laden with merchandise, the losse whereof the Earl offered to repair; further adding, that the D. would constrain him to do him homage, and give him his faith against all men, none excepted; which he would never do, because it should be prejudiciall to the Kings estate. At this assembly were divers Lawyers, as well of the Parliament of *Paris* as other places, who concluded, according to the Kings pleasure, that the Duke should be summoned to appear in Parliament at *Paris*. The King knew well that he would answer disdainfully, or do somewhat prejudiciall to the authority of the Court, whereby he should have the juster pretence of war against him. Thus the Duke being in *Gaunt* was summoned, as he went to Mass, by a Pursevant of the Parliament to appear at *Paris*: wherewith he was much abashed and discontented, and caused the Pursevant forthwith to be apprehended and committed to ward, where he remained certain dayes, but in the end was dismissed and sent home. Thus you see, what preparation was made to invade the Duke of *Burgundy*, who being advertised thereof leavied a great band of men paid with home wages (as they termed them) which was a trifle they received to be in a readinesse in their own houses: Notwithstanding they mustred monthly in the townes were they dwelt, and received their pay: But at three or four months end, the Duke waxed weary of the charge and dismissed these men, banishing all fear because the King sent often to him, and so departed into *Holland*. He entertained no Souldiers in ordinary pay for the safety of his country, neither held any garrisons in the frontire towns, whereof ensued great inconvenience: for there was daily practising in *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, and *Saint Quintin*, to yield them again to the King. The Duke being in *Holland* was advertised by *John*, late Duke of *Bourbon*, that shortly war should be made upon him as well in *Burgundy* as in *Picardy*, and that the King had great intelligence not onely in his dominions but also in his house: with the which message he was marvellously abashed: for he was utterly unfurnished of men of war, because he had discharged the band above mentioned: Wherefore in great haste he passed the Sea[a], and went into *Artois*, and thence straight to *Hedin*: where he entred into jealousie both of some of his servants and also of those practises, that were entertained in the townes above mentioned: but his preparation for the wars went but slowly forward; For he believed not all that was told him. Notwithstanding he commanded two of the chiefest Citizens of *Amiens*, whom he suspected for these treaties to repair unto him; who so cunningly excused themselves that he dismissed them without further inquiry. Immediately after, certain of his servants fled out of his house; namely, the Bastard *Baldwin*[b] and others, which caused him to fear a greater train to be behind. Wherefore incontinently he made Proclamation that all men should be in a readinesse: but because winter was begun, and he but newly returned out of *Holland*, few stirred.

[a] This Sea was one of the streams of the River of *Rhene* that environ *Holland*.

[b] This *Baldwin* was the Dukes base Brother: the cause of his departure was for that he had attempted, with others corrupted by the King, to poyson the Duke: notwithstanding afterward he recovered his favour, and was taken prisoner at the battle of *Nancy*. *Meyer*.

CHAP. II. *How the Towns of* Saint Quintin *and* Amiens *were yielded to the King; and for what causes the Constable nourished the war between the King and the Duke of* Burgundy.

TWo dayes after his servants departure, which was in the month of *December* the year 1470 the Constable entred into *Saint Quintin*, and sware the town to the King. Then the Duke perceived his affairs to be in bad estate, for he had no force with him, but had sent all his servants abroad, to muster men, in his dominions: Notwithstanding with those few he could levy, (being four or five hundred horse) he went to *Dourlans*, minding to keep *Amiens* from revolting. There he abode five or six dayes: all the which space they in *Amiens* continually practised. The Kings army lying not far off, shewed it self before the town, and was once refused: for part of the Citizens held

held for the Duke: wherefore the Duke sent thither to make his lodging; and, if he had been so strong, that he might have adventured to enter in person, the Town had never been lost; but he was afraid to go thither weakly accompanied, notwithstanding that divers of the Town required him so to do. But when they of the contrary Faction saw his fear, that he durst not enter the Town; they executed their enterprise, and received the Kings forces. They of *Abbeville* thought to do the like, but the Lord of *Cordes* entred in thither for the Duke, and prevented their purpose. *Dourlans* is distant from *Amiens* but five small leagues, wherefore the Duke was forced to depart thence, so soon as he understood of *Amiens* revolt: from thence therefore he went to *Arras* in great haste and fear, doubting the execution of divers other such enterprises; the rather, for that he saw himself environed with the Constables kinsfolks, and friends: farther, because the Bastard *Baudovin* was fled, he entred into suspition of his other brother the great Bastard of *Burgundy*: notwithstanding his forces repaired to him by little and little. The King thought now that all had been his own, supposing the advertisements to be true, that the Constable and the rest had given him of their intelligences; whereupon if he had not relied, he would have wished this Enterprise unbegun.

It is meet I should here declare, what moved the Constable and the Duke of *Guienne*, (considering the great favours, courtesies, and benefits the Duke of *Guienne* had received at the Duke of *Burgundies* hands) to kindle the fire between these two Princes, that lay at rest in their dominions; and which way this war could turn to their profit. Somewhat I spake hereof before; saying, that they did it to be in the more assurance of their estates and offices: For they feared, if the King lived in peace he would keep some stir among them. Notwithstanding, this was not the onely cause that moved them: But you shall understand that the Duke of *Guienne* and they had been earnest suiters to conclude a marriage between the said Duke of *Guienne* and the Duke of *Burgundies* onely daughter and heir (for son he had none) which matter they had often moved to the Duke: who in words shewed himself not unwilling thereunto, yet notwithstanding would never conclude it; but entertained others also in hope thereof. Now mark, how these men sought to atchieve their enterprise by constraining the Duke of *Burgundy* to this marriage. Immediately after these two townes were taken, and the Duke gone to *Arras* to leavy forces with all speed: the Duke of *Guienne* sent a secret messenger to him, who brought him three lines written with the said Dukes own hand, folded up in a small lump of Wax, and conteining these words. *Endeavour your selfe to appease your Subjects, and you shall not fail of Friends.* Further, the Duke of *Burgundy* being at the first in exceeding great fear, sent to the Constable, desiring him to shew himselfe favourable, and not to presse forward this war, begun without any defiance made. At the which message the Constable greatly rejoyced, supposing that he now held the Duke in such fear as he desired; which to encrease he sent him a speedy & discomfortable answer; the effect whereof was, that his estate stood in marvellous danger, so far forth that he saw no way for him to wind himselfe out of these troubles, but one: namely, by giving his daughter in marriage to the Duke of *Guienne*; which if he would do, he should then be succoured with great forces: for both the Duke of *Guienne*, and divers others Lords, would declare themselves for him against the King, and he also would restore him *S. Quintin*, and take his part; otherwise he said he durst do nothing, considering how strong the King was, having both his army very well appointed, and also great intelligence in the Dukes Dominions. This was the answer he sent, with divers other fearfull messages. But I never knew any man in my life come to good end, that sought to put in fear, and hold in subjection, his Master, or any other great Prince, with whom he had to do; as in the end, the Constables example shall well declare. For notwithstanding that the King were then his Master, and that the greatest part of his revenues lay, and all his children were resident in the Duke of *Burgundies* Dominions: yet continued he these practises against both these Princes with intent to hold them both in fear each by other, which cost him dear in the end; and no marvell. For notwithstanding that every man desires to live out of subjection and fear; and that all men naturally hate those that hold them in awe; yet none so extreamly as Princes, for I never knew Prince that hated not mortally all those that sought to put him in fear.

After the Duke of *Burgundy* had received the Constables answer, he perceived well no friendship to be in him; and farther, that he was the onely author of this war. Whereupon he conceived so extream hatred against him, that after this he could never brook him, especially because by these fearfull messages he sought to constrain him to marry his Daugh-

Daughter at his pleaſure : a vain attempt. For, before the return of the Conſtables anſwer, the Duke had recovered his ſpirits, and had a great army with him. You may eaſily perceive both by the meſſage ſent by the D. of *Guienne* firſt, and the Conſtables anſwer afterward, that this was a compact matter between them, and the rather for that the like meſſage or a more dreadful came ſoon after from the D. of *Brittain*, who ſent alſo to the Kings ſervice a hundred *Brittains*, all men of armes under the leading of the Lord of *Leſcut*. Wherefore we may boldly ſay, that this war was moved only to conſtrain the Duke of *Burgundy* to conclude this marriage, and that they did but abuſe the King in perſwading him to begin war : for they were all in a manner Lies that they told him of their intelligences in the Dukes Dominions. Notwithſtanding in this voyage, the Conſtable did the King great ſervice, and ſhewed extream malice againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, knowing that the Duke had conceived mortall hatred againſt him. The Duke of *Guienne* alſo ſerved the King in theſe warres. very well accompanied; ſo that the Duke of *Burgundy* ſtood upon hard terms. But if at the firſt he would have aſſured his Daughter to the Duke of *Guienne*, both the ſaid Duke of *Guienne*, the Conſtable, and divers other Noble men with all their adherents would have revolted to him againſt the King, and done their endeavour to have pulled him upon his knees. But whatſoever man purpoſeth in ſuch caſes, God diſpoſeth afterward of them at his pleaſure.

CHAP. III. *How the Duke of* Burgundy *took* Piquigny, *and afterward found means to make truce with the King for a year, to the Conſtables great grief.*

YOu have heard at large the cauſe of this war, at the beginning whereof both the Princes were blinded, invading each other, and neither of them knowing the cauſe why, which was a marvellous cunning of the contrivers of this enterpriſe. For a man might have pronounced the old Proverb of theſe two Princes : that the one part of the world was not acquainted with the others manners nor actions. All theſe affairs above rehearſed ſince the beginning of theſe wars, chanced in a very ſhort ſpace, for within leſſe than fifteen dayes after the taking of *Amiens* the Duke put himſelf into the field near to *Arras* (for further he retired not) and from thence marched to the River of *Somme*, and ſo ſtraight to *Piquigny*; but upon the way thither, he met with a meſſenger of the Duke of *Brittain* on foot; who advertiſed him from the Duke his Maſter, that the King had given his ſaid maſter to underſtand of divers ſecrets, and among others of intelligences he had in many great Towns of his Dominions : namely *Andwerp*, *Bruges*, and *Brnxels*; adding alſo; that the King was determined to come and beſiege him into what Town ſoever he ſhould retire, were it even into *Gaunt*. All the which Advertiſements, I ſuppoſe, the Duke of *Brittain* ſent in favour of the Duke of *Guienne*, hoping thereby to further much the marriage above mentioned. But the Duke of *Burgundy* took this meſſage in ill part, and forthwith diſpatched the meſſenger, willing him to tell his maſter that he was miſinformed by ſome ill ſervants about him; who put theſe fears and doubts into his head, to the end he ſhould not aid him, as he was bound by their league: and further that he knew not what Towns *Gaunt* and the other Cities were, in the which, he ſaid, the King would come to beſiege him, for they were too great to be beſieged. He bad him further to inform his Maſter in what ſort he found him accompanied, and to advertiſe him that the world went other wiſe with him, than he ſuppoſed; for he was determined to paſſe the river of *Somme*, and to fight with the King, if he would come to ſtop him upon the way. Laſt of all, he willed him to deſire his maſter on his behalfe to joyn with him againſt the King, and to ſhew himſelf a friend to the Duke of *Burgundy*, as he had ſhewed himſelf to him by the Treaty of *Peronne*. The next day the Duke of *Burgundy* approached near to a Town upon the River of *Somme* called *Piquigny*, the ſeat whereof was marvellous ſtrong. There he determined to make a bridge to paſſe the ſaid River : but four or five hundred Frank archers and certain Gentlemen, who by chance lodged at that preſent in the Town, ſeeing the Duke paſſe by, ſallied out to the skirmiſh upon a long cauſey, and iſſued forth ſo far from the place, that thereby they gave the Dukes men occaſion to purſue them, who followed them ſo ſpeedily that they ſlue a great number of them, before they could retire into the Town, and took the ſuburbs into the which the cauſey led. Then four or five peeces of artillery were bent againſt the Town : notwithſtanding that it were impregnable on that ſide; for that a River ran between

tween the Town and the Dukes battery. But these Frank archers fearing (becauſe they ſaw the bridge in hand) to be beſieged alſo on the other ſide, abandoned the place and fled. The Caſtle held two or three dayes and then yielded by compoſition, and the Souldiers departed in their Doublets and their Hoſe. The good ſucceſſe of this ſmall exploit, ſo much encouraged the Duke, that he led his army before *Amiens*, where he built two or three lodgings, ſaying that he would keep the field, to ſee if the King durſt come to fight with him, and in the end approached with his Artillery ſo near the town, that it ſhot at random over and into it: in the which eſtate he lay there at the leaſt ſix weeks. Within the town was the Conſtable, and all the great Officers of the Realm: namely the Lord Great Maſter, Admirall, Marſhall, Seneſhals, and others, accompanied with 1400. men of arms, and 4000. frank archers. The King in the mean time lying at *Beauvais* made a great muſter, being accompanied with the Duke of *Guienne* his Brother, and *Nicolas* Duke of *Calabria*, Son and heir to *John* Duke of *Calabria* and *Lorrain*, and only heir of the Houſe of *Anjou*. Further all the Nobles of the Realm ſubject to the *Arriereban* were come thither to him, who travelled earneſtly (as I have been ſince informed) to underſtand the bottom of this enterpriſe: for they ſaw the troubles ſo far from pacification, that the King was now more buſied with Wars than ever. They within *Amiens* determined to aſſail the Duke of *Burgundy* and his [1] army, if the King would ſend his forces being at *Beauvais* to joyn with them. But the King being advertiſed of this enterpriſe, ſent forthwith to countermand it: for notwithſtanding that in all appearance the ſucceſſe thereof was like to be good, yet was it not altogether void of danger, eſpecially for thoſe that ſhould have ſallied: for conſidering that they muſt all have iſſued forth on foot, and at two Gates, one of the which was hard by the Dukes Camp; if happily they had been repulſed, they ſhould have put both the town and themſelves in great hazard. In the mean time the Duke ſent one of his Pages to the King called *Simon* of *Quingy*, afterward Bailiff of *Troy*, with a letter of ſix lines written with his own hand, wherein he humbled himſelf to him, ſaying that he was very ſorry he had thus invaded him for other mens pleaſures, which he ſuppoſed he would not have done, if he had been well enformed of their practiſes. The Kings army ſent into *Burgundy*, had defeated all the force of the country in Battell, and taken many priſoners. The number of the ſlain was not great, but the diſcomfiture was great, in ſuch ſort that the Kings forces had already taken ſome places, & beſieged other ſome, wherewith the D. was ſomewhat abaſhed, notwithſtanding he made the contrary to be bruited in his camp, ſaying that his army had obtained the victory.

[1] Of this army he ſpake ſomewhat in the D. of *Bourbons* advertiſemẽt ſent to the Duke of *Burgundy* mentioned in the firſt Chapter of this Book, it was led by the Earl *Dauphin d'Auvergne* ſon to the Earl of *Montpenſier*.. Of this diſcomfiture read *Annal. Burgund* pag. 945.

When the King had read the Dukes letter above mentioned, he rejoyced much thereat, both becauſe of the reaſon above alledged [2], and alſo for that he ſoon waxed weary of all long enterpriſes. Wherefore he gave him a ſpeedy anſwer, and directed a commiſſion to certain in *Amiens*, authoriſing them thereby to treate of truce. Whereupon divers truces were concluded one after another for four or five dayes; and in the end one ſo far as I remember for a year, to the Conſtables great diſcontentation: for undoubtedly whatſoever men have thought or can think to the contrary, he was then mortall enemy to the Duke, and many hot words paſſed between them; in ſuch ſort, that after this they never were friends, as the ſequel well declared. True it is, that they ſent afterward one to another, but all for practiſe ſake, and each to make his profit by the other. For all the Duke did was onely to recover *S. Quintin*, which the Conſtable ever when he ſtood in fear of the King promiſed to reſtore: and ſome of theſe treaties between them I have known ſo far advanced, that the Dukes men upon the Conſtables promiſe to be received, have come within two or three leagues of the town. But when the matter ſhould be executed, he ever continued in his accuſtomed diſſimulation, and ſent a countermand; which his double dealing coſt him dear in the end. He thought, becauſe of the ſeat of the town, the great number of men he had under his charge paid out of the Kings Cofers, and the variance between theſe two Princes (which himſelf nouriſhed) to hold them both in fear, but this enterpriſe was too too dangerous: for they were both too great, too ſtrong, and too ſubtil.

[2] The reaſon was becauſe he perceived the intelligences of the Conſtable and the reſt to be untrue.

When theſe armies were diſmiſſed, the King returned into the country of *Touraine*, the Duke of *Guienne* into his own country, and the Duke of *Burgundy* into his: in the which eſtate, theſe affairs remained a while. The ſaid Duke of *Burgundy* aſſembled all the eſtates of his dominions [3], and declared unto them what damage he had received, by not having ſouldiers in ordinary pay as the King had: alledging that if there had been but five hundred men in a readineſſe to defend the frontiers, the King would never have mooved

[3] This aſſembly was held the 16 of *June*, *Meyer*.

mooved this War, but they ſhould have lived in peace. He ſhewed further what great dangers they were like to fall into, if this inconvenience were not ſpeedily redreſſed: and preſſed them earneſtly for the payment of eight hundred light horſe. In the end, they agreed to give him a ſubſidy of ſixſcore thouſand crowns [4], over and above all other duties they yearly paid him; in the which ſubſidy, *Burgundy* was not comprehended. But his ſaid ſubjects for divers reſpects, feared to put themſelves into ſuch ſubjection and ſlavery, as they ſaw the Realm of *France* in, by reaſon of theſe men of arms: which their fear was not without cauſe: for after the Duke had obtained five or ſix hundred men of arms in ordinary, he ſought continually to encreaſe the number, and began to attempt more boldly againſt his neighbours; in ſuch ſort, that in the end theſe 120000. crowns grew to 500000. and the number of his men of arms augmented ſo exceſſively, that his ſubjects were greatly charged for their maintenance. To ſay my fanſie of theſe ordinary men of arms, I think under a wiſe Prince they be well employed: but if he be otherwiſe, or haply at his death leave his children in their minority, the ſervice wherein their Governours employ them is not alwayes profitable, neither for the King, nor for his ſubjects. The hatred between the King and the Duke diminiſhed not, but ſtill endured. Further, the Duke of *Guienne* being returned into his country, ſent often to the Duke of *Burgundy*, entertaining ſtill his ſute for his Daughters marriage, who fed him continually with fair words, as he did every other man that required her. And I think verily, that he neither was deſirous of a Son [5], neither would have married his Daughter during his life: but have kept her to entertain men, thereby to obtain their friendſhip and aid. For he had ſo many great enterpriſes in his head, that all his life-time could not ſuffice to atchieve them, and thoſe adventures almoſt impoſſible to be compaſſed: for half *Europe* would not have contented him. He had courage enough to attempt any thing, his body was able to endure as much labour and travell as was needfull, he was furniſhed both of men and money, but he lacked fineneſſe and cunning ſufficient for the managing of his affairs. And what Prince ſoever deſireth to be great (notwithſtanding that he be accompliſhed with all other good parts) yet if he lack an excllent wit, all is to no purpoſe; which undoubtedly proceedeth of the meer grace of God. To be ſhort, if part of the Dukes vertues, and part of the King our Maſters, had been tempered together, they would have made a perfect Prince: for undoubtedly in wit the King far excelled him, as well appeared in the end.

[4] But this ſubſidy of 120000 Crownes was granted but for three years. *Meyer*, pag. 348 and 367.

[5] The Duke deſired no ſon, becauſe then his Daughters marriage could not have ſtood him in ſuch ſtead as now it did.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Wars among the Princes of England, *during theſe troubles between King* Lewis *and* Charles *Duke of* Burgundy.

Note that from this place till the 7. Chapter, all theſe Engliſh affairs, fall into the years 1469. *and* 1477.

I Muſt now diſcourſe of *Edward* King of *England*, becauſe theſe three great Princes, namely our King, the King of *England*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, lived all in one age: in the which diſcourſe, I will not obſerve the Hiſtoriographers uſual order in writing, who ſet down the certain years and dayes when each thing happened; neither will I vouch examples out of the ancient Hiſtories, for you know them better than my ſelf, and in ſo doing I ſhould but ſeem to reaſon of Divinity before a Doctor thereof. But I will rudely advertiſe you of all that I have ſeen, known, or heard, of theſe Princes of whom I write. You live in the ſelf ſame age that all theſe things happened, wherefore I think it needleſſe ſo exactly to note the hours and ſeaſons.

I have before rehearſed what occaſion mooved the Duke of *Burgundy* to marry King *Edwards* Siſter, and ſaid, it was principally to fortifie himſelf againſt the King, otherwiſe he would never have done it, for the great affection he bare to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, whereof he was deſcended by his mother: for ſhe was Daughter to the King of *Portugall*, and her mother Daughter to the Duke of *Lancaſter* [1], ſo that as fervently as he loved the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, as extreamly hated he the Houſe of *York*. But you ſhall underſtand that at the time of this marriage, the houſe of *Lancaſter* was utterly deſtroyed, and the Houſe of *York* altogether ſpoken of. For King *Edward* being both King and Duke of *York* reigned peaceably. During the civill Wars between theſe two Houſes, were fought in *England* ſeven or eight cruell Battels, and in them ſlain three or four ſcore Princes and Lords

[1] *Philippa* Daughter to *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* was married to *John* King of *Portugal*, and had iſſue by him, *Iſabel* mother to Duke *Charles*.

Lords of the blood Royall, as before is rehearſed in this Hiſtory. The reſt that eſcaped being all young Lords, whoſe Fathers died in theſe Battels above mentioned, lived as baniſhed men in the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Court, who received them as his kinſmen of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, before his marriage with King *Edwards* Siſter. I have ſeen them in ſo great miſery before they came to the Dukes knowledge, that thoſe that beg from door to door were not in poorer eſtate then they: for I once ſaw the Duke of *Exciſter* run on foot bare legged after the Duke of *Burgundy*'s train, begging his bread for Gods ſake, but he uttered not his name. He was the neareſt of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and had married King *Edwards* Siſter [a], but when he was known, the Duke gave him a ſmall penſion to maintain his eſtate. They of the Houſe of *Sommerſet*, and divers others, were there in like manner, who died all afterwards in the Wars Their Fathers and Kinſmen had ſpoiled and deſtroyed the Realm of *France*, and poſſeſſed the greateſt part thereof many years, and afterwards ſlew one another; and thoſe that remained alive in *England*, and their Children have died, as you have ſeen. Yet men ſay, that God puniſheth not now as he did in the Children of *Iſraels* time, but ſuffereth evil men and evil Princes to live unpuniſhed.

[a] This was *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exceſter*, whoſe wife was *Anne* ſiſter to King *Edward* the fourth, and his grand mother was *Joan* daughter to *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* by his firſt wife, but died he without iſſue.

True it is, that He threatneth not now by expreſſe meſſengers as he did then: for he hath left examples enow to inſtruct us. Notwithſtanding you may perceive by theſe diſcourſes, joyning thereto the great knowledge you have beſides, that, of evill Princes and ſuch as have authority in this world, and abuſe it to cruelty or tyranny, few or none eſcape unpuniſhed, though it happen not by and by after the fault committed, neither ſo ſoon haply as thoſe that are afflicted, deſire. But to return to King *Edward*, the chief man in *England* that maintained the houſe of *York*, was the Earl of *Warwick* And on the other ſide the greateſt Champion of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, was the Duke of *Sommerſet*. The ſaid Earl of *Warwick* might juſtly be called King *Edwards* Father, as well for the training of him up, as alſo for the great ſervices he did him: for the which the King had alſo highly advanced him, for beſides his own inheritance which was great, he held goodly lands of the King's gift, as well Crown-lands, as lands forfeited by attaindor. Further he was Deputy of *Calais*, and had divers other great Offices, ſo that I have heard his yearly revenues valued at 80000. crowns, beſides his own inheritance. But in the end, he fell at variance with the King his Maſter, about a year (as I gueſſe) before the D. of *Burgundy*'s coming before *Amiens*: which breach the ſaid Duke furthered to the uttermoſt of his power. For the Earl great authority in *England* much diſcontented him; beſides that, they two were not friends, for the Earl had continual intelligence with the King our Maſter. To be ſhort: about this preſent, or not long before, the Earl of *Warwicks* force was ſo great, that he ſeiſed the King his Maſter into his hands, and put to death divers perſonages that he highly favoured, namely the Lord *Scales* the Queens Father [b], and two of his Sons, (the third being alſo in great danger) and with them divers other Knights. He entertained the King his Maſter for a ſeaſon very honorably, and placed new ſervants about him, ſuppoſing that through ſimplicity he would ſoon forget the old. The Duke of *Burgund*, being not a little troubled with this adventure, practiſed ſecretly how King *Edward* might eſcape, and they two commune together, which enterpriſe had ſo good ſucceſſe, that the King eſcaped indeed, and levied men, and defeated certain of the Earls bands. He was a fortunate Prince in the field: for he won at the leaſt nine great Battles, fighting himſelf on foot in every one of them. The Earl of *Warwick*, unable to make reſiſtance, adverti ſed his friends what they ſhould do, and embarked at leiſure, being accompanied with the Duke of *Clarence*, who had married his Daughter and took part with him, notwithſtanding that he was King *Edwards* Brother. They tranſported with them both Wives and Children, and a great band of men, and ſailed ſtraight towards *Calais*: within the which was the Earls Lievtenant named the Lord of *Vaucler* [c], and divers of the ſaid Earls hot ſhould ſervants, who inſtead of receiving their Maſter preſented him the Cannon. Further, you ſhall underſtand, that as they lay at anchor before the Town, the Dutcheſſe of *Clarence*, Daughter to the Earl of *Warwick* was delivered of a Son, and great intreaty was made, before *Vaucler* and the reſt of the Town would ſuffer two Flaggons of Wine to be brought forth to her, which was great extremity of the ſervant towards the Maſter. For it is to be ſuppoſed that the Earl thought himſelf well aſſured of this place, which is the very key of *England*: and the goodlieſt Captainſhip, in my opinion, in the World, at the leaſt in Chriſtendome: which I dare boldly avow, becauſe I was there divers times, during theſe Wars, and heard alſo the Maior of the ſtaple report, that he would willingly farm yearly the deputiſhip of *Calais* of the King of *England*, for

[b] Our Chronicles name the Queens Father Earl of *Rivers*, and ſo doth afterward alſo our Author *lib. 5. cap. 15.*

[c] This *Vaucler* was a Gaſcoin born.

fifteen thouſand crownes, For the Deputy receiveth the Profits of all, that they have on this ſide the Sea, and of all ſafe conducts, and placeth alſo the greateſt part of the garriſon, at his pleaſure.

The King of *England* favoured highly the Lord of *Vaucler*, for this refuſal made to his Captain; and granted him, by his Letters Pattents, the Deputiſhip of *Calais* for himſelfe, which the Earl his Maſter before held: For he was a wiſe and an ancient Knight, and one of the Order of the Garter. The Duke of *Burgundy* alſo, who then lay at Saint *Omers*, conceived a marvellous good opinion of him: ſo far forth that he ſent me to him, granting him a yearly penſion of a thouſand crownes, and deſiring him to continue a true and faithfull ſervant to the King his Maſter, as he had begun: which, at my coming thither, I found him fully determined to do; ſo that he ſware, in *Staple*-Inne in *Calais* (laying his hand within mine) to be faithfull and true to King *Edward*, and to ſerve him againſt all men. The like Oath all the Town, and all the Garriſon ſware alſo. Further, I was by the ſpace of two months almoſt continually reſident at *Calais*, at the leaſt poſting daily between *Calais* and *Bullen*, to entertain the ſaid *Vaucler*. For you ſhall underſtand, that, during theſe Engliſh troubles, the Duke of *Burgundy* came to *Bullen*, where he prepared a great army at Sea againſt the Earl of *Warwick*; who, at his departure from *Calais*, tooke many ſhips of the Dukes ſubjects, which advanced forward the war between the King of *France* and us. For the Earl ſold the booty in *Normandy*; whereupon the Duke of *Burgundy* arreſted all the French Merchants, that came to the Mart at *Andwerp*. Now becauſe it is meet to underſtand as well the cunning and ſubtile, as the juſt and upright dealing of the world, (not to practiſe them, but to know how to avoid them) I will rehearſe unto you a ſleight of ſubtilty, (term it as you liſt) that was cunningly conveighed. Further, I would that men ſhould underſtand the practiſe, as well of our neighbours, as of our ſelves, to the end that it may appear, that in all places are both good and bad. When the Earl of *Warwick* came before *Calais*, thinking to enter into it, as his onely refuge; the Lord of *Vaucler*, being a very wiſe gentleman, ſent him word, that if he entred the town he ſhould caſt away himſelf: conſidering, that all *England*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the people of the town, and a great part of the Garriſon, namely the Lord of *Duras* Marſhall there for the King of *England*, and divers others, that had men in the Towe, were his enemies: wherefore his beſt way would be to retire into *France*. And as touching the town of *Calais* he willed him not to trouble himſelf: for he would yield him a good account thereof, when time and occaſion ſhould ſerve. He did his Captain good ſervice by giving him this advice, but ſhewed himſelf thereby a very *Judas* to the King his Maſter: For undoubtedly a more traiterous part was never played; conſidering both, that the King of *England* had made him Deputy of the town of *Calais*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* had given him ſo large a penſion.

CHAP. V. *How, by King* Lewis *his aid, the Earl of* Warwick *chaſed King* Edward *out of* England, *to the Duke of* Burgundies *great grief, who received him into his Countries.*

THe Earl of *Warwick* followed *Vauelers* advice, and landed in *Normandy*, where the King honourably received him, and furniſhed him largely of mony for his mens expences, and appointed alſo the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, the Admirall of *France*, being well accompanied, to defend the Engliſh men and their ſhips, againſt the Duke of *Burgundies* navy; which was ſo mighty and ſtrong, that no man durſt ſtir in theſe narrow ſeas for fear of it, making war upon the Kings ſubjects both by Sea and Land, and threatning them every where. All this happened the Summer before the King ſurpriſed *Saint Quintin*, and *Amiens*, which was (as before you have heard) in the year 1470. The Duke of *Burgundies* Navy above-mentioned was ſtronger than the Kings and the Earles joyned together. For he had taken at *Sluſe* many great Ships of *Spain*, *Portugall*, and *Genua*, and divers Hulks of *Almain*. King *Edward* was a man of no great forecaſt; but very valiant, and the beautifulleſt Prince that lived in his time: He took no care for the Earl of *Warwicks* landing, as the Duke of *Burgundy* did; who, perceiving great tumults already ariſing in *England* in the Earls favour, advertiſed the King often thereof: But he made ſmall account of any danger, neither ſeemed to feat his enemy; which ſure was a great folly, conſidering the great preparation, he ſaw, made againſt

againſt him. For the King armed all the ſhips to the Sea, that he could get, and manned them well, and provided furniture alſo for the Engliſh men.

Beſides this, he made a marriage between the Prince of *Wales*, and the Earl of *Warwicks* ſecond daughter. The ſaid Prince was onely Son and Heir to King *Henry* of *England*, who lived yet Priſoner in the Tower of *London*. This was a ſtrange marriage, when the Earl had depoſed and impriſoned the Princes Father, to cauſe him to marry his Daughter; and to entertain alſo the Duke of *Clarence*, brother to the King of the other Faction, who had juſt cauſe to fear his own eſtate, if the Houſe of *Lancaſter* recovered the Crown. Thus we ſee, that ſuch Enterpriſes are not atchieved without diſſimulation. At the ſelfe-ſame time, that this Army above-mentioned lay in a readineſſe to Sally into *England*, I was at *Calais* to entertain the Lord of *Vaulcer*; whoſe double dealing, till that very inſtant, I never perceived; notwithſtanding that it had now continued the ſpace of three moneths. But at that preſent I deſired him (becauſe of the newes we heard) to put all the Earl of *Warwicks* houſhold ſervants, being to the number of twenty or thirty out of the Town, alleadging that I was ſure the Kinges army and the Earls were ready to depart out of *Normandy* where they lay; and if the Earl ſhould happen ſuddenly to land in *England*, ſome ſuch tumult might ariſe in the Town of *Calais*, by means of his Servants, that he ſhould not be Maſter thereof: wherefore I preſſed him earneſtly, in all haſte, to put them out of the Town, which he alwayes heretofore promiſed me to do; but now he drew me aſide ſaying, that he would be maſter of the Town well enough, and required me to do this meſſage to the Duke of *Burgundy*; That if he would be a friend to the Realm of *England*, he ſhould endeavour himſelf to make Peace and not War: Which words he ſpake, becauſe of the Navy the Duke had on the Sea, againſt the Earl of *Warwick*. He told me further, that Peace might eaſily be made, becauſe that day a Gentlewoman paſſed through *Calice* to go into *France* to the Dutcheſſe of *Clarence* with certain overtures of peace from King *Edward*. And he ſaid true indeed; but, as he abuſed others, even ſo was himſelf deceived by this Gentlewoman: For She went about a great Enterpriſe, which alſo She atchieved to the prejudice of the Earl of *Warwick*, and his whole Faction. Of this fine Practiſe, and all other that have been managed on this ſide the Sea, I write the more at large, becauſe I am well aſſured, that no man is able to make truer report of them then my ſelf; at the leaſt of thoſe that have happened within theſe twenty years.

The Secret, delivered to this woman, was, to counſell the Duke of *Clarence* not to cauſe the deſtruction of his own Houſe, by ſetting up again the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, but to remember their ancient hatred and diviſion; adding, that he might well aſſure himſelfe, that the Earl of *Warwick*, having married his daughter to the Prince of *Wales*, and already done homage to him, would by all means poſſible ſeek to make him King. This Gentlewoman ſo wiſely executed the charge committed unto her, that ſhe wan the Duke of *Clarence*; who promiſed to revolt to the King his Brother, immediately after his return into *England*. She was a woman well adviſed and of few words; and becauſe of her ſex, had leave granted her to paſſe to her Miſtreſs, eaſilier than a man ſhould; and, as crafty a Fox as this *Vaucler* was, this woman went beyond him and was the onely contriver of the enterpriſe, whereby the Earl of *Warwick* and his whole Faction were utterly deſtroyed: wherefore it is no ſhame to be ſuſpitious, and to have an eye upon thoſe that paſſe to and fro; but great ſhame it is to be deceived, and undone through our own folly: notwithſtanding ſuſpitions ought to be grounded upon ſome good preſumption: for to be too ſuſpitious is naught.

You have heard already, how the Earl of *Warwicks* Army, and the Kings ſhips, appointed to waft him over, were in a readineſſe to take Sea; and how the Duke of *Burgundies* Navy, being at *Hancy*, lay prepared to fight with them: But it pleaſed God, ſo to diſpoſe of this voyage, that the ſelf ſame night ſo great a tempeſt aroſe, that the Dukes Navy was forced to ſever: part whereof ran upon the coaſt of *Scotland*, and part into *Holland*: and not long after, the Earl, having a good gale of winde, paſſed into *England* without all danger. The Duke of *Burgundy* had advertiſed King *Edward* in what Port the Earl would land, and had ſent men purpoſely to him to ſolicite him to look to himſelf: But he, little regarding the danger, paſſed forth the time in hunting, having none ſo near him as the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and the Marqueſſe of *Montague*, the Earl of *Warwicks* Bretheren; who had promiſed and ſolemnly ſworn to ſerve him againſt their Brother, and all others, whereunto he gave credit. Immediately after the Earls landing, great forces joyned with him: wherewith the King, being much abaſhed, began then

(but all too late) to look about him, and ſend word to the Duke of *Burgundy*, deſiring him, that his Navy might ſtill keep the Sea, to ſtop the Earl from retiring again into *France* (for upon the Land he would match him well enough) which meſſage pleaſed no man that heard it: for it had been much better to have kept him from landing, than to be conſtrained to hazard his eſtate in battel, when he was landed, Five or ſix dayes after the Earls arrival, his power was ſo great, that he encamped within three leagues of King *Edward*. Notwithſtanding the Kings force was greater than his, if all his men had been faithfull and true, and lay alſo in camp to fight with him. Further, you ſhall underſtand that the King lodged (as himſelf told me) in a ſtrong Village, at the leaſt a ſtrong houſe, into the which no man could enter, but by a draw-bridge, which was a happy chance for him: the reſt of his Army lay in other Villages round about. But as he ſate at dinner, ſuddenly one came running in, and brought newes, that the Marqueſſe of *Montague*, the Earls brother, and certain other, were mounted on horſeback, and had cauſed all their men to cry, God ſave King *Henry*: Which meſſage at the firſt, the King believed not, but in all haſte ſent other meſſengers forth, and armed himſelf, and ſet men alſo at the Barriers of his lodging to defend it. He was accompanied with the Lord *Haſtings*, Lord Chamberlain of *England*, a wiſe Knight and of the greateſt authority about him, who was married to the Earl of *Warwicks* ſiſter, yet notwithſtanding was true and faithfull to his Maſter, and had three thouſand horſe under his charge in the Kings Army as himſelf told me. With the King, was alſo the Lord *Scales* the Queen of *Englands* Brother, and divers other valiant Knights and Eſquires, who all perceived, that this buſineſs went not well: for the meſſengers brought word, that the report was true, and that the enemies aſſemblied to aſſault the King.

But God ſo provided for the King, that he lodged hard by the Sea-ſide, near to a place where a little Ship laden with Victuals, that followed his Army, and two Hulks of *Holland*, fraughted with Merchandiſe, lay at Anchor: he had no other ſhift, but to run to ſave himſelfe in one of them [1], the Lord Chamberlain ſtayed a while behinde him, and talked with the Lievtenant of his band, and divers other particular men in the Kings Army, willing them to go to the Enemies, but to bear true and faithfull hearts to the King and him: which talke ended, he went aboard to the reſt being ready to depart. Now you ſhall underſtand that the cuſtome in *England* is, after the victory obtained, neither to kill, nor ranſome any man, eſpecially of the vulgar ſort: knowing all men then to be ready to obey them, becauſe of their good ſucceſſe. Wherefore theſe ſouldiers, after the Kings departure received no harm. Notwithſtanding, King *Edward* himſelfe told me, that in all Battels that he wan, ſo ſoon as he had obtained the victory, he uſed to mount on horſeback, and to cry, *Save the People, and kill the Nobles*; for of them few or none eſcaped. Thus fled King *Edward* the year 1470, with two Hulks and a little Boat of his own Country, accompanied with ſeven or eight hundred perſons, having none other apparell than that they ware in the wars, utterly unfurniſhed of money, and hardly knowing whither they went. Strange it was to ſee this poor King (for ſo might he now well be called) to fly after this ſort, purſued by his own Servants; and the rather, for that he had, by the ſpace of twelve or thirteen years, lived in greater pleaſures and delicacies, than any Prince in his time: for he had wholly given himſelf to Dames, Hunting, Hawking, and Banquetting, in ſuch ſort, that he uſed, when he went a hunting in the Summer ſeaſon, to cauſe many Pavilions to be pitched, to ſolace himſelf there with the Ladies. And to ſay the truth, his Perſonage ſerved as well to make Court, as any man, that ever I knew: For he was young, and as goodly a Gentleman as lived in our Age; I mean in this time of his adverſity, for afterwards he grew marvellous groſs: But behold now, how he fell into the troubles, and misfortunes of the world. He ſailed ſtraight towards *Holland*, and at that time the Eaſterlings were enemies both to the Engliſh men and the French, and had many ſhips of war upon the Sea; wherefore they were much feared of the Engliſh-men, and not without cauſe; for they where very good Souldiers, and had done them very much harm that year, and taken many prizes. Theſe Eaſterlings deſcryed a far off the ſhips wherein the King fled, and ſeven or eight of them began to make ſail after him, but in vain; for he was far before them, and fell upon the coaſt of *Holland* or ſomewhat lower: For he arrived in *Frieſeland*, by a little town called *Alquemare* [2], as near the which as was poſſible his Mariners caſt Anchor: for becauſe it was ebbing water, they could not enter the Haven. The Eaſterlings came in like manner, and anchored hard by them, minding to board them the next tide. Thus we ſee, that one miſchief never commeth without company.

[1] The King imbarqued at *Lyn*.

[2] *Alquemary Meyer* nameth *Teſſelu*.

King

King *Edwards* good ſucceſſe was now clean altered, and his thoughts quite changed: for not paſt fifteen dayes before this misfortune, he would little have believed him, that had told him, that the Earl of *Warwick* ſhould chaſe him out of *England*, and ſubdue the whole Realm in eleven dayes: for in that ſmall ſpace he brought it to due obedience. Further, he mocked the Duke of *Burgundy* for ſpending his treaſure in defending the Sea: and wiſhed that the Earl were already landed in *England*. But what excuſe could he make now for himſelf, receiving ſo great a blow through his own fault, ſave this, that ſuch a miſhap was not to be doubted: of which excuſe, a Prince grown to mans eſtate, ought to be aſhamed, for it will not ſerve. Wherefore let King *Edwards* example teach all Princes that think it ſhame to fear their enemies, to be wiſe in time: for notwithſtanding that the greateſt part of their ſervants, through their flattery, uphold their ſayings, and that themſelves alſo by ſuch words ſuppoſe to purchaſe an opinion of great courage: yet ſure (whatſoever is ſaid to their face) w ſe men account ſuch language but meer folly: for it is great honour to fear that which is to be feared, and to provide for it accordingly. Further, a wiſe man in a Princes company is a great treaſure and jewell, if he may be believed and have leave to ſpeak the truth.

By chance the Lord of *Gruteuſe* the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Lievtenant in *Holland*, was at that preſent in the place where King *Edward* arrived, who being advertiſed, by certain that the King ſent to Land, both of his arrival, and the danger he was in of the Eaſterlings, gave commandment forthwith to the ſaid Eaſterlings not to touch him: and went alſo himſelf into the Kings Ship to welcome him. And thus he landed [a], being accompanied with his Brother the Duke of *Glouceſter*, (who afterward named himſelf King *Richard*) and a train of fifteen hundred perſons. The King had not one peny about him, but gave the Maſter of the Ship for his paſſage a goodly Gown furred with martins, promiſing one day to do him a good turn: and as touching his train, never ſo poor a company was ſeen. But the Lord of *Gruteuſe* dealt very honourably with them: for he gave much apparell among them, and defraied the King to *La Haye* in *Holland*, whither himſelf alſo waited upon him. Afterward, he advertiſed the Duke of *Burgundy* of this adventure, who was marvelloufly abaſhed at the news, and had much rather have heard of the Kings death: for he feared the Earl of *Warwick*, who was his mortall enemy, and bare now the whole ſway in *England*. The ſaid Earl ſoon after he was landed, found infinite numbers to take his part. For the army that King *Edward* left behind him, what for love, what for fear, yielded to him, in ſuch ſort that every day his forces encreaſed. And in this eſtate went he to *London*, where a great number of Knights and Eſquires (who afterward did King *Edward* good ſervice) took ſanctuary, as alſo did the Queen his wife, who was there delivered of a ſon, in very poor eſtate.

[a] King *Edward* landed in *Holland* the 9. of *Octob. Meyer.*

CHAP. VI. *How the Earl of* Warwick *took out of priſon King* Henry *of* England.

THe Earl immediately after his arrival at *London*, went forthwith to the Tower, and took King *Henry* out of priſon, whom himſelf many years before had led thither, crying before him, Traitor, Traitor: but now he called him his Sovereign Lord, and conveighed him to his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, where he ſet him under the cloth of eſtate in the Duke of *Clarence*'s preſence, who little liked that ſight. Further, he ſent forthwith three or four hundred men to *Calais* to ſpoil and forrage the country of *Boulonois*, whom the Lord of *Vaucler* (ſo often above-mentioned) friendly received, and made then open declaration of the good will he had alwayes born the Earl his Maſter. The ſame day that the Duke received news of the King's arrival in *Holland*, I was come from *Calais* to *Boulen* (where the Duke then lay,) underſtanding nothing of this adventure, nor of the Kings flight. The Duke was firſt advertiſed that he was dead, whereof he forced not greatly, for he loved the houſe of *Lancaſter* much better then the houſe of *York*. Beſides that, he had with him the Dukes of *Exceſter* and *Sommerſet*, and divers other of King *Henry*'s faction, by whoſe means he thought himſelf aſſured of peace with the houſe of *Lancaſter*. But he feared the Earl of *Warwick*, neither knew he how to entertain him that was come to him [1], I mean King *Edward*, who was his Brother in law, and they both of one order: for the King wore the golden Fleece, and the Duke the Garter.

[1] He meaneth, whether he ſhould aid the King, or no.

The

The Duke forthwith ſent me back again to *Calais*, accompanied with a Gentleman or two of this new King *Henry*'s faction, and gave me inſtructions how to deal with this new world, preſſing me earneſtly to go, becauſe it ſtood him upon, to be well ſerved in this buſineſs. I went as far as *Turnehan* a Caſtle near to *Guiſnes*, and further durſt not paſſe, becauſe I found the people flying for fear of the Engliſh men, who were abroad and ſpoiled all the country. But I ſent forthwith to the Lord of *Vaucler*, deſiring a ſafe conduct; for before, I was accuſtomed to go without any, and was alwayes honourably received: for the Engliſh men are very courteous and honourable in their entertainment. All this ſeemed ſtrange to me: for I never had ſeen ſuch ſudden alterations in the world. I advertiſed the Duke the ſame night of the danger I ſhould be in, if I paſſed further, making no mention of the ſafe conduct I had ſent for, becauſe I doubted what anſwer I ſhould receive thereof. The Duke ſent me a ring from his finger, bidding me go forward, and if I were taken priſoner he would redeem me: for he cared not greatly to endanger one of his ſervants at his need. But I had provided well for my ſelf: for I received a ſafe conduct with very courteous letters from the Lord of *Vaucler*. Wherein he ſent me word, that I might go and come after my wonted maner. Whereupon I went to *Guiſnes*, and found the Captain at the Caſtle gate, who offered me a cup of Wine without, then he led me into the Caſtle as he was accuſtomed, but he feaſted and entertained honourably theſe Gentlemen of King *Henry*'s faction that accompanied me. From thence I went to *Calais*, where no man came forth to receive me after their wonted ſort, but all men wore the Earl of *Warwick*'s livery. Further, upon the gate of my lodging, they made above an hundred white croſſes and rimes, ſignifying that the King of *France*, and the Earl of *Warwick* were all one: all the which ſeemed ſtrange to me. Soon after my coming to *Calais*, I ſent to *Gravelin*, being but five leagues thence, commanding all Engliſh Merchants and Merchandizes to be ſtayed, becauſe the Engliſh men had ſo ſpoiled the country. The Lord of *Vaucler* ſent for me to dinner, being well accompanied, and wearing on his cap a white ragged ſtaff of gold enamiled = being the Earls cognizance, which all the reſt that were with him wore likewiſe, and he that could not have it of gold, had it of cloth. It was told me there at dinner, that within leſſe then a quarter of an hour after this news came out of *England*, every man wore the ſaid cogniſance: ſo ſpeedy and ſudden was the change. Thus was the firſt time that I begun to conſider how unſtable and uncertain all worldly things are. The ſaid *Vaucler* gave me very courteous language, and made certain excuſes in the Earl his Captains behalf, rehearſing alſo what great benefits he had received at his hands. But as touching the reſt that were with him, I never ſaw men ſo far out of frame: for thoſe that I took to have been the Kings truſtieſt ſervants, were they that moſt threatned him: ſome I think for fear, but others in good earneſt. Thoſe houſhould ſervants of the Earls, whom I had required the Lord of *Vaucler* heretofore to put out of the Town, were now in great credit. Notwithſtanding they never underſtood that I had moved the ſaid *Vaucler* to any ſuch purpoſe. In all communication that paſſed between them and me, I ever told them that King *Edward* was dead, whereof I ſaid I was well aſſured, notwithſtanding that I knew the contrary, adding further, that though it were not ſo, yet was the league between the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the King and Realm of *England* ſuch, that this accident could not infringe it: for we would account him King whom they did. I ſaid moreover, that becauſe of the alterations that had happened in times paſt, theſe words, *With the King and the Realm*, were inſerted into the League, for performance alſo whereof four of the beſt Towns in *England* were in pledge to the Duke. The merchants required in any wiſe to have me ſtayed, becauſe their goods were taken at *Gravelin* by my commandment as they ſaid. In the end, peace was thus concluded between them and me, that they ſhould pay for all the cattell they had taken, or reſtore them again: for by agreement between the houſe of *Burgundy* and them, they might go into certain paſtures thereabout, and take Cattell for the proviſion of the Town, at a price which they now paid, and priſoners they had taken none. Thus it was agreed that the League ſhould remain firm and unviolable, between us and the King and Realm of *England*, ſave that for *Edward* we named *Henry*.

= Our Author reporteth this ragged ſtaff to be black, but becauſe the Earls of *Warwick* never gave it black but the Earls of *Kent*, I have tranſlated it white, no whit doubting, but that either the Printer hath faulted here, or our Authors memory failed him.

This agreement pleaſed well the Duke of *Burgundy*: for the Earl of *Warwick* was ſending four thouſand Engliſh-men to *Calais* to make ſharp war upon his Dominions, neither could the Duke pacifie him by any means. Notwithſtanding the rich Merchants of *London*, divers of the which were then at *Calais*, in the end perſwaded him to peace, becauſe their ſtaple of wools is there, which is a far goodlier thing, than a man would believe:

believe: for it is almoſt incredible of how great value the Wooll is, that is tranſported thither twice a year, and lyeth there till Merchants come to buy it. The chief vent whereof is into *Flaunders* and *Holland*; which was the principall cauſe, that moved theſe Merchants to labour ſo earneſtly for peace, and for ſtay of the Souldiers the Earl was ſending over: which was a happy chance for the Duke of *Burgundy*, for it was even at the very ſame inſtant that the King took *Amiens*, and *Saint Quintin*: and if both the Realms had made war upon him at once, undoubtedly he had been undone. He travelled to appeaſe the Earl of *Warwick* by all means poſſible, alledging that he would attempt nothing againſt King *Henry*, ſeeing he was himſelfe of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and uſing ſuch words, as might beſt ſerve for his purpoſe.

Now to return to King *Edward*: he came to *S. Paul* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and preſſed him earneſtly for aid to return home, aſſuring him that he had great intelligence in *England*, and deſiring him for Gods love not to abandon him, conſidering he had married his ſiſter, and that they were bretheren of one Order. The Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceſter* laboured him to the contrary, to wit, to take part with King *Henry*. The Duke could not tell whom to pleaſe, and either party he feared to diſpleaſe. But in the end becauſe ſharp war was already begun upon him, even at his very Noſe[3], he enclined to the Duke of *Sommerſet*, and the others above named; accepting their promiſes againſt the Earl of *Warwick*, their ancient enemy. Wherewith King *Edward* there preſent was wonderfully diſquieted. But the Dukes ſervants alledged the beſt reaſons they could in excuſe thereof, ſaying that the Duke uſed this Diſſimulation to avoid war with both the Realms at once; adding thereto, that if he ſhould be overthrown, he could not after aid him at his eaſe. Notwithſtanding the Duke ſeeing that he could no longer ſtay the King there, but that needs he would return into *England*, and fearing for divers conſiderations altogether to diſcontent him; pretended openly that he would not aid him, and made Proclamation, that no man ſhould go to his ſervice: but covertly he delivered him 50000 gildons of the Saint *Andrews* croſſe, and cauſed three or four great ſhips to be armed for him, at *La Vere* in *Zeland*[4]; which is a Haven, where all Nations are received. Beſides this, he entertained for him ſecretly fourteen ſhips of the Eaſterlings, well appointed, who promiſed to ſerve him till he was landed in *England*, and fifteen dayes after: which was great aid, conſidering the time.

[3] To wit, by the Engliſh men ſent over by the Earl of *Warwick*.

[4] *La Vere*, otherwiſe called *Champhere* is in the Iſle of *Walkeren* in *Zeland* not in *Holland*, and is the Scottiſh ſtaple, wherefore I have been bold to amend the book.

CHAP. VII. *How King* Edward *returned into* England, *where he ſlue in battel firſt the Earl of* Warwick, *and then the Prince of* Wales.

KING *Edward* departed out of *Flaunders*, the year 1471, at the ſelfe ſame inſtant, that the Duke of *Burgundy* went to *Amiens* againſt the King. The ſaid Duke thought now, howſoever the world went in *England*, he could not ſpeed amiſſe; becauſe he had friends on both ſides: King *Edward* immediately after his landing, marched ſtraight towards *London*, becauſe three or four hundred Knights, and Eſquires of his Faction, together with others of the meaner ſort, to the number of two thouſand and better, had retired themſelves into the Sanctuaries of the City, which was a happy chance for him, for he landed with ſmall force. The Earl of *Warwick* being in the north parts with a great army, hearing theſe newes, made haſte to be at *London* before him; rather for other reſpects, than for that he greatly feared the revolt of the town; notwithſtanding the contrary happened. For King *Edward* was received into the City with great joy and triumph, the tueſday before Eaſter, contrary to the expectation of moſt men, for all the world accounted him, as utterly undone. And undoubtedly, if they had ſhut the Gates againſt him, he had been paſt all recovery: for the Earl of *Warwick*, was, but a dayes journey behinde him. There were three things eſpecially, (as I have heard) that cauſed the Town to revolt: Firſt, the Gentlemen that were in the Sanctuaries, and the young Prince lately born: The Second, the great debts, that the King owed in the Town; in reſpect whereof the merchants, to whom he was indebted, thought it their beſt way to take part with him: The Third, a great many Women of Honour, and rich Merchants Wives, with whom in times paſt he had been familiar, perſwaded their Husbands and Friends to incline to him. He ſtayed not paſt two or three dayes in the Town: for upon Eaſter even he departed with all the force he could levy, and marched againſt

Here our Engliſh affairs begin the year 1471.

the

the Earl of *Warwick*, whom he met the next morning, being Easter day: and as they stood in order of battel the one in the face of other, suddenly the Duke of *Clarence*, the Kings Brother, (who was reconciled to the King as before you have heard) revolted to the King, with twelve thousand men and better [1], which no lesse astonished the Earl than encouraged the King, whose force was not great. But all this notwithstanding, the battell was cruell and bloody. They were all foot-men on both sides, of the Kings vaward a great number were slain: then his battel and the Earls met; and joyned so fiercely together, that the King himselfe fought in person more valiantly, than any man of either army. The Earl of *Warwick* used never to fight on foot, but his manner was, when he had led up his men to the charge, to take horse; and if the victory chanced to fall on his side, to fight among his souldiers, otherwise to depart in time: But at this battel, he was constrained, by his brother, the Marquesse of *Montacute*, a valiant Knight, to light on foot and send away his horse. To conclude, in this battel died the Earl and his Brother, with a great number of Gentlemen, the slaughter also of the poor people was great. For King *Edward* at his departure out of *Flaunders*, resolved to cry no more, Save the People and kill the Nobles: but he had conceived extream hatred against the Commonalty of *England*, both for the great favour they bare the Earl of *Warwick*, and for other respects also; wherefore at this battell he spared them not. Of the Kings side, died about fifteen hundred, and the field was valiantly fought.

[1] Our Chronicles report that the Duke turned on the Kings side at *Coventry*, before the Kings coming to *London*: and they vary also in other circumstances from our Author.

At the time of this Battel, the Duke of *Burgundy* lay before *Amiens*, where he received letters from the Dutchesse his Wife, that King *Edward*, her Brother, was not a little discontented with him; alledging that the aid he gave him, was given in evill sort, and with evill will; so far forth, that he was utterly forsaken of him: And to say the truth, the King and he after this, never loved one another. Notwithstanding the Duke, supposing that this victory would greatly further his affairs, caused the news to be published in all places.

I had forgotten to tell you, how King *Edward*, finding King *Henry* at *London*, led him with him into the Battell above-mentioned. This King *Henry* was a very simple man, and almost an Innocent: and, if I have not heard a lie, incontinently after the Battel, the Duke of *Glouceſter* King *Edwards* Brother (who after named himselfe King *Richard*) slue this holy man King *Henry* with his own hands, or caused him to be slain in his presence in some secret place [2]. The Prince of *Wales* was landed in *England*, when this battel above-mentioned was fought, having in his company the Dukes of *Exceſter* and *Sommerſet*, and divers others of his Kinsfolks and ancient Followers of his House. His army was to the number of forty thousand, as I have been informed, by divers that were with him: and if the Earl of *Warwick* would have stayed for him, it is very likely, the Victory would have been theirs. But the Earl feared both the Duke of *Sommerſet*, whose Father, and Brother he had slain; and also Queen *Margaret* the Princes Mother: wherefore he fought alone, and would not tarry for them [3]. Marke here, by this example, how long ancient Factions and Partialities endure, how much they are to be feared, and what great damage ensueth thereof. So soon as King *Edward* had obtained this victory, he marched presently against the Prince of *Wales*; where another cruel battel was fought: for the Princes force was greater then the Kings; notwithstanding, the lot of the victory fell to the King, and the Prince was slain upon the Place [4], with divers other great Lords, and a marvellous number of common souldiers. The Duke of *Sommerſet* was taken, and the next day beheaded. In eleven dayes, the Earl of *Warwick* subdued the whole Realm of *England*, at the least brought it to obedience: and in one and twenty King *Edward* recovered it, having fought two great and cruell battels. Thus you see, what sudden mutations have been in *England*. King *Edward* caused many of the People to be put to death in many places, especially such as had made assemblies against him. And from that day forward, raigned peaceably in *England* till his death, though not without great trouble and vexation of mind. I will here end my discourse of these English affairs, till time and occasion serve in some other place, only adding this; that of all the Nations in the world, the Englishmen are most desirous to try their quarrel by dint of sword.

[2] Our Histories report otherwise of King *Henry*'s death: for he was slain in the Tower, and not so soon after the battle.

[3] Our Chronicles report that the Duke of *Sommerſet* was at *Barnet-field* with the Earl of *Warwick*, and repaired afterward to the Queen, and was taken in the second battell, and then beheaded.

[4] Our Histories write that the Prince was not slain in the battell, but soon after, having had communication with King *Edward*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII. *How the Wars revived between King* Lewis, *and* Charles *Duke of* Burgundy, *by the ſolicitation of the Dukes of* Guienne *and* Brittain.

I Will now return to our affairs on this ſide the Sea: whereof I have made no mention, ſince the Duke of *Burgundies* departure from before *Amiens*, the Kings return into the Country of *Tourain*, and the Duke of *Guienne* his Brother into *Guienne*. The ſaid Duke of *Guienne* continued ſtill his ſute above-mentioned, for his marriage with the Duke of *Burgundies* Daughter: whereunto the Duke in word, ever ſhewed himſelf willing; but indeed meant nothing leſſe; both becauſe he purpoſed to uſe her, as an inſtrument, whereby to entertain all the world, and a marchandiſe to put every man in hope of; and alſo, for that he ſtomached, the evill Practiſes, they had contrived, to conſtrain him to this marriage perforce. The Earl of *Saint Paul*, Conſtable of *France*, buſied himſelf in this treaty very earneſtly, deſiring, that the marriage might ſeem to be effected by his only means and procurement. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Brittain* travelled therein, to the end the whole honor thereof might redound to him. The King was as buſie, as the beſt to break it off, though needleſly, as well for the two reaſons above alledged; as alſo, becauſe the Duke of *Burgundy* was not deſirous to have ſo great a Son in Law, wherefore in vain the King troubled himſelfe, but he could not ſee another mans thoughts. And ſure, he had juſt cauſe of fear; for if this marriage had taken effect, his brother ſhould have been ſo mighty, that he and the Duke of *Brittain* joyned together, might have put the Kings eſtate and his Childrens in great danger. In the mean time, about theſe affairs, many ambaſſadours paſſed to and fro, as well ſecretly as openly.

This often paſſing to and fro of Ambaſſadors is a thing very dangerous: for under colour thereof many times ill practiſes are entertained: yet notwithſtanding, Ambaſſadors muſt of force both be ſent and received. They that ſhall read this Hiſtory, will ask peradventure, what remedy I can deviſe againſt this inconvenience, becauſe it ſeemeth almoſt remedileſſe. For anſwer whereunto, I will ſhew my advice, notwithſtanding, that I know a number far better able to diſcourſe hereof than my ſelf. Ambaſſadors that come from perfect friends, with whom no occaſion of quarrell can ariſe, muſt be well entertained, and permitted to come often, to the Princes preſence, I mean if the Prince be wiſe, and of comely perſonage, otherwiſe the leſſe he be ſeen the better. Notwithſtanding when he muſt of neceſſity be ſeen, let him be well apparelled, and well inſtructed what to ſay, and uſe ſhort ſpeech according to Princes amity, which uſually is but ſhort. But, if Ambaſſadors be ſent, openly or ſecretly, between Princes that are in continuall hatred and war, as all thoſe have been that I have known, or been converſant with in my time, ſure there is great danger therein. Notwithſtanding my advice is, that Ambaſſadors be well entertained, and honourably received: for to ſend to meet them, to lodge them well, to appoint truſty and wiſe men to accompany them, are not onely points of great courteſie, but alſo of great ſafety. For thereby you ſhall both underſtand who they are that reſort to them, and alſo ſtay ſuch as be light-headed and diſcontented with the preſent eſtate, from bringing them intelligence: for there is no Princes Court wherein all have contented minds. Further, they muſt have ſpeedy audience, and ſoon be diſpatched. For I think it a perilous matter for a man to harbour his enemy in his houſe; but to defray them, to lodge them well, and to give them preſents, is but courteſie. Further, in time of open War, no practiſe nor overture of peace muſt be altogether broken off (becauſe peradventure the leaſt of them may ſerve us to good purpoſe) but all muſt be continued and entertained, and all Ambaſſadors heard, uſing them as before is ſaid, and appointing ſure watch to eſpy who go to bear them intelligence, and are ſent to them either by day or night: but this muſt be done as ſecretly as may be. Further, for one Ambaſſador they ſend to you, ſend you two to them: and though they be weary of your Ambaſſadours, and forbid any more to come: yet ſend ſtill when time and occaſion ſerveth. For no ſpy ſhall have ſuch liberty to inquire and underſtand of all matters, as they. And if you ſend two or three together, it is impoſſible for your enemy to have ſo good watch (I mean uſing them with good terms as Ambaſſadors are to be uſed) but that ſome of them ſhall have conference and intelligence with one or other. Laſtly, a wiſe Prince muſt always endeavour himſelf to have ſome ſecret friend

friend or friends about his enemy, and beware as near as he may (for in such cases men cannot alway do as they would) that his enemy have not the like about him. You will say peradventure, that by such often sending, I shall increase mine enemies insolency and pride. But I force not thereof: for by this means I shall understand his secrets, and in the end all the profit and honour shall redound to me. And notwithstanding that my enemy may deal with me after the same sort, yet would I not cease from sending, but entertain all overtures and break off none, to the end I may alwayes have occasion to send. For all men have not like wisdom, like cunning, nor like experience in these affairs, neither like occasion to travell for experience, and in these cases the wisest win the Garland: whereof I will give you a manifest example. In all treaties of peace concluded between the English and French Nations, the French have alwayes shewed more fineness, subtilty, and cunning than the English, so far forth that the said English-men have a common Proverb, as once they told me, when I treated with them: that in all Battells fought with the French, ever or for the most part they have obtained honour and victory: but in all treaties that have been concluded between them, they have ever received loss and damage. And sure in my opinion, I have known in this Realm (especially of King *Lewis* his training up) men as sufficient to negotiate in a treaty of peace as any in the world. For those that are employed in these affairs must be milde men, and such as can bear patiently all rude words, to compasse their purposes for their Masters profit, and such onely would King *Lewis* employ. I have been somewhat long in discoursing how Ambassadors actions must diligently be observed, but not without cause: for I have seen and known so great falshood and treachery used under colour thereof, that I could no sooner end my discourse.

This marriage between the Duke of *Guienne* and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s daughter was so earnestly laboured, that in the end some promise was made thereof, both by mouth and letter. But I have known the like done to *Nicolas* Duke of *Calabria* and *Loraine*[1], Son to *John* Duke of *Calabria* so often above-mentioned, and to *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy* that last died, and to *Maximilian* Duke of *Austrich*, now King of Romans, onely Son of *Frederick* the Emperour; who also received a letter written with the damsels own hand, by her Fathers commandment, and a diamond therewith. All which promises were made in lesse than three years space: yet am I well assured that, during the Dukes life, none of them should have been accomplished, at the least with his consent. But this letter above-mentioned furthered much Duke *Maximilians* sute, as hereafter you shall hear. I write not this to charge thereby the Duke of *Burgundy*, or any of those above mentioned, but onely to rehearse the course of these affairs. Further, I perswade my self, that rude and simple men will not busie their brains about the reading of this History: but Princes and Courtiers shall find in it good lessons and advertisements, in my opinion. During this treaty of marriage, divers new Enterprises against the King were in communication. With the Duke of *Burgundy* was the Lord of *Urfe*, *Poncet* of *Riviere*, and certain other mean personages that ran to and fro, for the Duke of *Guienne*'s affairs. In like manner the Abbot of *Begarde*, afterward Bishop of *Leon*, was resident with him, for the Duke of *Brittain*. These advertised the Duke of *Burgundy*, that the King practised to corrupt the Duke of *Guienne*'s servants, and to withdraw them from him, partly by love, partly by force: adding also that he had already raised a certain p'ace belonging to the Lord of *Estissac*, the Duke of *Guienne*'s servant, and had begun divers other attempts against his Brother, so far forth, that he had withdrawn from him certain of his household servants: whereby appeared manifestly (as they said) that he meant to take *Guienne* from him now, as in times past he had *Normandy*, once granted him for his partage, as before is mentioned. The Duke of *Burgundy* sent divers Ambassadors to the King about these affairs, who ever excused himself[2], and accused his Brother, saying that for his part he minded not to touch his Brothers partage: but that his Brother by seeking to enlarge his limits, was author of all these troubles.

We have here to consider how troublesome, dangerous, and far from all good end, the affairs of this Realm are, when it is in discord and civill dissension: for notwithstanding, that at the beginning of the troubles, all men hope shortly to see them at an end: yet is the contrary greatly to be feared, for though the fire be kindled, at the first, but between two or three Princes, or men of meaner estate: yet before two years be expired, all our neighbours shall be bidden to the banquet, as plainly may appear by this that followeth. At this very instant that I now write of, the Duke of *Guienne*, at the least his servants, and the Duke of *Brittain* desired the Duke of *Burgundy* in no wise to call the English-men to his

[1] This *Nicolas* is named in other Histories *Marquess du Pont*.

[2] The King made war upon his Brother, because he had restored the Earl of *Armignac* to all his possessions in *Guienne*, whom the King before had banished. *Annal. Aquit.*

his aid: for seeing all that they did was for the good and benefit of the Realm, they would not bring the ancient enemies of the crown into the Realm: adding further, that if he would be in a readinesse, they should be strong enough of themselves, as well because of their great forces, as also of the good intelligence they had in the Realm, with divers Captains and others. And once it was my chance to be present when the Lord of *Vrse* had communication with the Duke to this effect, and withall pressed him earnestly with all speed to levy his Army. The Duke stood at a window, and called me to him and said: Here is my Lord of *Vrse*, that presseth me earnestly to levy the greatest force that possibly I may, alledging, that it shall be greatly for the benefit of the Realm: what think you of this motion, if I enter into the Realm with my army, shall I do any great good there? I answered him merrily that I thought, no: then said he, I love the Realm of *France* better than my Lord of *Vrse* weeneth; for where it hath one King, I would it had six.

During the treaty of marriage above-mentioned, *Edward* King of *England*, who thought verily, that the marriage should have been accomplished: (wherein he was deceived, as was also the King) laboured earnestly with the Duke of *Burgundy* to break it off; alledging that the King had no issue male; wherefore if he happened to die, the Crown should descend to his Brother, whereby (if this marriage took effect) the Realm of *England* should stand in great danger, so many Seigniories being united to the Crown. This matter troubled marvellously, though needlesly, not onely the King of *England*, but his whole Councel also; in such sort, that they would give no credit to the Duke of *Burgundy*, what promise soever he made to the contrary. The said Duke, notwithstanding the request above-mentioned made unto him by the Dukes of *Guienne* and *Brittain*, for not calling in strangers to his aid, was very desirous that the King of *England* should invade some part of the Realm, and himself would have pleaded ignorance therein. But the English men would not be won thereunto: for they so much feared the annexing of the house of *Burgundy* by this marriage to the crown of *France*, that they would at that time rather have aided the King, than invaded him. You see here, all these Princes throughly busied and accompanied with a number of wise men, who (as the Sequel well declared) foresaw a far off, more by the one half than in their life-time took effect: for they all through this continuall toyl and travell, in short space one after another ended their lives, each man rejoycing at others death as of a thing most desired. Soon after followed their Masters, leaving their successors troubles enow, all save the King our Master, who left his Realm to his Son, quiet both from forrein wars and civill dissention, so that he did more for him, than ever he either would or could do for himself: for I never knew him in peace, save only a little before his death.

The Duke of *Guienne* at this present, lay sick, and in danger of death, as some said, but others affirmed the contrary: his men pressed earnestly the Duke of *Burgundy* to put himself into the field, because the time of the year served fitly for that purpose, and advertised him that the Kings army was abroad, and lay at *Saint John d' Angelie*, or at *Xainctes*, or thereabout. To be short, they laboured the Duke so importunately, that he went to *Arras*, and there assembled his forces, and marched towards the Towns of *Peronne*, *Roye*, and *Montdidier*: his army was marvellous great, yea the greatest that ever he had before: for in it were twelve hundred Launces, of his ordinary retinue, every one of them accompanied with three archers, well armed and well mounted: further in every company of these Launcers, were ten men of arms for a supply, besides the Lievtenant and Ensign-bearer. The Gentlemen of the Dukes Dominions were likewise in very good order: for they were well paid, and led by valiant Knights and Esquires. And sure, at that time these countries were marvellous rich.

CHAP. IX. *How the finall peace treated of between the Duke of* Burgundy *and the King brake off, because of the Duke of* Guienne's *death, and how these two great Princes sought to deceive each other.*

WHile the Duke was levying his army above-mentioned, the Lord of *Cran* and Master *Peter Doriole* Chancellour of *France*, came to him twice or thrice from the King, and secretly treated with him of a finall peace, which heretofore could never be concluded, because the Duke required restitution of *Amiens* and *Saint Quintin*, whereunto the King would never condescend: but now, partly because of the great preparation he saw made against him, and partly in hope to compasse certain purposes, whereof hereafter you

ſhall hear, he agreed to yield them. The conditions of this Peace were, that the King ſhould reſtore to the Duke, *Amiens*, and *S. Quintin*, and whaſoever elſe was in controverſie between them. That he ſhould abandon the Earls of *Nevers*, and *Saint Paul* Conſtable of *France*, and permit the Duke to do with them, and all their poſſeſſions, at his pleaſure, and ſeize them into his own hands if he could. That the Duke, in like manner, ſhould abandon the Dukes of *Guienne* and *Brittain*, and permit the King to do with them, and their Seignories, at his pleaſure. I was preſent, when the Duke of *Burgundy* ſware this treaty, and alſo the Lord of *Cran*, and the Chancellour of *France*, in the Kings name, who alſo at their departure from the Duke, adviſed him not to diſmiſſe his army, but to march ſtil forward; to the end that the King their Maſter might make the ſpeedier delivery of the two places above-mentioned. Further, *Simon* of *Quingy* was ſent with them to ſee the King ſwear, and confirm this treaty, which his Ambaſſadours had concluded: but the King delayed the confirmation a certain ſpace, and in the mean time happened his Brothers death.

a 1472

The Duke, being ready to depart from *Arras*, received two ſeverall advertiſements: one that *Nicolas* Duke of *Calabria* und *Lorrain*, Heir of the Houſe of *Anjou*, and Son to *John* Duke of *Calabria*, was coming to him, about his Daughters marriage, whom he honourably received, and put in great hope of his ſute. But the next day being the 15 of *May* a 1472, (as I remember) came letters, from *Simon* of *Quingy* the Dukes Ambaſſadour to the King, wherein he advertiſed his Maſter of the Duke of *Guiennes* death, and that the King had already recovered a great part of his Country. The like advertiſements received he alſo incontinent from others, but reporting diverſly of the ſaid Dukes death. Soon after returned *Simon* of *Quingy* from the King with a cold anſwer: for he refuſed to ſwear the treaty, which the Duke took very diſdainfully, as a matter tending to his contempt and diſhonour. His men alſo in time of war, as well for this as other cauſes, ſpake very villanous and opprobrious words of the King, and, I warrant you, the French requited them with the like. The Duke of *Burgundy* being almoſt out of his wits becauſe of theſe newes, by the perſwaſion of certain no leſſe ſorry for this accident than himſelf, writ Letters to divers Towns of the Realm, charging the King with his Brothers death; but little it availed, for no man ſtirred [1]. Notwithſtanding, if the Duke of *Guienne* had lived, undoubtedly the King ſhould have had enough to do: for the *Brittains* where in a readineſs to invade him, having greater intelligences in the Realm than ever before: all the which failed by the Dukes death.

a The Duke of *Guien* died the 12 of *May*, but *Meyer* ſaith the 24 *Ann. Aquit.* the 11. Of his death read *Annal. Burgund.* lib. 3. fol. 946 *Meyer* lib. 17. fol. 353. writeth thus of it. *Rex fratri venenum miſcet per Jordanum Abbatem, Divi Johannis benedictini nominis:* where read alſo what *Thomas Baſinus* Biſhop of *Liſieux* writeth of the Dukes death, who compareth King *Lewis* to *Cain*, *Atreus*, *Thieſtes*, *Polynices*, and *Etheocles*. *Hollandiæ ſcriptor* ſaith thus: *Rex ille, inquit idem, fecit quod Cain, qui unicum fratrem ſuum Abel interfecit. Dedit enim Rex mortiferum Carolo fratri venenum; qui non ſtatim extinctus eſt, ſed menſibus aliquot miſerabiliter afflictus.*

The Duke of *Burgundy* in this fury put himſelf into the field, and marched towards *Neſle* in *Vermandois*, making foul and cruell war, contrary to his accuſtomed manner: for he ſpoiled and burned all the country, as he paſſed. His vaward marched before him, and beſieged the ſaid town of *Neſle*, being of no force: but the Duke himſelfe lodged three leagues from it. Within the Town were certain frank-Archers, that ſlew a Herauld of the Dukes, coming to ſummon them. Further, their Captain came forth to parly under ſurety, thinking to bring the matter to compoſition, but could not; and as he returned into the town (the truce yet continuing, becauſe of his ſally) they within the town (notwithſtanding, that themſelves ſtood open upon the Wall, no man ſeeking to hurt them) ſlew yet two other of the Dukes men; wherefore the truce was diſavowed, and word ſent to the Lady of *Neſle*, being within the town, to come forth with all, her houſhold ſtuffe, which ſhe did accordingly: and immediately after, the place was aſſaulted and taken, and the greateſt part of them, that were within it, ſlain: all, that were taken alive, were hanged, ſave a few, whom the Souldiers for very pitty let go; a number alſo had their hands cut off. It loatheth me to make mention of this cruelty: but, becauſe I was preſent, ſomewhat I am forced to write thereof. And ſure, either the Duke was marvellouſly paſſionate, in that he committed ſo cruell an act, or ſome great cauſe moved him thereunto. He alledged two, the one the Duke of *Guienns* death, whereof he ſpake very ſtrangely upon other mens report: the other, the grief he had conceived, for the loſſe of *Amiens*, and *Saint Quintin* above rehearſed.

[1] *Gaguin* a French Hiſtoriographer ſaith thus: The King was advertiſed of his Brother Duke *Charles* his death, who died at *Bourdeaux* poyſoned by a certain Abbot, but not without the Kings conſent, as the report went. *Annal. Aquit.* written by a Frenchman ſeems to make King *Lewis* acceſſory to his Brothers death. The Duke was poiſoned as he ſate at table with the Lady of *Montforeau*, whom he entertained, and who was alſo poiſoned with him. The King commanded the Abbots proceſſe to ceaſe, and the reſt that were ſuſpected: whereby he plainly bewraied his own guilty conſcience.

Some

Some that ſhall read this that followeth, will think happily that there was ſmall faith in theſe two Princes, or that I miſreport them: I would be loth to miſreport either of them. And to the King our Maſter, how much I am bound, all the world knoweth. But to continue my Hiſtory (right Reverend) in ſuch ſort as you have required, I am forced to utter that I know, howſoever it paſſed. And I doubt not but theſe two, being compared with other Princes, ſhall ſeem Noble, Worthy, and Honourable; and the King our Maſter wiſe above all the reſt, who left his Realm enlarged, and in peace with all his enemies. Wherefore let us now conſider, whether of theſe two Princes ſought to deceive the other, to the end, that if hereafter this Hiſtory happen to fall into the hands of ſome young Prince, that hath to negotiate in ſuch like affairs, he may by reading thereof be the better inſtructed, how to look to himſelf. For notwithſtanding, that neither Princes nor enemies be alwayes alike, nor deal alike, in like affairs; yet it is good to know the Hiſtories of times paſt. To ſpeak therefore uprightly, I think both theſe Princes were fully bent each to deceive other, and tended both to one end, as you ſhall hear. Both of them had their armies abroad in a readineſs. The King had already taken divers places, and during the treaty, made ſharp war upon his Brother, whom the Lords of *Courton*, *Patris*, *Foucart*, and divers others, had already relinquiſhed, and were received into the Kings ſervice. Further, his army lay about *Rochel*, having great intelligence in the Town; for the Citizens practiſed continually, as well becauſe of the rumour of this treaty, as alſo becauſe of the Dukes ſickneſſe. And I think the Kings reſolution was, if he could atchieve his Enterpriſe there, or his brother hapned to die, not to ſwear the treaty: but if he found great reſiſtance, to ſwear it, and perform his promiſe, thereby to avoid all danger. And ſure he loſt no time, but uſed great diligence, delaying alſo very cunningly *Simon* of *Quingy*, the ſpace of eight dayes; during the which delay, his Brother died: further, he knew well the Duke of *Burgundy* ſo greatly to deſire the reſtitution of theſe two towns above-named, that he durſt not flatly fall out with him. Wherefore he meant to delay him; and fed him forth with fair words fifteen or twenty dayes (as he did accordingly) to ſee in the mean time what would happen. Now that I have ſpoken of the King, and ſhewed how he was purpoſed to deal with the Duke, it is fit I ſhould alſo declare how the D. was minded towards him, & thought to delude him, had not the D. of *Guiennes* death hapned. *Simon* of *Quingy* by the Kings requeſt had a commiſſion from the D. his Maſter, commanding him immediately after the treaty ſworn, and writings delivered for the confirmation thereof, to go into *Brittain* to enform the D. of *Brittain* of the conditions of the peace, and in like manner the Duke of *Guienne's* Ambaſſadors reſident in *Brittain*, to the end, they might advertiſe their Maſter thereof at *Bourdeaux*: whereby the King meant to put the Brittains into the greater fear, when they ſhould ſee themſelves abandoned of him, who was their chief Anchor-hold.

Now you ſhall underſtand that *Simon* of *Quingy* had in his company a rider of the Dukes Eſcuirie called *Henry*, a Pariſian born, a wiſe fellow and of good experience: who had a Letter of credit to the ſaid *Simon* written with the Dukes own hand, but his commiſſion was not to deliver it, till the ſaid *Simons* departure from the King, and his arrival to the Duke of *Brittain* at *Nantes*, where his charge was to deliver him the Letter and this meſſage withall; That he ſhould will the Duke of *Brittain*, not to think that his Maſter would abandon the Duke of *Guienne* and him, for he would ſuccour them both with body and goods, and that he had concluded this treaty to no other end but to avoid Warre, and recover the Towns of *Saint Quintin* and *Amiens*: which the King in time of peace contrary to his promiſe had taken from him. And further, to advertiſe the ſaid Duke, that the Duke his Maſter would ſend an honourable ambaſſage to the King, (ſo ſoon as he ſhould be ſeiſed of that he demanded) humbly to beſeech him to end this War, and relinquiſh his Enterpriſe againſt the ſaid two Dukes, and not to give credit to the oath he had ſworn, which he was no more determined to obſerve, than the King had obſerved the treaty made before *Paris*, called the treaty of *Conflans*: and the treaty which he had ſworn at *Peronne*, and long after confirmed alſo. Further, deſiring him to call to remembrance, that he took theſe Towns againſt his faith and promiſe in time of peace: wherefore he muſt hold himſelf contented if he recovered them after the ſame ſort. And as touching the Earl of *Saint Paul* Conſtable of *France*, and the Earl of *Nevers* whom the King had permitted him to uſe at his pleaſure, he would proteſt, that notwithſtanding he hated them as he had juſt cauſe to do: yet would he forgive all their offences, and let them live in quiet, deſiring the King to grant theſe two Dukes the like: and that it would pleaſe him to ſuffer all men to live in peace and ſafety, in ſuch manner and form as he had ſworn at

Conſians, when they were all there aſſembled together: which if he refuſed to do, he would then ſuccour his confederates. And it was determined that the Duke ſhould be in camp, when this ambaſſage ſhould be ſent to the King. But God diſpoſed otherwiſe of theſe purpoſes: for death, which parteth all things, and changeth all determinations, ſet them otherwiſe a work, as partly you have underſtood already, and ſhall hereafter perceive, more at large: for the King reſtored not theſe two Towns, and yet had the Dutchy of *Guienne* by his Brothers death, as reaſon was.

CHAP. X. *How the Duke of* Burgundy, *ſeeing that he could not take* Beauvais, *before the which he had laid his ſiege, went to* Roan.

NOw to return to the war: you have heard, how certain poor frank archers were handled at the taking of *Neſle*: thence the Duke departed, and went before *Roy*: within the which, were fifteen hundred frank archers, and certain men of Armes of the Arriereband. The Dukes force was never ſo great as at that preſent. The next day after his arrival, theſe frank archers fearing their lives, lept down the walls, and yielded themſelves: and the third day the reſt, that yet remained within, rendred both themſelves, and the Town by compoſition, leaving behind them both horſe and harneſſe; ſave that every man of arms brought forth a travelling Nag. The Duke left men in the town and went to *Montdidier*, which he began to raze, meaning utterly to deſtroy it, and lay it deſolate; but becauſe of the good will, he perceived, the People of thoſe parts [1] to bear him, he cauſed it to be repaired, and left a Garriſon in it. From thence he departed, meaning to march ſtraight into *Normandy*: But as he paſſed hard by *Beauvais*, the Lord of *Cordes*, who led his vaward rod to the Town, and at his firſt arrival, the ſuburbs, before the Biſhops Palace, were taken by a covetous *Burgundian*, named Maiſter *James* of *Montmartin*: who had under his charge a hundred Launces, and 300. Archers of the Dukes ordinary retinue. The Lord of *Cordes* ſcaled the town on the other ſide, but he lacked ladders; and thoſe few he had, were too ſhort. He had two cannons, which ſhot twice at the Town-gate, and brake down a peece thereof: and, if he had been furniſhed to have continued the ſhot, undoubtedly, he had entred the town: but he was unprovided, becauſe he came not for any ſuch exploit. At his firſt arrival, none were in the town but the Citizens themſelves, and the Captain of the town called *Loyſet* of *Bailligny*, with certain ſouldiers of the Arriereband, but not enough to defend the Place. Notwithſtanding, it pleaſed God miraculouſly to preſerve it, as he manifeſtly declared. For the Burgundians, that were with the Lord of *Cordes*, fought hand to hand with the French, at the breach made in the Gate: whereupon the ſaid *Cordes* ſent word divers times to the Duke of *Burgundy* to make haſte thither, aſſuring him that the town was his own. But in the mean time, while the Duke was upon the way, one within the town deviſed to throw flaming Faggots in their faces, that were about to break down the Gate: whereof they threw ſo great plenty, that the Gate and the Porch took fire, in ſuch ſort that the Burgundians were forced to retire, till the fire ceaſed. Soon after arrived the Duke himſelf, who in like manner held the Town as taken; the fire, being once quenched, which was very great, for all the porch was on fire. And undoubtedly, if he had lodged part of his army on the other ſide of the Town towards *Paris*, no man could have entred to relieve it. But it pleaſed God, he ſhould make doubt where none was: for becauſe of a little Brook that was to paſſe, he made difficulty ſo to do then; and yet afterward, when a great number of men were entered the town, he would have done it, and was hardly diſſwaded from it: notwithſtanding, that thereby he ſhould then have endangered his whole Army. All this happened, the eighth and twentieth of *June*, in the year 1472. The fire abovementioned continued all day, and in the even ten launces only of the Kings ordinary retinue entred the Town, as I was afterward informed: for I ſerved yet the Duke of *Burgundy*: but we ſaw them not enter, both becauſe every man was buſied in making his lodging; and alſo becauſe we had no force on that ſide the Town. By break of day, the Dukes battery was bent againſt the Walls: but ſoon after, we ſaw two hundred men of Arms enter the Town; and, had it not been for their coming, I think, the Citizens would have treated of a compoſition: which notwithſtanding, the Duke in this fury would never have granted: for he deſired to take the town by aſſault, and if he had ſo done, undoubtedly he would have burnt it, which had been great pitty: ſure, it was preſerved by miracle. After theſe men of armes were entred, the Dukes artillery ſhot continually the ſpace of fifteen

[1] The French hath *Chaſtilenies*, which were places, where certain Courts of inferiour juriſdiction were held, to the which the country there about was bound to repair.

teen dayes, and the place was as well beaten as ever was any, in such sort that the breach was saultable: but the ditch of the one side of the burned Gate stood full of water, so that we were forced to build a bridge over it: but, on the otherside, we might come near to the Walls without any danger, save of one flanker, which was so low, that our Artillery could not beat it.

It is great danger and folly to assault a Town so well defended as this was: for within it was the [a] Constable (as I remember) or lay hard by it; I know not well, whether the Marshall *Joachim*, the Marshall of *Lohéac*, the Lord of *Crussol*, *William* of *Vallen*, *Mery* of *Croy*, *Sallezarde*, *Theuenot* of *Vignoles*, being all ancient Captains, accompanied with an hundred men of armes of the Kings ordinary retinue, besides a great number of foot-men, and others, that were come thither with them. Yet the Duke, contrary to the opinion of his whole Army, determined to give the Assault. And the Night before, as he lay on his field-bed in his clothes, according to his accustomed manner, he asked certain there present; whether they thought, the Town would abide the assault: who answered, that they thought yea, seeing they were of force sufficient to defend it: at the which answer he scoffed, saying, that they should not find a man there the next day. In the morning, by break of day the assault was given very couragiously, and the breach no lesse valiantly defended. A great number went thronging on our new made bridge, in such sort, that an ancient Knight of *Burgundy* called *Despiris* was smothered there, who was the best man that died before the Town. On the other side of the Gate, certain of our men got up, to the top of the wall, but some of them never returned. They fought hand to hand a great while, and the assault continued so long, that fresh bands were appointed to succeed, the first being wearied: but because the Duke saw his men to labour in vain, he caused them to retire: yet notwithstanding they within sallied not, for they saw company enough ready to receive them. At this assault were slain sixscore Souldiers; [b] and the best man that died there was the abovenamed *Despiris*. It was thought, at the first, that many more had been lost: for above a thousand were hurt. The next night they within sallied forth, but because their numbers were small, and the most of them on horseback, and thereby encombred with the cords of our tents, they did no great exploit, but lost two or three Gentlemen of their company, and hurt one of ours, named Master *James d'Orson*, a very honest Gentleman, and Master of the Dukes Ordnance, who a few dayes after died of the said hurt.

[a] *Annal. Franc.* report that the Constable lay hard by the town, but moved not to defend it, for the which cause, it was thought, he had intelligence with the Duke.

[b] *Gaguin* saith that there were slain at the assault of *Beauvais* 1500 men.

Seven or eight days after this assault, the Duke would have divided his Army into two Bands, and lodged part thereof at the Gate towards *Paris*, contrary to all mens advice, and to all reason, considering the great number of Souldiers that were within the Town. This should have been done at the beginning, but now it was too late. Wherefore, seeing no remedy he raised his camp in very good order [c], hoping that they within would issue forth to the skirmish, which notwithstanding they did not. From thence he marched into *Normandy*, because he had promised the Duke of *Brittain* to meet him. But because of the Duke of *Guiens* death, he altered his mind, and stirred not out of his Country. The Duke of *Burgundy* came before *Eu*, which was yielded unto him, as also was S. *Valery*, and he burnt also this quarter even near to *Diepe*. He took also *Neuf-chastel*, and burnt both it and all the Country of *Caux*, or the greatest part even hard to *Roan* Gates: further, he presented himself in person before the said Town of *Roan*: he lost many of his forragers, whereby his army was in great distresse for victuals. In the end, because winter approached, he departed homeward, and his back was no sooner turned, but the French recovered *Eu*, and *Saint Valery*, and took prisoners by composition seven or eight *Burgundians*, that were within them.

[c] The Duke lay before *Beauvais* six and twenty dayes, and levied his siege the 22. of *July* *Meyer*.

CHAP. XI. *How the King made peace with the Duke of* Brittain, *and truce with the Duke of* Burgundy; *and how the Earl of* Saint Paul *escaped for that time a conspiracy, that these two Princes made against him.*

ABout this time, I came to the Kings service in the year 1472, who received also the selfe-same year, the greatest part of his Brothers the Duke of *Guienne* his Servants. He lay then at *Pont de See*, making war upon the Duke of *Brittain*: whither certain ambassadours came to him out of *Brittain*, and from whence also he sent his Ambassadors thither. Among the rest that came to him, to the said Town of *Pont de See*, were *Philip* of

Essars, servant to the Duke, and *William* of *Sousplenville*, servant to the Lord of *Lescut*; the which *Lescut*, seeing his master the Duke of *Guienne* at the point of death, took sea at *Bordeaux*, and departed into *Brittain*, fearing to fall into the Kings hands: he embarked in time, and carried away with him, the Duke of *Guienne*'s Confessor [1], and a rider of his Stable, who were charged with the Dukes death, and remained prisoners in *Brittain* many years after. When these runnings to and fro had continued a while, the King in the end determined to have peace with the Duke of *Brittain*, and to deal so liberally with the Lord of *Lescut*, that he would thereby asswage the ill-will he bare him, and win him to his service. For, as he knew the Duke of *Brittains* forces, being Governed by so worthy a man, greatly to be feared: so was he assured, if he could win the said *Lescut* to his service, that the *Brittains* would labour for peace, because he was the only man of wisdom and experience in the country: besides that, generally the *Brittains* desire nothing more than peace with *France*: because continually a great number of them have good entertainment, and be in good estimation in this Realm, and not unworthily, for sure in times past they have done great service here. Wherefore I think the King did very wisely in concluding this treaty, notwithstanding that some not considering so deeply thereof as himself, thought otherwise of it. He had a very good opinion of the Lord of *Lescut*, and knew that there was no danger in putting those Offices, & places of charge that he did into his hands, because he was a man of honour, and would never, during these divisions, have any intelligence with the English men, nor consent that the Towns in *Normandy* [2], should be yielded to them, but had been the only stay thereof, which was the cause of all his preferment. When the King had well debated this matter, he commanded *Sousplenville* to put in writing all that his Master required, as well for the Duke as himself: which done, the King granted him all his demands, being these: A pension of 80000. Franks for the Duke: for his Master the Lord of *Lescut*, a pension of 6000. Franks, the Government of *Guienne*, the two Seneschalships of *Lannes* and *Bordelois*, the Captainship of one of the Castles of *Bordeaux*, the Captainship of *Blaye*, and of the two Castles of *Bayonne*, of *Dax*, and of *Saint Sever*, 24000. crowns in ready money, the Kings order, and the Earldom of *Comminges*. All the which the King granted and agreed unto, save that the Dukes pension was diminished by the one half, and continued but two years. Further, the King gave the said *Sousplenville* 6000. crowns (which with the other 24. thousand given to his Master, were to be paid in four years); a pension of 1200. Franks, the Mairalty of *Bayonne*, the Bailywick of *Montargis*, and certain other small Offices in *Guienne*. All the which above rehearsed estates, his Master and he enjoyed till the Kings death. *Philip d'Essars* likewise was made Bailiff of *Meaux*, and Lieutenant of the waters and forrests, throughout the Realm of *France*, and had also a pension granted him of 1200. Franks, and 4000. crowns in ready money: all the which Offices and estates, from that day till the King our Master his death, they quietly enjoyed, and the Lord of *Comminges* continued, during his life, his trusty and faithfull servant.

[1] This Confessor was the Abbot of *Saint John d'Angely*, who died prisoner at *Nantes* in *Brittain*, in the great Tower *du Buffoy*; where he confessed marvellous matters, and died very strangely.

[2] These places were those that remained in the Lord of *Lescuts* hands by the treaty of *Crotoy*, mentioned *lib.* 1. *cap.* 15.

The King having pacified all matters in *Brittain*, marched straight toward *Picardy*: for he and the Duke of *Burgundy* used alwayes, when winter approached, to make truce for six months, or a year, and sometime more. After the which their wonted manner, they made truce at this present; which, the Chancellor of *Burgundy* with certain others, came to the King to conclude. There the Kings Commissioners read the finall peace, made with the Duke of *Brittain*, whereby the said Duke renounced the League he was entred into with the English men and the Duke of *Burgundy*: wherefore the King required the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Ambassadors, not to comprehend the Duke of *Brittain* in the truce, as their confederate: whereunto they would not condescend, but agreed that the Duke of *Brittain* should be at his choice, to declare himself within the time accustomed, either the Kings confederate or theirs: alledging that heretofore also the said Duke had abandoned them by writing, yet had not departed from their friendship. Further adding, that though he were a Prince wholly led and governed by others, and doing little of himself: yet in the end he ever yielded to that which was best and most necessary for his estate. All this was done in the year 1473.

1473. During this treaty, they murmured on both sides against the Earl of *Saint Paul*, Constable of *France*: for, the King and those that were nearest about him, had conceived marvellous hatred against him. And the Duke of *Burgundy* hated him worse than they, as he had just cause to do: for I know the reasons that moved them both to bear him ill-will. The Duke had not yet forgotten, that he was the onely occasion of the losse of *Amiens*

and

and *Saint Quintin*, and perceived well that he nouriſhed this war between the King and him. For in time of truce he ſpake him as fair as was poſſible, but ſo ſoon as the warre opened, he ſhewed himſelf his mortall foe. Further, the Earl had thought to conſtrain him by force to marry his Daughter to the Duke of *Guienne*, as before you have heard. Beſides all this, there was yet another grudge: for, while the Duke lay before *Amiens*, the Conſtable made a road into *Heynault*, and among other cruell exploits, burned the Caſtle of *Sure*, belonging to a Knight named Maſter *Boudovin* of *Launay*: before the which time they uſed on neither ſide to fire any place. But in revenge thereof the Duke this laſt Sommer burned the country all the way his army paſſed, as before you have heard. Thus they began to practiſe the Conſtables deſtruction: for accompliſhment whereof, divers of the Kings men conferred with ſuch of the Dukes ſervants as they knew to be his mortall enemies: for the French had him in as great jealouſie as the Duke of *Burgundy* had, and accuſed him as the onely occaſion of the War: wherefore all his treaties and practiſes with both parties were ripped up and diſcovered, and they both ſought his death.

Some man may peradventure ask hereafter, if the King alone were not of power ſufficient to put him to death: whereunto I anſwer that he was not. For his lands lay juſt in the middeſt between the King and the Duke: further, he held *Saint Quintin*, a great and ſtrong Town in *Vermandois*; and of his own, *Han*, *Bohain*, and other very ſtrong places, near to the ſaid *Saint Quintin*, the which he might man at all times, with any Nation at his own pleaſure. He had charge under the King of four hundred men of arms well paid, of the which company himſelf was controller, and took the muſter, which was no ſmall profit to him: for his companies were not compleat. Beſides all this, he had a yearly penſion of 45000. Franks, and of every Tunne of Wine that paſſed through his country into *Flaunders* or *Heynault*, he received a crown for impoſt. He had alſo goodly ſeigniories and poſſeſſions of his own inheritance, and great intelligence as well in *France* as in the Dukes Dominions, where he had many kinsfolks and allies.

The truce between the King and the Duke continued a whole year: all the which ſpace this practiſe endured, and the Kings men addreſſed themſelves wholly to the Lord of *Hymbercourt* (ſo often before named) who of long time had been the Conſtables enemy: beſides that, their hatred was lately encreaſed. For in an aſſembly held at *Roye*, where the Conſtable and others were Commiſſioners for the King; and the Chancellor of *Burgundy* and the Lord of *Hymbercourt*, with divers others, for the Duke: as they conferred together of their affairs, the Conſtable gave the lye very ſhamefully to the ſaid *Hymbercourt*; who anſwered thereunto, that he would not bear this reproach at his hands, were it not in reſpect of the Kings honour, under whoſe ſafe conduct he was come thither as Ambaſſador, and of the Duke his Maſter, whoſe perſon he repreſented, and to whom he would make report of this injury done unto him. This onely villany and outrage ſo ſoon done, coſt the Conſtable both lands and life, as hereafter ſhall be declared more at large. Wherefore thoſe that are in authority, yea and Princes themſelves, ought to take great heed, how they injure any man by word or deed, and whom they injure: for the greater they are, the greater grief and ſorrow is conceived of their words, becauſe they that are injured, think that the great authority of the perſon that injureth them, will cauſe them the more to be marked and noted. And if he be their Maſter or Prince, they utterly diſpair of benefit or good turn at his hands: and moſt men ſerve rather for the good they hope to have, than for that they have already received.

But to return to the point, the Kings men practiſed continually with *Hymbercourt*, and likewiſe with the Chancellor; as well becauſe the words ſpoken at *Roye* touched him in part, as alſo becauſe of the near friendſhip that was between *Hymbercourt* and him. And the matter was ſo earneſtly preſſed, that an aſſembly was held about it, at *Bouvines* a Town near to *Namur*; whither the King ſent the Lord of *Courton* Governor of *Lymoſin*, and Maſter *John Heberge*, afterward Biſhop of *Eureux*; and the Duke, the ſaid Chancellor, and *Hymbercourt*, being the year 1474. 1474.

The Conſtable being enformed that they practiſed at *Bouvines* to his coſt, ſent with all ſpeed to both the Princes, advertiſing them that he underſtood of all their doings; and ſo cunningly he wrought, that he perſwaded the King that the Duke meant nothing but deceit, onely to allure the ſaid Conſtable to his friendſhip: whereupon with all ſpeed the King ſent to his Ambaſſadors at *Bouvines*, commanding them to conclude nothing againſt the Conſtable, for certain reaſons he would declare unto them, but to prolong the truce according

according to their inſtructions, for a year or ſix monthes, I wot not well whether. But when the meſſenger arrived, he found the treaty already concluded, and the writings ſealed, and delivered, the night before. Notwithſtanding the Ambaſſadors had ſo good intelligence together, and were ſo great friends each to other, that they delivered the writings back again: the Contents whereof were, that the Conſtable for the reaſons therein rehearſed, was declared enemy and traitor to both the Princes: who promiſed and ſware each to other, that whether of them could firſt lay hands on him, ſhould either put him to death within eight dayes, or deliver him to the other to do with him at his pleaſure. It was alſo therein concluded, that he ſhould be proclaimed by ſound of Trumpet enemy to both the Princes, and likewiſe all that ſhould ſerve, help, aid, or favour him. Further, the King promiſed to deliver to the Duke the Town of *Saint Quintin*, ſo often before mentioned, and to give him all the Conſtables treaſures and moveables, that ſhould be found in the Realm of *France*, with all ſuch Seigniories and Lordſhips as were held of the ſaid Duke, and among the reſt *Han* and *Bohain*, which are two very ſtrong places. Laſtly, a day was appointed when both the King and the Duke ſhould ſend their forces to beſiege him in *Han*. Notwithſtanding, for the reaſons above rehearſed, this concluſion was clean broken off, and a day and place aſſigned where the Conſtable ſhould come to commune with the King, under ſafe conduct: for he ſtood in doubt of his perſon, becauſe of the late treaty held at *Bouvines*. The place aſſigned, was three leagues from *Noyon*, near to the Town of *La Fere*, upon a pretty River which no man could paſſe, becauſe the Conſtables men had taken up all the Bridges. In the ſaid place was a narrow cauſey, overthwart the which a ſtrong Gate was built, whither the Conſtable came firſt, accompanied with all his men of arms, or the greateſt part: for he had with him above three hundred Gentlemen, all men of arms: and himſelf wore his Quirace under a ſhort Gown ungirt. The King came accompanied with the Earl of *Dampmartin* Lord great Maſter of *France*, the Conſtables mortall enemy, and with ſix hundred men of arms and better, and ſent me before him to make his excuſe to the Conſtable, of his long ſtay: and ſoon after arrived himſelf, and they communed together: at which their communication, were preſent, five or ſix of the Kings ſervants, and as many of the Conſtables, who excuſed his coming thither in arms, becauſe he ſtood in fear of the Earl of *Dampmartin*, as he ſaid. To be ſhort, in the end it was agreed that all offences paſt ſhould be forgiven and forgotten: and the Conſtable paſſed through the grate to our ſide of the River, where the Earl of *Dampmartin* and he were made friends That night he lodged with the King at *Noyon*, and the next morning returned to *Saint Quintin*, throughly reconciled as he ſaid. But when the King had well weighed this matter, and heard the murmuring of the people, he accuſed himſelf of great folly, in going after this ſort to commune with his ſervant; and ſtomached not a little, that he found the grate ſhut between them, conſidering that all the Conſtables men of arms were his Subjects, and paid out of his Coffers: wherefore if his hatred againſt the Conſtable was great before, ſure this meeting much increaſed it: and as touching the Conſtable, his proud ſtomach was no whit abated.

CHAP. XII. *A diſcourſe very fit for this place, of the wiſdom of the King and the Conſtable, with good advertiſements to ſuch as are in credit with Princes.*

IF a man conſider well this action of the Kings, he cannot but judge it to proceed of great wiſdom: for I am of opinion that the Duke of *Burgund*, to recover *Saint Quintin* would eaſily have pardoned the Conſtable all his offences, notwithſtanding any promiſe made to the King of the contrary: Further, as touching the Conſtable, though he was a Gentleman of great wiſdom and underſtanding, yet did he very unadviſedly, and it appeared that God had utterly bereft him of all good advice, in that he came thus diſguiſed before the King his Maſter, whoſe ſubjects all the men of arms were that accompanied him: and to ſay the truth, his very countenance ſhewed him to be aſtoniſhed and abaſhed thereat: for when he came in perſon to the place, and found the Grate ſhut between the King and him, he cauſed it forthwith to be opened, and paſſed to our ſide of the River, where undoubtedly he was in great danger.

This his doing, peradventure himſelf and his familiar friends accounted a worthy exploit: ſuppoſing the King to ſtand in fear of him, whom alſo they reputed a timerous Prince. And true it is, that he was ſo at times when there was cauſe why: but not alwaye

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when the world ſo judged of him. For you ſhall underſtand, that, the civill Wars with the Princes of his Realm, out of the which he had wound himſelf by large gifts and promiſes, had beaten this leſſon into his head, not to put any thing in adventure, if he could compaſſe his purpoſe by any other means: which cauſed a number of men to ſuppoſe all his doings to proceed of fear. But divers, that upon this imagination, attempted fooliſh enterpriſes againſt him, found themſelves much deceived; namely, the Earl of *Armignack*, and others, whom their fond attempts coſt full dear. For the King knew when it was time to fear, and not to fear. Sure, this praiſe I dare boldly give him (which though happily I have writ en before, yet deſerveth again to be ſpoken of) that he was the wiſeſt man in adverſity that ever I knew. But, to return to my diſcourſe of the Conſtable, who deſired peradventure to hold the King in fear, at the leaſt I ſuppoſe ſo (for I will not charge him with it, but write this only, for an advertiſement to thoſe that are in Princes ſervice, and underſtand not all alike the affairs of this world:) For my own part, if I had a friend, I would adviſe him, to endeavour himſelf that his Maſter might love him, not fear him: for I never knew man, whoſe authority depended of the fear his Maſter had on him, that ſped not ill in the end, and that by his Maſters conſent. Examples enow have been ſeen hereof in our time, or not long before. In this Realm of the Lord of *Trimoville* and others: In *England*, of the Earl of *Warwick* and his faction. I could name ſome alſo in *Spain*, and in other countries: But thoſe that ſhall read this diſcourſe may, peradventure, be able to ſay more therein than my ſelf. This their preſumption, oftentimes proceedeth of their good ſervice: for they think their experience ſo great, that they cannot be ſpared, and their deſert ſuch, that their Maſters ought to bear all things at their hands. But Princes, on the contrary ſide, both ſay and think, that men are bound to do them ſervice, and deſire nothing more than to be rid of ſuch malepart fellows. Touching the which point, I muſt needs ſpeak ſomewhat of the King our Maſter: for once he told me, in talking of thoſe that do their Princes great ſervice (naming withall, his Author, from whom he received this opinion) that good ſervice ſometime undoeth men, and is recompenſed with great ingratitude, not alwayes by the Maſters forgetfulneſs, but many times through the ſervants own fault: who preſuming upon their good ſervice, behave themſelves arrogantly, either towards their Maſters or their fellows. Further, as touching thoſe that come to preferment in Court, this was his opinion: that he is happier, that receiveth a benefit of the Prince he ſerveth, without great deſert, whereby he ſtandeth bound to his Prince; than he that hath done ſo great ſervice, that his Prince ſeemeth indebted to him: adding, that he for his part, loved thoſe better that were bound to him, than thoſe to whom he was bound. Thus you ſee how hard it is, to live in this world in any eſtate: wherefore greatly are they bound to God, whom he hath indued with underſtanding how to govern themſelves in their vocation. This enterview between the King and the Conſtable, was in the year 1474.

THE

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CHAP. I. *How the Duke of* Burgundy *being seised of the Dutchy of* Gueldres, *sought to incroach farther upon the* Almains, *and how he laid his Siege before* Nuz.

THe same Summer (as I remember) that the King and the Constable met, the Duke of *Burgundy* went to conquer the Dutchy of *Gueldres*, upon a Title worthy of remembrance, to the end, we may thereby consider the wonderful judgments and power of God. There was a young Duke of *Gueldres* named *Adolph*, who married his wife (being of the house of *Bourbon*, and Sister to *Peter*, Duke of *Bourbon*[1], now living) in the Duke of *Burgundies* Court; for the which cause he was well favored there. This Duke *Adolph* committed an horrible fact: For one Evening he took his Father, named Duke *Arnold*, prisoner, as he was going to Bed, and led him five Dutch miles on foot, bare legged, in a marvellous cold night, and laid him in a deep Dungeon the space of six moneths[2], where he saw no light, but through a little hole. Wherefore the Duke of *Cleves* (whose Sister, the old Duke being prisoner, had married) made sharp War upon this young Duke *Adolph*. The Duke of *Burgundy* sought divers means to agree them, but no good could be done: Wherefore, in the end, the Pope and the Emperor began to stir in this matter, so far forth, that the Duke of *Burgundy*, under great Curses, was commanded to take the old Duke out of prison, which he did accordingly: For the young Duke durst not withstand him, both because he saw so many good men against him, and also because of the Dukes great force. I have often seen them both together, in the Duke of *Burgundies* Chamber, pleading their cause before a great Assembly; and once I saw the good old man present the combat to his son. The Duke of *Burgundy* was very desirous to agree them, and offered the young Duke (whom he favored) the Title of Governor[3] of *Guelderland*, with all the Revenues thereof, save of one little Town, near to *Brabant*, called *Grave*, which should remain to the Father, with the Revenues of Three thousand Florens, a yearly Pension of as much, and the Title of Duke, as was but reason. I, with others, wiser than my self, were appointed to make report of these Conditions to the young Duke; who answered us, That he had rather throw his Father headlong into a Well, and himself after, than agree to such an appointment, alledging That his Father had been Duke Forty four years, and that it was now time for him to govern. Notwithstanding, he said, That he would willingly agree to give him a yearly Pension of Three thousand Florens, with condition, that he should depart the Countrey as a banished man, and never to return; and divers other such like leud speeches he used. This happened at the very same instant, that the King won *Amiens* from the Duke of *Burgunay*, who was then with these two Dukes at *Dourlans*; whence, because of the Wars, he departed in hast to *Hedin*, forgetting this matter. This young Duke put on French apparel[4], and departed with one onely servant, to repair home into his Countrey: But as he Ferried over a Water, near to *Namur*, he paid a Gildon for his passage; whereupon a Priest there present, mistrusting who he should be, communed thereof with the Ferry man, and viewed well the young Duke, and knew him. There he was taken, and led to *Namur*, where he remained prisoner till the Duke of *Burgundies* death: After the which, the Citizens of *Gaun* delivered him, and would perforce have constrained the Dukes daughter, afterward Dutchess of *Austrich*, to marry him. They led him also with them before *Tournay*, where being weakly accompanied in a certain skirmish, he was miserably slain, in full revenge of his impiety against his Father. The Father, during his sons imprisonment, died, the Duke of *Burgundy* yet living; whom because of his said sons ingratitude and unnaturalness, he made his heir; by the which Title, the Duke at this present conquered the said Dutchy of *Gueldres*[5], where he found some resistance. But because he was mighty, and in truce with the King, he easily subdued it, and held it

[1] This Duke *Adolph* married *Katherine*, daughter to *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, and *Agnes*, Sister to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*. *Meyer*.

[2] Duke *Arnold* lay in Prison six years. *Meyer*: But he misseth the Cushion. For other approved Authors, and namely *Guicciardin* agree with *Commines*.

[3] The French hath *Mimbourg* or *Membourg*, which is as much as Captain or Governor. Look more hereof in the Pedegree of the Dukes of *Gueldres*.

[4] Lest it seem strange that this young Duke, whom our Author in this very Chapter reporteth to have been well-favored of the Duke of *Burgundy*, should be staid and imprisoned in his Dominions; You shall understand, that the Duke of *Burgundy* upon hope to be D. *Arnolds* heir himself, altered his minde, and of the young Dukes friend, became his foe.

[5] The Emperor stirred not against the Duke of *Burgundy*, for taking by force the Dutchy of *Gueldres*, which was held of the Empire, because the Dukes of *Gueldres*, by the space of thirty years, had done no homage to the Empire. The Duke subdued *Gueldres*, *Anno* 1473. *Meyer*.

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all the days of his life; and his Off-spring poſſeſſeth it yet at this day, and ſo ſhall as long as it pleaſeth God. This, as I ſaid at the beginning, I have rehearſed onely to ſhew, that ſuch cruelty and impiety never remaineth unpuniſhed.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, being returned into his Countrey, grew wonderful lofty and high-minded, becauſe he had gotten this Dutchy into his Claws, and began to finde great ſweetneſs in theſe Dutch enterpriſes; both, for that the Emperor was a Prince of an abject minde, enduring all things rather, than he would ſpend any thing; and alſo, becauſe without aid of the Princes of the Empire, his own force was but ſmall: Wherefore the Duke prolonged the Truce with the King. Some of the Kings ſervants were of opinion, that the King did unadviſedly to prolong the Truce, and ſuffer the Duke to grow as he did. And ſure they had ſome apparance of reaſon to lead them ſo to ſay; but becauſe they lacked experience, and had not ſeen the world abroad, they wiſt not what the matter meant. But others that underſtood the caſe better than they, and were able to ſay more therein, becauſe they had travelled thoſe Countries, adviſed the King to prolong the Truce, and permit the Duke to wear and weary himſelf againſt the Countrey of *Almain* (the greatneſs and force whereof, is almoſt incredible) [6] alledging, that after he had taken one place, or atchieved one enterpriſe, he would forthwith attempt another: For one good adventure could not content his nature, wherein he was of diſpoſition clean contrary to the King; for the Duke the more he was buſied, the more he ſought to buſie himſelf. Wherefore, they told the King that he could no way better be revenged of the Duke, than by ſuffering him to run himſelf out of breath as he did, adviſing him withal, rather to ſend him ſome ſmall aid, than put him in any doubt of breach of the Truce: Further alledging, that it could not otherwiſe happen, but that he muſt of neceſſity utterly conſume himſelf againſt the greatneſs and force of *Almain*; becauſe the Princes of the Empire would make reſiſtance, were the Emperor never ſo ſimple a man. And ſo it came to paſs in the end.

[6] It was our Author himſelf, that gave the King this advice. *Meyer.*

There was a quarrel [7] between two, pretending Title to the Biſhoprick of *Couloin*: One of the which, was the *Lantzgrave* of *Heſſes* Brother, and the other, the *Palſgrave* of the *Rhine* his Coſin [8]. The Duke of *Burgundy* took part with the *Palſgrave*, and attempted to place him in the See of *Couloin* by force, truſting thereby to ſeize ſome places of the Countrey into his own hands; and to that end, went and laid his ſiege before *Nuz*, a Town near to *Couloin*. In the year 1474. he had ſo many great enterpriſes in his head, that in the end, the burthen thereof preſſed him to the ground. For in the ſelf-ſame Summer he both travelled with *Edward*, King of *England*, to paſs with his Army into *France*, being in a readineſs by his ſute and ſollicitation; and purpoſed alſo to atchieve his enterpriſe in *Almain*, which was this. If he had taken *Nuz*, he meant to man it well, and two or three other places above *Couloin* [9], whereby the City of *Couloin* being at his commandment [10], he might have gone up countermount againſt the River of *Rhine*, into the Countrey of *Ferette*, which he then held; and ſo all the *Rhine* ſhould have been under his ſubjection, even down to *Holland*, where it entreth the Sea: Upon which River are more ſtrong Towns and Caſtles, than in any Realm in Chriſtendom, except *France*. The Truce with the King was prolonged for ſix moneths; which time being now almoſt exſpired, the King laboured to prolong it ſtill, to the end the Duke might do his pleaſure in *Almain*; whereunto the Duke would not agree, becauſe of his promiſe to the Engliſhmen.

[7] This quarrel began *Anno* 1472. *Meyer.*

[8] The *Palſgraves* name was *Robert*: his Chapter and he were at variance in ſuch ſort, that they had gotten him excommunicated, and choſen *Harman* the *Lantzgrave* of *Heſſes* Brother, to govern the Church. Then the Duke of *Burgundy* took upon him to place him again in his See; which appertained not to him, but to the Emperor and the Pope; in the end, this *Robert* was taken and died in priſon.

[9] The League between the Duke and the Biſhop, was, for his charges, that, and three or four places above *Couloin*, the ſaid City of *Couloin* being on all ſides invironed by him, muſt perforce have been at his commandment.

I would gladly paſs over this ſiege of *Nuz*, becauſe it is out of the courſe of my Hiſtory, for I was not preſent at it; notwithſtanding, ſomewhat I am forced to ſpeak thereof, becauſe of divers accidents depending thereupon. The ſaid Town of *Nuz* was marvellous ſtrong, and within it was the *Lantzgrave* of *Heſſe* [11], with many of his kinſfolks and friends, to the number of Eigh een hundred Horſmen, as I have been informed (who valiantly behaved themſelves,) and of Footmen ſufficient. The *Lantzgrave*, as I have ſaid, was Brother to the Biſhop elected, againſt him whom the Duke of *Burgundy* defended, who laid his ſiege before *Nuz* in the year 1474.

That theſe places here mentioned (belonging to the Church of *Couloin*) ſhould have remained to the Duke *Nuz* was beſieged the 28 of *July*, 1474. *Meyer.* [10] *Nuz* is beneath *Couloin*; ſo that if the Duke had held muſt perforce have been at his commandment. [11] This *Lantzgrave* was *Lodowicus*, Grand-father to *Philip* that laſt died.

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His force was never ſo great as then, eſpecially of Horſmen: For, becauſe he meant to attempt ſomewhat in *Italy*, he had in pay a thouſand *Italian* men of arms, good and bad, under the leading of one, called the Earl of *Campobache*, a *Neopolitan*, born of the houſe of *Anjou's* faction; a dangerous and a traiterous fellow. In the Dukes Camp ſerved alſo *James Galeot*, a valiant Gentleman of *Naples*, and divers others, whoſe names for brevity I paſs over. Further, he had in his army Three thouſand Engliſhmen, excellent good Soldiers; and of his own Subjects, a marvellous number well-armed, and who long had been trained up in the Wars; beſides great force of goodly peeces of Artillery. All the which preparation he put in a readineſs, to joyn with the Engliſh men at their landing, who uſed as great diligence in *England* as they could. But it is long before an army can be levied there, becauſe the King may attempt no War before he have aſſembled His Court of Parliament, being the ſame in effect that the three Eſtates in *France*, which I think is a very good and a laudable Cuſtom: For the King by that means is the ſtronger, and the better ſerved in all enterpriſes he taketh in hand, with the conſent of his Eſtates; to whom when they are aſſembled, he declareth his intent, and deſireth aid of his ſubjects: For no Subſidy is levied in *England*, but for invaſion of *France* or *Scotland*, or ſuch like enterpriſes of great charge, which then the people grant willingly and liberally, eſpecially to paſs into *France*: Wherefore, the Kings of *England* uſe often when money faileth them, to levy an army, and make ſhew as though they would invade *Scotland* or *France*. But after they have received money for a year, they lie abroad in Camp three moneths, and then return home, and diſmiſs their army: Which practiſe King *Edward* was well acquainted with, and uſed often.

It was, at the leaſt, a year before this Engliſh army could be in a readineſs; but when it was furniſhed of all things neceſſary, the King of *England* advertiſed the Duke of *Burgundy* thereof, who in the beginning of the Summer went before *Nuz*, truſting in ſhort ſpace to put his Biſhop in poſſeſſion, and to retain certain places, as *Nuz*, and others in his own hands; to what purpoſe you have heard before.

I think verily that this proceeded of God, who beheld with a pitiful eye this Realm of *France*; which undoubtedly, the Duke might ſhrewdly have ſhaken, conſidering, that his army was mighty, and all of old Soldiers, accuſtomed by the ſpace of many years to enter and ſpoil this Realm, without any reſiſtance, ſave onely by defence of the ſtrong Towns. True it is, that this proceeded of the King, who would hazard nothing, partly for fear of the Dukes force, and partly for doubt of Rebellion in his Realm, if he ſhould receive an overthrow; for he knew himſelf not to be beloved of all his Subjects, eſpecially the Nobility. And (if I may utter all) he hath oftentimes told me, that he knew his Subjects well enough, and ſhould finde them rebellious, if his affairs hapned to have hard ſucceſs. Wherefore, when the Duke of *Burgundy* entred into the Realm, he manned the Towns well, by the which he paſſed; whereby in ſhort ſpace the Dukes army brake it ſelf, and the King never endangered his eſtate, which undoubtedly proceeded of great wiſdom. But all this notwithſtanding, the Dukes force being ſo great as it was; if the King of *Englands* army had alſo entred in the beginning of Summer, (as aſſuredly it would, had not the Duke ſo obſtinately lain before *Nuz*,) undoubtedly the Realm had ſtood in great danger; for never King of *England* paſſed at once with ſo great force, nor ſo well diſpoſed to fight. All the great Lords of *England* were there, none excepted. Their men of arms were 1500. at the leaſt (which was much for the Engliſh-men) all well appointed and well accompanied, and 14000. Archers on horſ-back, beſides a great number of Foot-men that ſerved in the army, and in all their Camp was not one Page. Further, the King of *England* had in a readineſs Three thouſand men to Land in *Britain*, to joyn there with the Duke of *Britains* forces. I ſaw my ſelf, two Letters written with the Lord of *Urfes* own hands, (then ſervant to the Duke of *Britain*, but afterward Maſter of the Horſe to K. *Charles*,) the one addreſſed to the King of *England*, and the other to the Lord *Haſtings*, Lord Great Chamberlain of *England* [12]. The contents whereof, among divers other things were, that the Duke of *Britain* would do more in *France* by intelligence, in a moneth, than the King of *England*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, (notwithſtanding their great forces) in half a year; which words, I think, would have proved true, if the matter had come to execution: But God (who hath always loved this Realm) diſpoſed of theſe affairs, as hereafter you ſhall hear. Theſe Letters above mentioned, the King bought of one of the King of *Englands* Secretaries, for threeſcore marks of ſilver.

[12] The Lord *Haſtings* was indeed but Chamberlain of the Kings houſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. II. *How the town of* Nuz *was ſuccoured by the Emperour and the* Almains *againſt the Duke of* Burgundy, *and of other enemies that the King procured the Duke.*

THE Duke of *Burgundy*, as you have heard, was now buſied before *Nuz*, and found the enterpriſe to be of more difficulty, then he ſuppoſed. The City of *Couloin* ſcituate upon the River of *Rhene*, four leagues a bove *Nuz*, ſpent monthly [1] in the wars 100004 gold gildons, for fear of the Duke. And they and certain other towns above them had already put fifteen or ſixteen thouſand footmen into the field, who encamped on the other ſide of the River, directly over againſt the Duke, and planted great force of Artillery upon the Bank, thinking thereby to cut off his victuals, that came up the ſtream out of *Guelderland*, and to ſink the Boats by Cannon-ſhot. Moreover, the Emperour and the Princes Electors of the Empire aſſembled together about this buſineſſe, and concluded to levy an Army: whereunto the King ſent divers Meſſengers to ſolicite them, to whom alſo they ſent a Chanon of *Couloin*, of the Houſe of *Baviere*, accompanied with an other ambaſſadour, who brought him a Roll of the Army the Emperour was reſolved to levy, if he, for his part, would joyn in the Enterpriſe. It is not to be doubted, but that they received a good anſwer, with promiſe of all they demanded: Further, the King aſſured by Letters, as well the Emperour, as divers Princes and Towns, that ſo ſoon as the Emperour with his Army ſhould come to *Couloin*, he would ſend twenty thouſand men to joyn with him, under the leading of the Lord of *Cran* and *Sallezard*. Thus this Dutch Army prepared to march, being greater than is almoſt credible [2]: for all the Princes of *Almain* as well Spiritual as Temporal, all the Biſhops Towns and Commonalties had men there; yea, ſo great numbers of every one of them, that (as I was informed) the Biſhop of *Munſter* who is none of the richeſt Biſhops, had in this Army ſix thouſand foot-men, fourteen hundred horſe-men, and twelve hundred waggons, all covered with green: true it is, that his Biſhoprick lieth neer to *Nuz* [3]. The Emperor was 7 months in levying this Army; which timebeing expired, he came and encamped within half a league of the Duke of *Burgundy*: by divers of whoſe men I have been advertiſed, that though the King of *Englands* Army and the Dukes had been joyned both together, yet ſhould they not have been the third part of the Emperours, neither in men, nor in tents and pavilions; beſides, the Emperours force, was alſo this other Army above-mentioned, which lay directly over againſt the Duke on the other ſide of the River, and endamaged greatly his camp, and cut off much of his victuals.

[1] The City of *Couloin* took part with the Chapter againſt the Duke of *Burgundies* Biſhop.

[2] The Emperor had in pay in this army 80000 men.

[3] But his Biſhoprick is on the other ſide of the River of *Rhene*.

When the Emperour and the Princes of the Empire were come before *Nuz*, they ſent to the King a Doctor, of great authority with them, called *Heſenare*, afterward a Cardinal, who came to ſolicite the King to perform his promiſe, and ſend the forces whereof he had aſſured the Emperour by Letters; otherwiſe to tell him that the *Almains* would conclude Peace.

The King put him in good hope that he would ſo do, and gave him a preſent of four hundred crowns, and ſent with him to the Emperour, one called *John Tiercelin*, Lord of *Broſſe*; notwithſtanding the Doctor departed nothing well contented. During this ſiege marvellous practiſes were entertained. The King travelled to conclude peace with the Duke of *Burgundy*, at the leaſt to prolong the truce, to the end, the Engliſh men ſhould not paſſe the Seas. The King of *England*, on the other ſide, laboured to the uttermoſt of his Power, to perſwade the Duke to depart from *Nuz*, and perform his promiſe by aiding him to make war in *France*, alledging that the Summer was far ſpent. And the Lord *Scales* a courteous Knight, Nephew to the Conſtable of *France*, with divers others, was twice ſent ambaſſadour to the Duke to ſolicite him thereunto: But he was obſtinate; whereby it manifeſtly appeared, that God had troubled his wits and underſtanding: For all his life time he had laboured with the Engliſh men to paſſe into *France*; and now, when they were in a readineſſe, and all things prepared for the wars, as well in *Brittain* as elſe where, he lay obſtinately before a place impregnable. With the Emperour was a Legate ſent from the Pope, who rode daily between the two Camps to treat of Peace. The King of *Denmark* came alſo thither, and travelled to pacifie this controverſie, being lodged in a little town hard by both the Armies: ſo that the Duke might have departed to

the Englishmen. with honourable conditions. Notwithstanding he would not, but excused himself to the King of *England* upon his Honour, which he said should be soiled, if he levied his siege; with divers such like slender excuses. Here you must note, that these were not those Englishmen, that, in the time of Duke *Philip* his father, had made war so long in this Realm, but these were young Souldiers, utterly unacquainted with our French affairs. Wherefore the Duke proceeded very fondly, if he meant to use their help: for he should the first Summer have been continually with them, leading them from place to place, and instructing them what was to be done.

While the Duke lay thus obstinately before *Nuz*, war arose against him on two or three sides: for the Duke of *Lorrain*, who hitherto had been in peace with him sent to defie him before *Nuz*, by the Lord of *Crans* perswasion: who to further the Kings affairs, allured the Duke of *Lorrain* thereunto, assuring him that it would turn greatly to his profit. Incontinently the said Duke of *Lorrain* put himself into the field, and spoiled all the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, and raized a place there called *Pierre-fort*, two leagues from *Nancy*. Further, by the Kings procurement and certain of his servants, a league was made for ten years between the Swissers and certain towns upon the River of *Rhene*[4] (namely *Basil*, *Strasbourg*, and others) which before had been their enemies. Peace was also concluded between Duke *Sigismund* of *Austrich*, and the said Swissers; the conditions whereof were, that Duke *Sigismund* should take again the County of *Ferrete*[5], which he had engaged to the Duke of *Burgundy* for an hundred thousand Florens: But this one Article remaineth yet in variance between Duke *Sigismund*, and them; namely that the Swissers required passage through four towns of the County of *Ferrette*[6], at their pleasure: which controversie was referred to the Kings arbitrament, who pronounced sentence, for the Swissers. Hereby you may perceive, what enemies the King stirred up covertly against the Duke of *Burgundy*.

As the matter was concluded, so also was it executed: for, in a fair moonshine night, *Peter Archambaut*[7], Governour of the County of *Ferrette*, for the Duke of *Burgundy*, was taken Prisoner, accompanied with 800 souldiers; who were all dismissed safe and sound save himself alone, whom they led to *Basil*[8], and there endited of divers extortions and outrages committed in the said County of *Ferrette*, and in the end struck off his head. Immediately after his death, all the County of *Ferrette* yielded to Duke *Sigismund*, and the Swissers began to make war in *Burgundy*, and took *Blasmund* a Town being the Marshals of *Burgundy*, who was of the House of *Neuf-chastell*, and besieged the Castle of *Heri-court*, belonging also to the said house of *Neuf-Chastel*, whither the Burgundians went to levy the siege, but were discomfited[9], and a great number slain. The said Swissers marvellously endamaged the Country, and then returned home for that time.

4 These Towns were *Strasbourg*, *Slecstat*, *Basil*, *Colmar*, &c.

5 *Ferrette* in Dutch *Pfirt*.

6 The Towns, the Swissers desired passage through, were *Reinfeld*, *Lounsenberg*, *Neustar* and *Brissac*.

7 Others call him *Peter Hagenbach*; but the variance ariseth because one named him by his sirname, the other by his Seignory: for he was called *Peter Archambaut* of *Hagenbach*.

8 Others write, that he was beheaded at *Brissac*, a town near to *Basil*.

9 The Lord of *Blasmonde* led this Army, and in this battel the Burgundians lost 2000 men, *Annal. Burgund.*

CHAP. III.

How the King wan from the Duke of Burgundy *the Castle of* Tronquey, *the townes of* Montdidier, Roy, *and* Corby; *and how he sought to perswade the Emperour* Frederick *to seize upon all that the said Duke held of the Empire.*

About this time the truce ended between the King and the Duke, to the Kings great grief, who gladly would have prolonged it, but seeing no remedy, he went and besieged a little Castle called *Tronquor* in the year 1475 in the very beginning of Summer, the pleasantest time of the year. The Castle in short space was taken by assault: the next day the King sent me to parly with them that were within *Montdidier* who yielded the Town, and departed with bag and baggage. Thence I went the third day being accompanied with the Admiral of *France* Bastard of *Bourbon*, to parly with them that were within *Roy*, who in like manner yielded the place; because they were utterly in despair of succours, which sure, if the Duke had been in the Country, they would not have done: Notwithstanding both these towns were burned contrary to our promise. Thence the King departed, and laid his camp before *Corby*, which abode the siege. Goodly approaches were made to the Town, and the Kings Artillery beat it three dayes; within it was the Lord of *Contay*[1], and divers others, who yielded the place and departed with bag and baggage: two dayes after, this poor town was also sacked and burned, as the two former. Then the King thought to repaire home with his Army, trusting to perswade the Duke of *Burgundy* to make truce, considering the distresse he was in. But a certain La-

1 This *Contay* is successour to him mentioned in the wars against the Liegeois,

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dy; whom I know well, yet will not name, becauſe ſhe is ſtill living, writ him a letter willing him to lead his Army to *Arras*, and into thoſe parts; whereunto the King agreed, for ſhe was a woman of honor. I commend her not in thus doing, for ſhe was in no reſpect bouud to the King. The King ſent thither the Lord Admirall Baſtard of *Bourbon* with a great Band of men, which burned many townes in thoſe quarters, and ſpoiled all the Country between *Abbeville* and *Arras*: whereupon the Citizens of *Arras*, who were puffed up with pride, becauſe of their long proſperity, compelled the Garriſon of the town to iſſue forth. But, being too weak to encounter with the Kings Forces, they were put to flight, and purſued ſo ſpeedily, that many of them were ſlain and taken, together with all their Captains; namely, M. *James* of *S. Paul*[2] the Conſtables Brother, the Lord of *Contay*, the Lord of *Carency*, and divers others, ſome of the which were near Kinſmen to the Lady her ſelf, that had cauſed this enterpriſe, ſo that ſhe received great damage by the overthrow; but the King, for her ſake, repaired all in time.

[2] This *James* is named in other Hiſtories Lord of *Richebourg*.

The King ſent to the Emperour (as you have heard) *John Tiercelin*, Lord of *Broſſe*; partly to ſollicite him not to make peace with the Duke of *Burgundy*, and partly to make his excuſe for not ſending his forces according to his promiſe: and further to aſſure him, that he would ſhortly ſend them, and would alſo continue to ſpoil and endamage the Dukes Dominions, as well in the marches[3] of *Burgundy*, as alſo in *Picardy*. Laſtly, he made him anew overture, which was, that they ſhould ſwear each to other, not to make peace the one without the other, and that the Emperour ſhould ſeize into his hands all the Seignories that the Duke held and ought to hold of the Empire; and Proclaim them forfeited to him. And he would do the like, with all thoſe that were held of the Crown of *France*; namely *Flaunders*, *Artois*, *Burgundy*, and the reſt. The Emperour, though all his life time, he had made ſmall ſhew of any valour, yet was he wiſe and of great experience, becauſe of his ancient years. Further, theſe practiſes between us and him, had continued ſo long, that he waxed weary of the wars, notwithſtanding that they coſt him never a groat For all the Princes of *Almain* lay there upon their own charge, as their manner is, when the war concerneth the ſtate of the Empire. The Emperor anſwered the Kings Ambaſſadors after this ſort; There was ſometime near to a certain City in *Germany*, a great Bear, that much endamaged the Country; three good fellowes of the which City, being tavern haunters came to a tavern, where they were indebted, deſiring their hoſt, yet once more to give them credit, promiſing him within two dayes payment of the whole debt: for they would take this Bear, that did ſo much harm in the Countrey, whoſe skin was worth a great ſum of money, beſides the preſents, that good folks would give them: whereunto their Hoſt agreed; and when they had dined, forth they went towards this Beaſts Cave; near to the which when they approached, they met with the Bear unlooked for, and being ſtricken with ſudden fear fled; one got into a Tree, the other fled towards the Town, but the third the Bear took, and over threw, and foiled under her feet, holding her muſſel hard to his ear. The poor ſoul lay flat upon the ground, as though he had been dead. Now you ſhall underſtand that the nature of a Bear is ſuch, that whatſoever ſhe holdeth in her claws Man or Beaſt, ſo ſoon as ſhe ſeeth it to leave ſtirring, ſhe forthwith forſaketh it, ſuppoſing it to be dead; as alſo this Bear left this poor fellow, not doing him any great harm, & returned to her Den. Then he ſeing the danger paſt aroſe and went toward the town. But his fellow that ſtood in the Tree having beheld all this pageant, came down and ran crying after him to ſtay; and when he had overtaken him, deſired him to tell him faithfully, what counſell the Bear gave him in his ear, whereto ſhe held her muſſell ſo long: whereunto his fellow anſwered, that ſhe bad him never to ſell the Bears skin till the Bear was ſlain. And with this Fable paid the Emperour our King, not giving his Ambaſſadours, any further anſwer; as though he ſhould have ſaid, Come hither according to your promiſe, and let us take this Duke if we can, and then make partition of his goods.

[3] For in the Marches of *Burgundy* the Duke of *Bourbon* had given the Burgundians a great overthrow, as our Author in the next chapter maketh mention.

CHAP. IV. *How the Conſtable began to be had in ſuſpition again, as well of the King, as of the Duke of Burgundy.*

YOu have heard, how Maſter *James* of *Saint Paul*, and others, were taken Priſoners before *Arras*. Their captivity was to the Conſtables great grief: for the ſaid Maſter *James* was a loving and kind brother to him. But this was not the only miſfortune that fell upon him: for at this very inſtant was alſo taken the Earl of *Rouſſy* his Son, Governour of *Burgundy* for the Duke[1]; and likewiſe his wife died, which was a vertuous Lady, and ſiſter to the Queen of *France*, ſo that for her ſake, he had found great friendſhip and favour in our Court. The practice begun againſt him ſtill continued, which, as you have heard, was almoſt concluded at the aſſembly held there-about, at *Bouvines*: after the which, the Conſtable never thought himſelf in aſſurance, but miſtruſted both the Princes, eſpecially the King, who ſeemed to repent the revoking of his Letters there ſealed. Further, the Earl of *Dampmartin* and others, whom the Conſtable feared as his enemies, lay with his men of arms near to *Saint Quintins*: whe efore he held himſelf within the town, and put into it 300. footmen of his own tenants, having but ſmall aſſiance in his men of arms. He lived in great trouble; for the King had often ſent to him to ſolicit him to come forth to do him ſervice in the Marches of *Henault*, and to beſiege *Avennes* at the ſame time as the Admiral with his band went to burn the Country of *Attais*, as you have heard; which commandment, he obeyed with great fear: for after he had layen a certain ſpace before the ſaid town of *Avennes*, with a continuall guard about his own perſon, he retired into his own places, and ſent the King word by one of his ſervants (who did his meſſage to me by the Kings commandment) that he had raiſed his ſiege, becauſe he was certainly enformed that there were two in the Army purpoſely hired by the King to kill him: whereof alſo he told ſo many apparent tokens, that he ſeemed indeed to have ſome notice thereof, ſo far forth, that one of them was ſuſpected to have diſcloſed ſomewhat to him, that he ought to have kept ſecret: But I will name no man, neither ſpeak further thereof. The Conſtable ſent often to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s camp, I ſuppoſe, to perſwade him to relinquiſh his fooliſh enterpriſe, advertiſing the King alſo uſually at his mens return of ſome ſuch news, as he thought would like him well, and withall what was the cauſe of his ſending thither, hoping, by this means, to entertain him with fair words. Sometimes alſo, he gave him to underſtand, that the Dukes affairs had good proceeding, thereby to put him in fear. Further, doubting greatly that the King would invade him, he deſired the Duke to ſend unto him his Brother Maſter *James* of *S. Paul* (being at *Nuz* before he was taken priſoner) and the Lord of *Fiennes*, with certain others of his Kinſmen, promiſing to put them and their bands into *S. Quintins* (but without the S. *Andrewes* Croſſe[2]) and to keep the Town for the Duke, and reſtore it to him ſhortly after: for performance alſo whereof, he offered to give him his faith in writing. The Duke did as he required, and when the ſaid maſter *James*, the Lord of *Fiennes*, and the reſt of the Conſtables Kinſmen, were twice come within a league or two of the Town ready to enter, the Conſtable thinking the ſtorm paſt, altered his mind and ſent a countermand: this did he thrice, ſo deſirous was he ſtill to live in diſſimulation, and ſwim as it were between two ſtreams, fearing marvelloufly both theſe Princes. Of this matter I have been informed by divers, but eſpecially by Mr. *James* of *S. Paul* himſelf, who thus reported the circumſtance thereof to the King; when he was brought priſoner before him, where no man was preſent, but my ſelf alone. The ſaid Maſter *James* anſwered frankely and without diſſimulation to all the Kings demands, whereby he wan greatly his favour. Firſt, the King asked him how many men he had with him to enter the town: whereunto he anſwered, that at the laſt time, he had three thouſand: then the King enquired further, if he had entred, and had been Maſter of the Town, whether he would have held it for the King, or the Conſtable? Whereunto he likewiſe anſwered, that the two firſt times he came but to comfort his Brother, but the laſt, (ſeeing his diſſimulation to his Maſter and him) if he had entred, and had been Maſter of the town, he would have held it for his Maſter, not offering his brother any outrage, nor doing any thing to his prejudice, ſave onely that he would not have departed the town, at his commandment. Soon after, the King delivered the ſaid *James* of *S. Paul* out of Priſon, and gave him charge of a goodly company of men ofarms, and uſed his ſervice till his death: of which his preferment his wiſeanſwers was the onely cauſe.

[1] This Overthrow the Duke of *Bourbon* gave the Burgundians, near to a place called *Grey* or *Gy*, not far from *Chaſteauguion*: and in the battel was ſlain the Lord of *Couches*, others ſay but taken; & there were taken priſoners the Earl of *Rouſſy*, being Governour of *Burgundy*, the Marſhal of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Joigny*, the Earl of *S. Martins* Son, Monſieur *de Loigny* or *Longny*, the Bailiff of *Auxerre*. This battel was fought on *Tueſday* the 20 of *June* 1475 and in it two hundred men of armes Lombards were ſlain, *Meyer*. About this time alſo the Prince of *Orenge* was taken priſoner, and by means therof revolted from the Duke to the King *Arnal. Bargat.*

[2] The Saint *Andrew*'s croſs is the Burgundians cogniſance, and if they had entred with this croſs upon their coats the Conſtable could have no longer temporiſ'd with the King of *France*, but ſhould forthwith have been proclaimd traitor.

CHAP. V. *How the Duke of* Burgundy *levied his siege before Nuz by composition: and how the King of* England, *his confederate, sent to defie King* Lewis.

I Have discourſed of divers affairs, ſince I began with the ſiege of *Nuz*, becauſe they all hapned in that time, for the ſiege endured a whole year. There were two cauſes eſpecially that moved the Duke to levy his ſiege: one, the Warre the King made in *Picardy*, where he had burned two proper Towns, and deſtroyed a goodly Champain-country in *Artois* and *Ponthieu*. The other, the mighty army the King of *England* levied, at his ſuite and ſollicitation: whom till now he could never perſwade to paſſe into *France*, notwithſtanding that he had laboured him thereunto all the dayes of his life. The ſaid King of *England*, and all his Nobles, were marvellouſly diſcontented with the Dukes delayes; and beſides intreaties uſed threatnings, and not without cauſe, conſidering the great charges they had ſuſtained, and all to no purpoſe, the Summer being now almoſt ſpent. The Duke gloried much that this Dutch army being ſo great that the like hath not been ſeen in our age, nor many years before; and in the which were ſo many Princes, Prelates, and free Cities, joyned together, was not able to raiſe his ſiege [1]. But this glory coſt him full dear: for he that hath the profit of the War, reapeth alſo the honour thereof. Notwithſtanding the Legat above-mentioned (who rode continually between the two Camps) made peace in the end between the Emperour and the Duke [2]: and the Town of *Nuz* was put into the ſaid Legats hands, to do therewith according to the determination of the See Apoſtolick. Now conſider, in how great diſtreſſe the Duke of *Burgundy* was, being on the one ſide vexed with War by the King, and threatned on the other by the King of *England* his friend, ſo that notwithſtanding he knew the Town of *Nuz* to be brought to ſuch extremity, that within leſs then fifteen days, famine would have conſtrained them to yield to his mercy, yea within ten dayes (as one of the Captains within the Town, who afterward ſerved the King, advertiſed me:) yet for the reaſons above alledged, he was forced to leave his ſiege [3] in the year 1475.

Let us now return to the King of *England*, who led his army to *Dover*, there to embark to croſſe the Seas to *Calais*. The force that paſſed with him at this preſent, was the greateſt that ever came into *France*, all of them being on horſeback in very good order, and well armed. All the Nobles of the Realm were there, a few excepted: they were 1500. men of arms very well mounted, and the moſt of them barded, and richly trapped after the manner of our wars, and well accompanied with horſemen of their retinue. They were at the leaſt 15000. archers all mounted, and a great number of footmen and others, as well to pitch their Tents, (whereof they were well furniſhed) as alſo to attend upon their artillery, and encloſe their Camp, and in all their army they had not one Page: beſides theſe, there were three thouſand Engliſh men appointed to land in *Brittain*. This I have written before, but rehearſe it here again, to the end you may perceive that God was purpoſed to trouble the Duke of *Burgundy*'s wits, and preſerve this Realm, which he hath ever more favoured than any other: otherwiſe is it to be thought, that the Duke would ſo obſtinately have lien before *Nuz*, a place ſo ſtrong and ſo well defended, ſeeing all his life time till now, he could never find the Engliſh men diſpoſed to invade the Realm of *France*, and knew them to be utterly unacquainted with our French Wars, till they be trained therein: for if he would have done any good with them, he ſhould never have left them the firſt Summer, but helped them and taught them to order and lead their battells after the manner of our Wars: for there is no Nation ſo ignorant and rude as the Engliſh men, at their firſt landing in *France*; but in very ſhort ſpace, they become excellent good ſouldiers, hardy and wiſe. But the duke did clean contrary: for beſides thoſe other his overſights, he made them loſe the Summer: and as touching himſelf, his army was ſo broken, ſo poor, and in ſo ill order, that he durſt not preſent it before them: for he loſt before *Nuz* four thouſand ſouldiers taking pay: ſome of the which were the beſt

[1] *Melanchthon* writeth, that the Emperour would not hazard a Battell, neither with *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, nor Duke *Charles*: *Quia ſibi ſciebat, Martem in geneſi infeliciter poſitum eſſe.* But *Berlandus* ſaith that the Duke fought with the Emperour. *Meyer* ſaith, that in a skirmiſh the Duke overthrew the Marqueſſe *Albert* of *Brandenbourg*, and ſlew 120. of his men, and took divers priſoners: and another time overthrew the Biſhop of *Munſter*, ſlew fifty, took ſixteen, and chaſed the Biſhop hard to the Emperours Camp: and likewiſe another time the Biſhops of *Mentz*, *Treers*, *Munſter*, and Marcueſſe *Albert*, & ſlew

a great number of their men. And laſt of all, becauſe the Emperour and the Duke contended whether of them ſhould firſt depart from before *Nuz*, their footmen joyned, and the Duke ſlew 1500. [2] Peace was concluded between the Emperour and the Duke 31 *May*. 1475. [3] The Emperour departed from *Nuz* 29 *June*. leaving the Duke there, who would not levy his ſiege before the Emperours departure, becauſe of his honour, but ſoon after departed alſo the Duke. *Meyer*.

men he had [4]. Thus you ſee, how God diſpoſed him in all points, to do contrary both to that his affairs required, and alſo to the art of War, wherein himſelf had been exerciſed by the ſpace of ten years more than any man then living.

When King *Edward* came to *Dover*, the Duke of *Burgundy* to further his paſſage, ſent five hundred Boats of *Holland* and *Zeland*, called Scuts, which are flat and low, built very commodiouſly for tranſporting of horſes. But notwithſtanding all this help they had from the Duke, and all the King of *England* could command himſelf, he was above three weeks in paſſing between *Calice* and *Dover*, yet are they but ſeven leagues diſtant: whereby you may perceive with how great difficulty a King of *England* invadeth *France*. And if the King our Maſter had been as well acquainted with the Wars by Sea as by Land; King *Edward* had never paſſed over, at the leaſt not that Summer. But the King underſtood them not, and thoſe that had charge of them much leſſe. The King of *England* as I have ſaid, was three weeks in paſſing: one Ship of *Eu* took two or three of his ſmall paſſengers.

Before King *Edward* embarked, he ſent from *Dover* to the King one Herault alone, called *Garter*, a Norman borne [5], who brought a Letter of defiance from the King of *England* in very good language, and ſo excellently well penned, that I am verily perſwaded it was never of Engliſh mans doing. The Contents of the Letter were, that the King ſhould yield unto him the Realm of *France*, being his inheritance, to the end he might reſtore the Clergy and Nobility to their ancient liberty, eaſe them of the great charges they ſuſtained, and deliver them from the miſeries they lived in: which if he refuſed to do, he proteſted what great miſchiefs ſhould inſue thereof, in manner and form as in ſuch caſes is accuſtomed. The King read the Letter ſoftly to himſelf, and afterward all alone withdrew himſelf into a wardrob, and commanded the Herault to be brought to his preſence, to whom he made this anſwer; Firſt, that he knew well the King of *England* was not paſſed the Seas of his own diſpoſition, but by the perſwaſion of the Duke of *Burgundy* and the commonalty of *England*: Secondarily, that the Summer was now almoſt ſpent, and that the Duke of *Burgundy* returned from *Nuz*, as a man diſcomfited and utterly unfurniſhed of all things: Thirdly, as touching the Conſtable, he knew well (he ſaid) that he had intelligence with the King of *England*, becauſe he had married his Neece [6], but that he would deceive the King his Maſter, as he had deceived him, notwithſtanding all the great benefits he had received of him, which he there rehearſed; adding thereunto, that the ſaid Conſtable meant to live in continual diſſimulation, and entertain every man to make his profit of him: laſt of all, he alledged to the Herault divers other reaſons, to perſwade the King his Maſter to peace, and gave him with his own hands three hundred crowns, promiſing him a thouſand more, if peace were concluded: further, openly he gave him for a preſent, a goodly piece of crimſon Velvet of thirty ells.

The Herault anſwered, that he would labour the beſt he could for peace, and thought the King his Maſter would eaſily be won thereunto, but that no mention muſt be made thereof till he were on this ſide the Sea: and then he willed the King our Maſter to ſend a Herault to the Engliſh Camp, to demand a ſafe conduct for certain Ambaſſadors that he would ſend to the King of *England*, and to addreſs his letters to the Lord *Howard*, or the Lord *Stanley*, and to himſelf alſo, to help to convey his Herault.

A great number there were without in the Hall, while the King talked with the Herault, very deſirous to hear the Kings anſwer, and to ſee his countenance at his coming forth. When he had made an end, he called me to him, bidding me continually to entertain the Herault, till ſome were appointed to bear him company, to the end no man might commune with him: and further, to give him a piece of crimſon Velvet of thirty ells, which I did accordingly. Then the King began to talk with divers, rehearſing unto them the Contents of theſe Letters of defiance: and ſeven or eight he called apart cauſing the ſaid Letters to be read, and ſhewing a good and aſſured countenance void of all fear: for he was glad of the comfort the Herault had put him in.

[4] The Duke loſt before *Nuz* fifteen thouſand men, *Annal. Burgund.* wherefore *Meyer* hath ſmall reaſon to reprove our Author for ſaying, that the Dukes army was in ſo poor eſtate that he durſt not let the Engliſh men ſee it.

[5] *Hall* in his Chronicle reproveth our Author for reporting this *Garter* to be a Norman, ſaying that never Norman was King of Heraults: which notwithſtanding I know not why we ſhould believe: for himſelf confeſſeth, that King *Edward* the fourth made a Gaſcoine, namely *Vaucler*, Deputy of *Calice*: a much higher, and more dangerous Office to be in a ſtrangers hand then this.

[6] How the Queen of *England* was the Conſtables Neece, the pedegree in the end of this Book will declare.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI. *Of the trouble the Conſtable was in, and how he ſent Letters of credit to the King of* England, *and the Duke of* Burgundy, *which after were in part cauſe of his death.*

I Muſt yet ſpeak a word or two more here of the Conſtable, who was not a little troubled, as well for the leud touch he had plaid the Duke of *Burgundy*, about the reſtitution of Saint *Quintins*, as alſo becauſe he ſaw himſelf utterly diſfavored of the King; ſo far forth that his principal ſervants, namely, the Lords of *Genly* and *Movy* had already relinquiſhed him, and were in the Kings ſervice; notwithſtanding, the ſaid *de Movy* reſorted ſtill to him ſometimes. Further, the King preſſed the Conſtable earneſtly to come to him, offering to make him ſuch recompence for the County of *Guiſe*, as he required, and the King had often promiſed him. The Conſtable was willing to go, ſo that the King would ſwear by the Croſs of Saint *Lou* of *Angiers* to do him no harm, nor conſent that any other ſhould; alledging, that he might as well ſwear thereby now, as in times paſt he did to the Lord of *Leſcut*: Whereunto the King anſwered, that he would never give that oath to any man [1], but any other he would not refuſe to ſwear. You may eaſily gheſs how much, both the King and the Conſtable were troubled; for that no day eſcaped for a certain ſpace, but one or other paſſed between them about this oath. Wherefore, if we will weigh our eſtate, mans life is very miſery; for we toil and travel our ſelves, to ſhorten our own days, ſaying and writing a number of things clean contrary to our thought. To conclude, if theſe two were troubled on the one ſide, I warrant you, the King of *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy* were no leſs troubled on the other.

[1] The King would not ſwear by the Croſs of Saint *Lou* of *Angiers*, becauſe who ſo touched that Croſs, and forſware himſelf, died miſerably within a year after.

At one time, in a manner, both the King of *England* landed at *Calais* [2], and the Duke of *Burgundy* departed from before *Nuz*, who in great haſte rod ſtraight to *Calais*, to the ſaid King, with a very ſmall train: For he had ſent his army in ſuch poor eſtate, as you have heard, to ſpoil the Countrey of *Barrois* and *Lorrain*, to the end, they might there make merry and refreſh themſelves; which he did, becauſe the Duke of *Lorrain* had begun war upon him, and defied him before *Nuz*. But this ſending of his forces into *Lorrain*, among divers other his over-ſights, in his actions with the Engliſhmen, was not the leaſt; for they thought at their landing, to have found him with 2500. men of arms well appointed, and great force of other Horſmen and Footmen (for ſo he had promiſed, thereby to allure them to paſs the Seas:) And further, that he would have made war in *France* three moneths before their arrival, to the end, they might finde the King the wearier and the weaker; but God (as you have heard) diſpoſed otherwiſe of this matter. The King of *England* departed from *Calais*, in company of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and paſſed through *Boloign*, and from thence to *Peronne*, where the Duke gave the Engliſhmen but cold entertainment; for he cauſed the Gates to be ſtraightly guarded, and would ſuffer but few to enter, ſo that the greateſt part of them lodged in the Fields, as they might well do; for they were well provided of all things neceſſary for that purpoſe.

[2] The King of *England* landed at *Calice* the 4. of *July*. *Meyer*.

After they were come to *Peronne*, the Conſtable ſent to the Duke of *Burgundy*, one of his ſervants, called *Lewis* of *Creville*, by whom he excuſed himſelf; for the withholding of St. *Quintins*, alledging, that if he had reſtored it, he could have ſtood him in no ſtead in the Realm of *France*; for he ſhould utterly have loſt his credit and intelligence there. But now ſeeing the King of *England* was come over in perſon, he promiſed to do hereafter all that the Duke ſhould command him; whereof the better to aſſure him, he ſent him a Letter of credit directed to the King of *England*, but referring the matter of credit to the Declaration of the Duke. Further, he gave the Duke his Faith in writing, to ſerve and ſuccour him, his friends and confederates, as well the King of *England*, as others, againſt all men, none excepted. The Duke delivered the King of *England* his Letter, and withal the matter of credit, adding ſomewhat thereto of his own device; for he aſſured the King, that the Conſtable would deliver into his hands, both St. *Quintin*, and all his other places; which the King eaſily believed, partly becauſe he had married the Conſtables Neece, and partly, becauſe he ſaw him in ſo great fear of the King our Maſter, that he thought he durſt not fail of his promiſe made to the Duke and him; and the Duke

believed

believed it alſo. But the Conſtable meant nothing leſs, for the fear he ſtood in of the King our Maſter, was not ſo great, that it could force him ſo far: But he uſed ſtill his wonted diſſimulation, hoping by theſe fair Meſſages to content them, and ſhew them ſo apparant reaſons of his doings, that they would not as yet conſtrain him to declare himſelf. Now you ſhall underſtand, that King *Edward* and his men were nothing acquainted with our affairs, but went bluntly to work; ſo that they could not as yet ſmell out the cunning uſed here on this ſide the Sea: For naturally, the Engliſhmen that never traveled abroad are very cholerick, as are alſo all people of cold Countries [3]. The Realm of *France*, as you ſee, is ſituate between both; for it is invironed with *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Catalonia*, towards the Eaſt [4], and with *England*, *Flanders*, and *Holland*, towards the Weſt [5], and all along the Country of *Champaign*, *Almain* bordereth upon it; ſo that our Countrey taketh part, both of heat and cold; wherefore the French are of two complexions; but in mine opinion, I never ſaw Countrey in my life better ſeated then the Realm of *France*.

[3] The reaſon is, *Propter craſſos humores quibus abundant eorum corpora, qui vehementiores excitant affectus, & innatam caloris vim quæ etiam augetur per antiperiſtaſin.*

[4] By the Eaſt, he meaneth all Seas to the great Ocean.

[5] By the Weſt, he meaneth all Weſt and North Seas.

The King of *England*, who rejoyced marvellouſly at this Meſſage ſent by the Conſtable (although happily he had received ſome ſuch promiſe before, but not ſo large) departed from *Peronne* with the Duke of *Burgundy* (who had no force there, for his army was in *Barrois* and *Lorrain*) toward St. *Quintins*, whereunto when they approached; a great Band of Engliſhmen ran before, thinking (as I heard it reported a few days after) that the Bells ſhould have rung at their coming, and that the Citizens would have received them with Croſs and holy Water. But when they drew near the Town, the Artillery ſhot, and the Soldiers iſſued forth to the skirmiſh, both on horſ-back and foot, ſo that two or three Engliſhmen were ſlain, and ſome taken. Further, it rained terribly, and in this eſtate returned they in great rage to their Camp, murmuring againſt the Conſtable, and calling him Traitor.

The next morning the Duke of *Burgundy* would have taken his leave of the King of *England*, to depart to his army into *Barrois*, promiſing to do marvels in his favor. But the Engliſhmen who naturally are ſuſpitious, and were ſtrangers in theſe Countries, marvelled much at his ſo ſudden departure (ſeeing they had paſſed the ſeas at his requeſt) and were greatly diſcontented therewith, neither would they believe that his army was in a readineſs. Beſides that, the Duke could by no means repair the Conſtables former credit with them; notwithſtanding that, he affirmed all his doings to be to a good end. The Winter alſo which drew near, diſmayed them, ſo that they ſeemed by their words deſirous rather of peace then war.

CHAP. VII. *How the King of* France *cloathed a poor Servant in a Coat-Armor with a Scutcheon, and ſent him to ſpeak with the King of* England, *in his Camp; Where he received a very good Anſwer.*

IN the mean time, even at the very inſtant that the Duke of *Burgundy* was taking his leave, the Engliſhmen took priſoner a Gentlemans ſervant of the Kings houſe, named *James* of *Graſs*, whom forthwith they led to the King of *England*, and the Duke, being together, and from them into a Tent; where when they had examined him, the Duke took his leave to go into *Brabant*, and from thence to *Mazieres*, where part of his army lay. The King of *England* commanded the ſaid Servant to be diſmiſſed, becauſe he was their firſt priſoner. And at his departure, the Lord *Howard* and the Lord *Stanley*, gave him a noble ſaying, *Do our humble commendations to the King your Maſter, if you can come to his preſence.* The fellow came in great haſt to the King, being at *Compaign*, with theſe news, who forthwith began to ſuſpect him as a Spie, becauſe *Gilbert* of *Graſs*, his Maſters Brother, was then very well entertained in the Duke of *Britains* Court; wherefore he was committed to Ward, and ſtraightly kept that night. Notwithſtanding the King commanded divers to commune with him, by whoſe report his tale ſeemed void of all ſuſpition and fear. Wherefore they deſired the King to vouchſafe to hear him, and according to their requeſt, the next morning himſelf ſpake with him; and when he had heard him, his Irons were knocked off, but he remained ſtill in Ward. Then the King went to dinner, debating with himſelf, whether he ſhould ſend to the

Engliſh-

Engliſhmen, or not. And before he ſat down, talked three or four words thereof with me: For you know (my Lord of *Vienna*) that oftentimes he communed very familiarly with thoſe that were near about him, as I was then, and others after; and loved to talk in a mans ear: He called then to minde the Herald of *Englands* advice, which was, That he ſhould not fail to ſend to the King of *England* ſo ſoon as he was landed, to demand a ſafe conduct for certain Ambaſſadors that he would ſend to him: And further, to addreſs his Herald to the abovenamed Lord *Howard*, and the Lord *Stanley*. After the King was ſet to dinner, and had muſed a while, as you know his manner was (which ſeemed ſtrange to them that knew him not: For unleſs a man had been well acquainted with his behavior, he would have judged him of no great wiſdom, notwithſtanding that his doings ſufficiently declared the contrary) he bad me in mine ear, to ariſe and dine in my Chamber, and ſend for a certain ſervant of the Lord of *Halles*, ſon to *Merichon* of *Rochel*, and to commune with him, to know whether he durſt adventure to go to the King of *Englands* Camp in a Heralds Coat; which his commandment I executed forthwith, marvelling much when I ſaw the ſaid ſervant; for he ſeemed to me, neither of perſonage, nor behavior fit for ſuch an enterpriſe; notwithſtanding he had a good wit, and a very pleaſant tongue, as I afterward perceived: the King had never ſpoken with him before, but once. The ſaid ſervant was marvelloufly aſtoniſhed with my Meſſage, and fell down before me on his knees, as one accounting himſelf a dead man; but I comforted and confirmed him the beſt I could, promiſing him an office in the Ile of *Reé*, and a ſum of money; and to chear him the better, I told him, that this proceeded of the Engliſhmen themſelves. Then I made him dine with me, none being preſent but we two, and one of my ſervants; and by little and little, perſwaded him to do as he was required. After I had been at dinner awhile, the King ſent for me, and I told him how I had wrought with this good-fellow, naming divers others, who in my opinion ſeemed fitter for this purpoſe then he; but the King would have none but him. Wherefore he came and talked with him himſelf, and confirmed him more with one word, then I had with an hundred. None entred into the Chamber with the King, ſave onely the Lord of *Villiers*, then Maſter of the Horſe, and now Bailiff of *Caen*. When the King perceived this good-fellow to be well perſwaded to go; he ſent the ſaid Maſter of the Horſe to fetch a Trumpet-Banner, thereof to make this counterfeit Herald a Coat-Armor; for the King, becauſe he was not pompous as other Princes are, had neither Herald nor Trumpeter with him. Thus the Maſter of the Horſe, and one of my men, made his Coat-Armor as well as they could: Which being finiſhed, the ſaid Maſter of the Horſe fetched a Scutcheon of a little Herald of the Lord Admirals, called *Pleinchemin*, which was faſtned to our counterfeit Herald; his Boots alſo and his Cloak, were brought privily to him, and likewiſe his Horſe; whereupon he mounted, no man underſtanding any thing of his journey. Further, a goodly Budget was tied to his Saddle-bow, into the which he put his Coat-Armor. Thus being well inſtructed what to ſay, he rid ſtraight to the Engliſh Camp; where when he arrived with his Coat-Armor on his back, he was ſtaid incontinent, and brought to the King of *Englands* Pavilion; where being demanded the cauſe of his coming, he ſaid, That he came from the King, to ſpeak with the King of *England*, and had commandment to addreſs himſelf to the Lord *Howard*, and the Lord *Stanley*; whereupon they led him into a Tent to dinner, and made him good cheer. After the King of *England* was riſen from the Table (for he was at dinner when the Herald arrived) the ſaid Herald was brought before him, and the King gave him audience. His Meſſage was chiefly grounded upon the great deſire the King had of long time to be in perfect amity with the King of *England*; to the end, both the Realms might live together in peace and quietneſs: Adding further, that ſince the time he was firſt Crowned King of *France*, he never had attempted any thing againſt the King of *England*, or his Realm[1]: Secondarily, He excuſed himſelf for receiving in times paſt, the Earl of *Warwick* into his Dominions, ſaying, That he did it onely againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, and not againſt him. Further he declared unto him, that the ſaid Duke of *Burgundy* had for none other cauſe called him into *France*, but that by the occaſion of his coming, he might conclude a better peace for himſelf with the King. And if happily any others were furtherers thereof, it was onely to amend the broken ſtate of their own affairs, and for their own private commodity; but as touching the King of *Englands* good ſucceſs, they were altogether careleſs thereof: He put him alſo in minde of the time of the year, alledging, that Winter approached, and likewiſe of the great charges he ſuſtained. Laſtly, he ſaid, That notwithſtanding a great number in *England*,

[1] King *Lewis* had forgotten that before this time he had attempted to reſtore Queen *Margaret*, Daughter to King *Rene*. *Annal. Burg.*

as well Gentlemen, as Merchants, desired War with *France*; yet if the King of *England* would incline to peace, the King for his part would condescend to such conditions, as he doubted not, but he and his Realm would allow of: Lastly, to the end he might the better be enformed of all these matters, he said, that if the King of *England* would grant a safe conduct for an hundred horse, the King his Master would send ambassadors to him, well informed of their Masters pleasure: or if the said King of *England* should like better to assign the place of treaty in some village between both the Armies, and to send Commissioners thither on both sides, the King his Master would willingly agree thereunto, and send the like safe conduct, for his part.

The King of *England* and part of his Nobles liked these Overtures very well, and granted our Herauld as large a safe conduct, as he demanded, and gave him four nobles of gold [a] in reward. Further, an English Herauld was sent back with him to the King, to bring the like safe Conduct from him, as the King of *England* had granted. And the next morning, in a village near to *Amiens*, the Commissioners of both Princes met, being these: for the King, the Bastard of *Bourbon*, Admirall of *France*, the Lord of *Saint Pierre*, and the Bishop of *Eureux* called *Heberge*: and for the King of *England*, the Lord *Howard*, one called *Chalenger* [b], and a Doctor named *Morton*, at this present Chancellor of *England*, and Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

[a] *Hall* reporteth that the French Herauld had given him a guilt Cup and an hundred angels

[b] This *Chalenger* our Chronicles name *Sentleger*

Some may think peradventure, that the King humbled himself too much: but those that be wise will easily perceive by that I have above rehearsed, in how great danger the Realm stood, had not God put to his helping hand, as well in causing the King to take this wise course, as also by troubling the Duke of *Burgundy*'s wits, who committed so many errours, as you have heard in this action, and lost now through his own folly, that which so long he had wished for and desired. Many secret practises lay hidden at that time among our selves, as well in *Brittain*, as elsewhere, which would soon have broken forth into great inconveniencies, had not this Peace been speedily concluded. Wherefore I assure my self by that I have seen in my time, that God had then and yet hath a speciall regard of this Realm.

CHAP. VIII. *How Truce for Nine years was treated of between the Kings of* France, *and* England, *notwithstanding all the lets and impediments, that the Constable, and the Duke of* Burgundy *made.*

THE Commissioners of both the Princes met (as you have heard) the next day after our Heraulds return: for we lay within four leagues or lesse together. The said Herauld was well cheered and had his Office in the Isle of *Rhe*, were he was born, and the sum of money that was promised him. Many conditions of Peace were treated of between our Commissioners. The English-men, after their wonted manner, first demanded the Crown; at the least *Normandy* and *Guienne*, but they were no more earnestly demanded, than stoutly denied. Notwithstanding even at this first meeting the treaty was brought to a reasonable point, for both the Parties desired Peace: whereupon our ambassadours returned to the King, and the others to their Camp. The King heard the English-mens demands and last resolutions, which were these: That he should pay to the King of *England* presently before his departure out of *France*, 72000 crowns [1]. That the King that now is, then *Daulphin*, should marry King *Edwards* eldest daughter, at this day Queen of *England*, and that she should have the Dutchy of *Guienne* for her maintenance, or fifty thousand Crownes yearly to be paid in the Tower of *London*, by the space of nine years: which term expired, the King that now is, and his wife should peaceably enjoy the revenues of the whole Dutchy of *Guienne*, and then the King our Master to be clearly discharged of all payments to the King of *England*. Divers other trifling Articles there were, touching matter of intercourse, which I overpasse. Lastly this truce was to endure nine years between the two Realms: all the Confederates of both parties being comprehended therein, and namely on the King of *Englands* behalf, the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and *Britain*, if themselves would. Further, the King of *England* made a marvellous strange Offer: which was to name in writing, certain Noble men, who, he said, were traitors to the King and his Crown. The King rejoyced marvellously at the report that his Com-

[1] *Meyer* saith thus: *Quinquaginta millia aureorum pro tributo Aquitaniæ Septuaginta quinque millia præterea soluta præ manibus Edwardo à Gallorum Rege. Annal. Aquit.* say 65000. Our chronicles and *Gaguin* 75000. But the truce, saith *Gaguin*, was concluded but for seven years. *Introduction de la Mirche* saith 60000 crownes the yearly tribute, but in the second Book ca. 1. the same Author saith, but 36000.

Commiſſioners made at their return, and ſat in Council about theſe overtures of peace; where, among others, my ſelf was preſent. Some ſuppoſed all this treaty to be meer deceit and cunning of the Engliſhmen, but the King was of a contrary opinion: For he alledged firſt the time of the year, ſaying, That Winter now approached, and that they had not one place to lodge in: Secondarily, He declared the evil turns the Duke of *Burgundy* had done them, who was alſo departed from them. And as touching the Conſtable, he did in manner aſſure himſelf, that he would put no places into their hands, becauſe he ſent hourly to him to entertain him, to aſſwage his malice, and to keep him from doing harm. Laſtly, he alledged the King of *Englands* diſpoſition, whom he knew well to be a Prince wholly given to his pleaſures and delights. Wherefore he ſeemed to diſcourſe wiſelier then any man of the company, and better to underſtand, then any other, the matters there debated. He concluded therefore, with all ſpeed, to pay this ſum of money, and deviſed order how to levy it, and in the end commanded, that every man ſhould lend a portion the ſooner to furniſh it: For the King cared not what he did, to rid the King of *England* out of his Realm, ſave onely, that he would in no wiſe conſent to put any places into the Engliſhmens hands; for rather then he would ſuffer that, he was fully determined to hazard all.

The Conſtable who began to ſmell theſe practices, was ſtricken with ſudden fear, becauſe he had offended all the three Princes. Further, he doubted much the treaty almoſt concluded againſt him at *Bouvines*: Wherefore he ſent often to the King, and even at this preſent arrived at the Court, one of his Gentlemen, named *Lewis* of *Creville*, with one of his Secretaries, called *John Richer*, who are both yet living. They delivered their Meſſage to the Lord of *Bouchage* and me, before they ſpake with the King, as his pleaſure was they ſhould. The news they brought liked the King well, becauſe he meant to uſe them to good purpoſe, as you ſhall hear. The Lord of *Contay* (ſervant to the Duke of *Burgundy*) lately taken priſoner before *Arras*, as you have heard, went to and fro upon his word between the Duke and the King; and the King had promiſed to releaſe him his ranſom, and to give him a great ſum of money, if he could perſwade his Maſter to peace. By chance he returned to the King the ſelf-ſame day that theſe two ſervants of the Conſtables arrived: Wherefore the King made him and me to ſtand in a great old Preſs in his Chamber, to the end he might hear and make report to his Maſter, of the language the Conſtable and his ſervants uſed of him. We being there placed, the King ſate down on a Form hard by the Preſs, to the end we might the better hear *Lewis* of *Crevilles* and his Companions Meſſage, who began thus. That of late being, by their Maſters commandment, with the Duke of *Burgundy*, to perſwade him to depart from the Engliſh mens friendſhip; they found him in ſuch a rage againſt the King of *England*, that they had almoſt won him, not onely to abandon the Engliſhmen, but alſo to help to ſpoil and deſtroy them in their return home. And in uttering theſe words (the better to pleaſe the King) the ſaid *Lewis* of *Creville*, counterfeiting the Duke of *Burgundies* geſture, by ſtamping upon the ground, and ſwearing Saint *George*, rehearſed many reproachful Speeches, that (as they ſaid) the Duke uſed of the King of *England*: To be ſhort, they uttered as many ſcoffs and mocks of the Duke as was poſſible. The King made great ſport with this matter, and bad the ſaid *Lewis* of *Creville* to ſpeak aloud, feigning himſelf to be grown ſomewhat deaf, and to tell him this tale again; which the other making no bones thereat, did with a good will.

The ſaid *Contay* (who ſtood with me in the Preſs) was marvellouſly aſtoniſhed at this talk, neither would have believed it, unleſs himſelf had heard it. The Conſtables mens concluſion, was this. They counſelled the King, for avoiding of all theſe great dangers he ſaw hang over his head, to conclude a truce (for the which, the ſaid Conſtable offered to travel to the uttermoſt of his power,) and to put into the Engliſh mens hands (the better to content them) ſome ſmall Town or two to lodge them in this Winter, ſaying, That were they never ſo bad, yet the Engliſhmen would hold themſelves contented with them. And it ſeemed by their talk, though they named no place, that they mean *Eu* and St. *Valery*. By this means the Conſtable truſted to recover the King of *Englands* favor, which he had loſt, becauſe of the refuſal made him of his places. But the King who thought it ſufficient to have plaid his part, by bringing the Lord of *Contay* to hear what language the Conſtable and his men uſed of the Duke his Maſter, gave them no evil anſwer, but ſaid, that he would ſend to his Brother [a], to advertiſe him of ſuch news as he knew, and ſo licenced them to depart. Notwithſtanding, one of them, before his departure, ſware to reveal

[a] The King calleth the Conſtable Brother, becauſe the King and he had married two Siſters, as our Author maketh mention in this Book *cap.* 4.

veal unto him, whatſoever he could learn, touching him or his eſtate. The King had much ado to diſſemble any longer, when he heard them counſel him to put Towns into the Engliſhmens hands: Notwithſtanding, he gave them no ſuch anſwer, whereby they might gather their counſel to be taken in very ill part (becauſe he feared, that would the more increaſe the Conſtables malice) but ſent one back with them to their Maſter: It was not far between him and us; for a man might go and come in very ſhort ſpace. When the others were departed, the Lord of *Contay* and I came out of the Preſs. The King laughed marvellouſly, and was very merry with this Pageant: But the ſaid *Contay* was ſo far out of patience, to hear ſuch petit companions thus flout and ſcoff his Maſter (eſpecially the Conſtable) pretending ſo great friendſhip to his Maſter, and treating with him of ſo many matters, that he thought every hour ten, till he were on horsback to advertiſe the Duke his Maſter thereof. Wherefore he was diſpatched with all ſpeed, and wrote his inſtructions himſelf: He carried alſo with him a Letter of credit, written with the Kings own hand, and ſo departed.

The Peace with the Engliſhmen, was already concluded as above is mentioned; and all theſe practiſes were entertained in one inſtant. The Kings Commiſſioners had made report of their Negotiation, as you have heard, and the King of *Englands* were alſo returned to him. Further, it was concluded and agreed on both ſides, by the Ambaſſadors that paſſed between them, that the two Princes ſhould meet together, and after they had ſeen one another, and ſworn the Treaty, the King of *England* ſhould return home into his Countrey, having firſt received the ſum abovementioned of 72000. Crowns, and leaving in hoſtage behinde him, till he were paſſed the Seas, the Lord *Howard*, and the Maſter of his Horſe, called Sir *John Cheyney*. Laſtly, a Penſion of 16000. Crowns was promiſed to be divided among the King of *Englands* principal ſervants; of the which ſum the Lord *Haſtings* had two thouſand. The reſt had the Lord *Howard*, the Maſter of the Horſe, Maſter *Chalenger*, Maſter *Montgomery*, and others: Beſides this, great ſums of money and goodly preſents of Silver plate were given to King *Edwards* ſervants.

The Duke of *Burgundy* hearing this news, came in great haſte from *Luxemburg*, where he lay, to the King of *England*, accompanied onely with ſixteen horſe. The King being much aſtoniſhed at this his ſo ſudden arrival, asked him, What wind drave him thither; perceiving by his countenance, that he was diſpleaſed. The Duke anſwered, that he was come to talk with him. The King demanded, Whether he would ſpeak with him privately or publickly: Then ſaid the Duke, Have you concluded peace? I have, quoth the King, made truce for nine years, wherein both you and the Duke of *Britain* are comprehended, and I pray you agree thereunto. But the Duke grew marvellous hot, and ſpake in Engliſh (for he knew the Language,) rehearſing what noble acts divers Kings of *England* had done in *France*, and what great travel they had ſuſtained to purchaſe honor and renown. Afterward, he inveighed vehemently againſt this Truce, ſaying, that he had not deſired the Engliſhmen to paſs the Seas for any need he had of their help, but to the end they might recover their own right. And to the intent they might perceive, that he ſtood in no need of their coming, he proteſted, that he would not make truce with the King, till the King of *England* had been three moneths at home in his Realm. Which talk ended, he departed, and returned from whence he came. The King of *England* and his Council took theſe words in ill part; but they that miſliked the peace, commended much the Dukes Speech.

CHAP. IX.

How the King feaſted the Engliſhmen in Amiens, *and how there was a place aſſigned for the enterview of the two Kings.*

THe King of *England*, to the end the Peace might be fully concluded, came and encamped within half a League of *Amiens*. The King was at the Gate, from whence he might behold the Engliſhmen a far off as they came. To ſay the truth, they ſeemed but young Soldiers; for they rod in very ill order. The King ſent to the King of *England* 300 Carts laden with the beſt Wines that might be gotten; the which carriage ſeemed afar off, almoſt as great as the K. of *Englands* army. Many Engliſhmen, becauſe of the truce, repaired to the Town, where they behaved themſelves very undiſcreetly, and without all regard of their Princes honor.

They

They came all in arms, and in great Troups: and if the K. our Maſter would have dealt falſly with them, ſo great a number might never ſo eaſily have been deſtroyed. Notwithſtanding he meant nothing leſſe, but ſtudied to make them good cheer, and to conclude a ſure peace with them for his time. He had cauſed to be ſet at the entry of the Town-Gate two long Tables, on each ſide of the Street one, furniſhed with all kinds of delicate meats that provoke drink, and with the beſt wines that might be gotten, and men to wait upon them: of water there was no mention. At each of theſe Tables he had placed five or ſix great fat Gentlemen of good houſes, thereby the better to content thoſe that deſired to drink. The Gentlemens names were theſe, Monſieur *de Cran*, *de Briquebec*, *de Breſmes*, *de Villiers*, and others. So ſoon as the Engliſh men drew near the Gate, they might behold this good cheer. Beſides this, men purpoſely appointed took their Horſes by the Bridles, ſaying, that they would break a ſtaff with them, and ſo led them to the Table, where they were ſeaſted according to the variety of the meats: which they took in very good part. After they were within the Town, what houſe ſoever they entred into, they paid nothing. Further, nine or ten Taverns, were well furniſhed at the Kings charge, of all things neceſſary: whither they went to eat and drink, and called for what they would, but the King defraied all: and this cheer endured three or four dayes.

You have heard how the Duke of *Burgundy* diſliked the peace; which howſoever it diſpleaſed him, troubled the Conſtable much more, becauſe he ſaw he had failed of his enterpriſe, and purchaſed himſelf hatred on all ſides: wherefore he ſent his Confeſſor to the King of *England* with a Letter of credit, deſiring him for Gods love, to have no affiance in the Kings words and promiſes, but to accept the Towns of *Eu* and St. *Vallerie*, and there to lodge himſelf part of the winter: adding, that within two months he would find means to lodge him more commodiouſly. Other aſſurance hereof gave he him none: for his only meaning was to ſoad him forth with theſe fair words. Laſt of all, to the end he ſhould not conclude a diſhonourable treaty, for greedineſſe of a little mony, he promiſed to lend him fifty thouſand crowns, with divers other large offers. But the King had already cauſed theſe two places above mentioned to be burned, becauſe he knew the King of *England* had intelligence, that the Conſtable had perſwaded him, to put them into the Engliſhmens hand. King *Edwards* anſwer was, that the truce was already concluded, and that he would alter nothing therein; but if he had performed his promiſe, he would have made no ſuch appointment: which anſwer drove the Conſtable into utter deſpair.

You have heard of the Engliſh mens great cheer in *Amiens*: but one Evening, Monſieur *de Torcy* came to the King and told him, that ſo great a number of them were in the Town, that it ſtood in ſome danger. But the King was diſpleaſed with his meſſage: wherefore every man forbare to bring him any more ſuch news. The next morrow was one of the dayes that repreſented Childermas day that year, on the which the King uſed not to debate any matter, but accounted it a ſign of ſome great misfortune towards him, if any man communed with him of his affairs, and would be marvellouſly diſpleaſed with thoſe that were near about him, and acquainted with his humor, if they troubled him with any matter whatſoever. Notwithſtanding the ſame morning I now ſpeak of, as he (being but newly riſen) was ſaying his prayers, one brought me word, that there were at the leaſt nine thouſand Engliſh men within the Town: which news I hearing, determined to advertiſe him thereof. Wherefore I entred again into his Cloſet, and ſaid unto him: Sir, though this day repreſent unto you Childermas day, yet neceſſity enforceth me to enform you of that I hear. Then I advertiſed him at large, of the great number of Engliſh men, that were within the Town, adding that they entred continually all armed, and that no man durſt refuſe them the Gate, for fear of diſpleaſing them. The King was content to hear me ſpeak, and forthwith aroſe from his prayers, ſaying, that he would not obſerve the ceremony of Innocents that day, and bid me mount on Horſeback, to ſee if I could ſpeak with the Engliſh mens Captains, to cauſe them to depart the Town: further, he commanded me if I met any of his own Captains, to bid them repair unto him, ſaying alſo, that himſelf would come to the Gate, immediately after me. I did as I was commanded, and ſpake to three or four Engliſh Captains, with whom I was acquainted, advertiſing them what I thought good to be done in this caſe: but for one they put forth of the Town, twenty came in. The King ſent immediately after me, the Lord of *Gié*, now Marſhall of *France*, to take order for this inconvenience: we two entred together into a Tavern, where were ſpent that morning a CXI. ſhots, yet was it but nine of the clock. The houſe was full, ſome ſang, ſome ſlept, and ſome were drunk: which when I ſaw, I perceived no danger to be in ſuch

The King upon a ſuperſtition kept holy twelve days in the year, viz. every moneth one, in remembrance of the Innocents day: and the day here mentioned, was one of them.

men, and ſent word thereof to the King: who came incontinently with a goodly train to the Gate, and cauſed two or three hundred Souldiers to arm themſelves ſecretly, in their Captains houſes, and placed ſome alſo upon the Gate, where the Engliſhmen entred. Further, he commanded his dinner to be brought into the Porters-Lodge, where he cauſed divers Engliſh Gentlemen to dine with him. The King of *England* being advertiſed of this diſorder, was aſhamed thereof, and ſent to the King, deſiring him to give commandment, that no Engliſh man ſhould be ſuffered to enter the town: whereunto the K. anſwered, that he would never ſo do: but deſired him, if it ſo pleaſed him, to ſend certain of the Yeomen of his Crown to keep the Gate, and let in ſuch as they ſhould think good: and ſo the King of *England* did, whereupon a great number of Engliſh men departed the Town, by his commandment.

It was then determined that for perfect concluſion of peace, Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed on both ſides, to aſſigne a place for the enterview of the two Kings. For our King, the Lord of *Bouchage* and my ſelf, were named: and for the King of *England*, the Lord *Howard*, one called *Chalenger*, and a Herauld. After we had ridden up and down, and viewed all the River, we agreed in the end, the pleaſanteſt, ſafeſt, and moſt commodious place, to be *Picquigny*, a Town three leagues from *Amiens*, with a ſtrong Caſtell, belonging to the Vidame of *Amiens*; notwithſtanding that it were once burned by the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Town ſtandeth in a bottom, and the River of *Somme* paſſeth through it; which is deeper there, then a mans height, but very narrow. The country on both ſides of the River, through the which the two Kings ſhould paſſe, was very open and pleaſant, ſave that when the King of *England* drew near to the River-ſide, there was a cauſey at the leaſt two bow-ſhot long, environed with a mariſh (a very dangerous paſſage if we had not meant good faith.) Wherefore without doubt, the Engliſh-men (as before I have ſaid) are not ſo ſubtil and circumſpect in theſe treaties and aſſemblies as the French. For (whatſoever men ſay of them) they go bluntly to work; but a man muſt have patience with them, and give them no croſs language.

After the place was aſſigned, we determined to build a ſtrong large Bridge over the River, the work-men and ſtuff we furniſhed. In the midſt of this Bridge a woodden Grate was made, like to a Lyons cage; the ſpace between each bar, being no greater, then that a man with eaſe might thruſt in his arm: over the head of it was boarded, to keep off the rain, ſo broad, that ten or twelve might ſtand covered under it on each ſide: over the Bridge no man could paſſe, for the Grate was framed clean overthwart it, and upon the River was but one Boat, with two men in it, to ferry over ſuch, as paſſed from the one ſide to the other.

I will tell you what moved the King to make this Grate, in ſuch ſort that no man could paſſe through it, becauſe it may peradventure, ſtand ſome man in ſtead that ſhall have occaſion to make the like. In King *Charle's* the ſevenths Youth, this Realm was grievouſly plagued by the Engliſh-men. For King *Henry* the 5th. held the ſiege before *Roan*, and had brought the Town to great extremity: the moſt part of the inhabitants being either ſubjects to *John* Duke of *Burgundy* then living, or of his Faction.

Between the ſaid Duke *John* of *Burgundy*, and the Duke of *Orleans*, great variance had been of long time, ſo far forth, that the whole Realm, or the greateſt part, was rent into two Factions, whereby the Kings eſtate was much weakned: for partiality never ariſeth in any Realm, but in the end, the fire thereof is dangerous, and hard to be quenched. This variance grew ſo hot, that the Duke of *Orleans* was ſlain at *Paris*, about eleven years before [2]. The Duke of *Burgundy* led a great army, with the which he marched towards *Normandy*, minding to levy the ſiege before *Roan* [3]: but to the end he might be the ſtronger, and the better aſſured of the King, it was agreed that the K. and he ſhould meet at *Montereau faut Yonne*, where a Bridge was made and a Grate overthwart it, with a little wicket in the middeſt, bolted on both ſides, ſo that a man might paſſe through with conſent of both parties. The King [4] came on the one ſide of the Bridge, and the Duke on the other: being both accompanied with a great number of men of arms, eſpecially the Duke. They fell in communication together upon the Bridge: at the which were

[1] Theſe eleven years was in the text but one year: the Printer for *unze ans auoit* having printed *un an auoit*. For the Duke of *Orleance* was ſlain *an.* 1407. the 22. of *November*, and the King of *England* laid his ſiege before *Roan*, 1418. the laſt of *July*. But *Meyer* ſaith in *June*, and it was yielded to him the 19. or 16. as ſome write, of *January* 1419. which was eſeven years & ſomewhat more after the Duke of *Orleans* death.

[2] All Authors report, that not only *Roan*, but all *Normandy* was taken before Duke *John* of *Burgundy* was ſlain: for *Roan* was yielded to the Engliſh 1419. the 19. of *January*, and the Duke ſlain the ſame year in *November*, *September*, or *Auguſt* (for Authors ſo diveſly report the time) but *Commines's* manner (as himſelf writeth) is not to ſtand ſo exactly upō times

Further, Authors agree not among themſelves about this matter. Laſtly, this place may be underſtood, that when Duke *John* levied his army, his meaning was to raiſe the ſiege before *Roan*, though he could not come time enough to execute his enterpriſe. Of the Dukes death, read *Meyer*, *lib.* 15. *fol.* 255. *Chron. Fland. fol.* 281. *Annal. Burgund.*

[4] Note that this notwithſtanding, he was not King yet, but Daulphin.

preſent

preſent on the Dukes ſide only three or four [5]. But after they had talked a while, the Duke either through earneſt ſollicitation of thoſe that were with the King, or of a deſire he had to humble himſelf before him, unboulted the wicket on his ſide, & the others on theirs. Three of the Dukes men went through before him, and then himſelf paſſed, being the fourth, and was immediately ſlain [6], and they alſo that accompanied him: whereof enſued great miſeries and calamities to this Realm [7], as all the world can witneſs. This Hiſtory was before my time, wherefore I forbear further to ſpeak thereof: but thus the King rehearſed it to me, word for word, at the ſame time that this enterview with King *Edward* was appointed: ſaying, that if there had been no wicket, no occaſion had been to deſire the Duke to paſſe through the Grate, and then that great misfortune had not hapned. The Authors whereof were certain of the Duke of *Orleans* ſervants that was ſlain, who were then in great credit with King *Charles*.

[5] The French writers ſay, each of them having ten Knights.

[6] The French to excuſe the Daulphin ſay, that *Tanneguy du Chaſtell* (ſometime ſervant to the D. of *Orleans* that was ſlain) ſlew D. *John* with one blow of a battell-Ax, becauſe of certain arrogant words uſed at that time to the Daulphin: whereas *Commines* and *Meyer* report that too great humility was cauſe of his death. *Tanneguy du Chaſtell*, *Oliver Layet*, *Peter Frotier*, and *William Bathier* ſlew Duke *John* and the Lord of *Novaille* with him, who drew his ſword in the Dukes defence. *Annal. Burgund. Introduct. de la Marche. Meyer.*

[7] For, Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy* to revenge his fathers death, entred into League with the Engliſhmen.

CHAP. X. *How the two Kings met, and ſware the treaty of peace before concluded; and how ſome ſuppoſed that the Holy Ghoſt came down upon the King of* Englands *Pavilion, in the likeneſs of a white Pigeon.*

OUR Grate being finiſhed as you have heard, the next day the two Kings came thither in the year 1475. the 29. of [1] *Auguſt*. The King had with him about eight hundred men of arms, and arrived firſt at the Grate: on the King of *Englands* ſide ſtood all his army in order of Battell, which undoubtedly was great, both of Horſmen and footmen, yet could we not diſcover his whole force. We on our ſide ſeemed but a handfull to them, and no marvell: for the fourth part of the Kings army was not there. It was appointed that each of the Kings, ſhould be accompanied at the Grate with twelve perſons, which were already named, of the Nobleſt Perſonages and ſuch as were neareſt about them. Moreover, on our ſide were four of the King of *Englands* ſervants, to view what we did, and as many of ours on their ſide. The King as I told you, arrived firſt at the Grate, and twelve of us waited upon him, among whom were the late Duke *John* of *Bourbon*, and the Cardinal his Brother. It pleaſed the King that I ſhould wear that day a ſute of apparell like his own: for he had uſed of a long time, and that very often, to command one or other to be apparelled like himſelf. The King of *England* came along upon the cauſey above-mentioned, with a marvellous goodly train, as was convenient for the Majeſty of a Prince. He was accompanied with the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother, the Earl of *Northamberland*, and divers other Noblemen, namely the Lord of *Haſtings* his Chamberlain, his Chancellor, and others. But there were not paſt three or four beſides himſelf apparelled in cloth of gold. Further, he wore on his head a black Velvet Cap, with a marvellous rich jewel, being a Flower de Luce ſet with ſtones. He was a goodly tall Prince, but inclined now to be ſomewhat groſſe, and I had ſeen him before much beautifuller then at this preſent; for ſure when the Earl of *Warwick* chaſed him out of *England*, he was the goodlieſt Gentleman that ever I ſet mine eye on. When he came within five foot of the Grate, he took off his Cap, and bowed down within half a foot of the Ground: the King in like manner, who was leaning upon the Grate, uſed great reverence towards him: and when they came to embrace each other, through the Grate, the King of *England* again made low obeiſance. Then the King began the talk and ſaid: Couſin you are moſt heartily welcome, there is no man in the World whom I have ſo much deſired to ſee as you, and praiſed be God that we are met here to ſo good a purpoſe: hereunto the King of *England* anſwered in good French. This talk ended, the Chancellour of *England*, who was a Prelate and Biſhop of *Eli*, began his Oration with a Propheſie (whereof the Engliſhmen are never unfurniſhed [2]:) which ſaid that in this place of *Picquigny* an Honourable peace ſhould be concluded, between the Realms of *France* and *England*. The Biſhops Oration being ended, the Letters were opened that the King had delivered to the King

[1] The old copy ſaith, the 19. day, *Meyer* the 31. day, *Comines* the 28. of *October*.

[2] The like reporteth *Jovius* of the French.

of *England* touching the concluſion of the treaty: and the ſaid Chancellor asked the King, whether they were written by his commandment, and whether he avowed them: whereunto the King anſwered, yea. Then the Biſhop asked him again, if he held himſelf contented in like manner, with thoſe Letters and Writings that were delivered him, on the King of *Englands* behalf: whereunto the King anſwered as before. Then was the Miſſall brought forth, and opened: upon the which each of the Kings laid one of their hands, and the other upon the true holy Croſs, and ſware both of them, to keep and obſerve the Articles concluded between them, namely the truce for nine years, wherein the confederates of both parties were comprehended, and the marriage of their Children to be accompliſhed in manner and form as was comprehended in the treaty. After they had both ſworn, the King (who had his words at commandment) began to enter into pleaſant talk with the King of *England*: ſaying that he ſhould come to *Paris*, to ſolace himſelf there with the Ladies, and that he would give him the Cardinall of *Bourbon* for his Confeſſor, who would eaſily abſoil him of that ſin, if any were committed. The King of *England* took great pleaſure in this talk, and anſwered with a merry countenance: for he knew the Cardinall to be a good fellow. After ſome ſuch like ſpeeches paſſed between them, the King to ſhew that he had authority among his men, commanded thoſe that were with him to withdraw themſelves, ſaying that he would commune with the King of *England* in ſecret: which they that accompanied the King of *England* ſeeing, retired without commandment. After the two Kings had communed awhile together, the King called me to him, and asked the King of *England* if he knew me, who anſwered, that he knew me well, and named the places where he had ſeen me, adding, that in times paſt I had taken pains to do him ſervice in *Calais*, during the time I was with the Duke of *Burgundy*. Then the King enquired of him, if the Duke of *Burgundy* would not be comprehended in the truce (as it was to be preſumed, becauſe of his froward anſwer, that he would not) what it would pleaſe him that he ſhould do? The King of *England* ſaid, that he would offer it him yet once more, and if he refuſed to accept it, that then they two ſhould do as they thought good. Afterward, the King fell in talk of the Duke of *Brittain* (which was the only end why he moved this queſtion) and asked him in like manner of him. The King of *England* deſired him earneſtly, to attempt nothing againſt the Duke of *Brittain*, ſaying that in his neceſſity, he never found ſo faithfull a friend: whereupon the King ended his communication; and then calling the company together again, with the moſt courteous and gracious language that might be, took his leave of the King of *England*, giving very good words in like manner to every one of his ſervants. And ſo the two Princes in a manner both at one inſtant departed from the Grate, and took horſe. The King returned to *Amiens*, and the King of *England* to his Camp, whither we ſent from the Court all kind of Proviſion neceſſary for him, ſo far forth, that torches and lights were not forgotten. At this enterview the Duke of *Glouceſter* King *Edwards* Brother, and certain others were not preſent, becauſe they miſliked the peace. Notwithſtanding afterward they were well enough perſwaded to allow of it, ſo far forth, that the ſaid Duke of *Glouceſter* came to *Amiens* to the King, who gave him many goodly preſents of Silver-Plate, and Horſes with all kind of furniture.

After the King was returned from this meeting, upon the way he debated two points with me: the one, he found the King of *England* ſo willing to come to *Paris*, that it liked him never a whit. For he is, quoth he, a goodly Prince, and much given to love: he may peradventure meet with ſome dainty Dame at *Paris*, that will entertain him with ſo many ſugred words, that ſhe may happily make him deſirous to return thither again. But his predeceſſors have ſojourned too long both at *Paris*, and in *Normandy*. I like not his company on this ſide the Sea, but ſo long as he keepeth home, I wiſh to have him my good friend and loving Brother. The other point was this; he was ſorry that he found the King of *England* ſomewhat hard, when he made mention of the Duke of *Brittain*: for the King was ſo deſirous to perſwade him to ſuffer War to be made in *Brittain*, that afterward he ſollicited this matter anew by the Lord of *Bouchage*, and Saint *Pierre*. But the King of *England* ſeeing himſelf thus earneſtly preſſed, anſwered in few words, that who ſo ſhould make War againſt the Duke of *Brittain*, he would paſſe the Seas yet once again in his defence: which anſwer being heard, the matter was no further mentioned. After the King was returned to *Amiens*, even as he was going to Supper, arrived three or four Noble men of *England*, ſuch as had furthered the peace, and the Lord *Howard* (who was one of them) began to talk with the King in his ear, ſaying, that if it pleaſed him,

him, he would find means to bring his Maſter to *Amiens*, and peradventure to *Paris*, to make merry with him, which offer though the King liked never a whit, yet made he ſhew of great good liking thereof, and began to waſh, not anſwering much to that point: but told me ſoftly in my ear, that the thing he moſt feared was hapned, meaning this offer. After ſupper they fell again in communication of the ſelf-ſame matter, but with wiſe words the enterpriſe was broken off: for the King ſaid, that with all ſpeed he muſt depart, to go againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*. Although theſe affairs were of great importance, and ſagely ordered on both ſides: yet you ſee merry toyes hapned alſo among them, which are not to be forgotten. But as touching the King, Who will marvel (conſidering the great harms the Engliſhmen have done in *France* but of late years) if he travelled his body, and ſpent his money, to rid them friendly out of the Realm, to the intent hereafter he might keep them his friends, at the leaſt not have them his foes.

The next day after this meeting, a great number of Engliſhmen repaired to *Amiens*, ſome of them affirming that the Holy Ghoſt had made this peace (for they grounded all on propheſies.) The reaſon that moved them ſo to ſay, was, for that a white Pigeon ſate upon the King of *Englands* Pavilion, that day of the enterview, and would not remove thence notwithſtanding any noiſe made in the Camp. The cauſe whereof, as ſome men judged, was, for that it had rained a little, and afterward the Sun ſhining very hot, the Pigeon lighted upon this Pavilion (being higher then the reſt) to drie her ſelf: which reaſon was given by a Gentleman of *Gaſcoin*, ſervant to the King of *England*, named *Lewis* of *Bretailles*, who was not a little offended with the peace. And becauſe he and I were of old acquaintance, he talked familiarly with me: ſaying, that we would deride the King of *England* for this treaty. I asked him, how many battells the ſaid King had won: he told me Nine, in the which himſelf had been in perſon. Then I demanded of him again, how many he had loſt: and he anſwered never but one, which was this we now bereaved him of: adding, that he received greater diſhonour by returning home after this ſort, then he had obtained honour in winning the other nine. Of this communication I advertiſed the King, who ſaid he was a dangerous knave, and that ſome means muſt be found to ſtop his mouth: whereupon he ſent for him, and made him dine at his own table, offering him very large offers and goodly offices if he would tarry in *France*. But ſeeing he would by no means be won thereunto, he gave him a thouſand crowns in mony, promiſing alſo a good turn to his Brethren that were on this ſide the Sea, and I gave him a watchword in his ear, to employ his credit to continue the friendſhip and amity begun between the two Princes.

The King feared eſpecially above all things, leſt ſome word ſhould eſcape him at unawares, whereby the Engliſhmen might gather that he derided them. And by chance, the next morning after this meeting, as he was in his Cloſet, and not paſt three or four of us with him, he ſpake a merry word touching the Wines and Preſents ſent to the Engliſh Camp: as he turned about, he eſpyed a Merchant of *Gaſcoin* that dwelt in *England*, who was come to move a ſute to him, for a Licence to ſhip certain *Gaſcoin* Wines into *England*, without impoſt, which was a ſuit that might much benefit the ſaid Merchant, if he could obtain it. The King wondered when he ſaw him, how he was gotten in thither, and asked him, of what Town he was in *Guienne*, and whether he were a Merchant and married in *England*. The Merchant anſwered, yea, but that his wealth was not great. Incontinent before his departure thence, the King appointed one to accompany him to *Bordeaux*, and I communed with him by his commandment. Further, a good office in the Town where he was born was given him, the Licence for the Wines, which he demanded was geanted him; and beſides this a 1000. Franks were delivered him for his Wifes charges upon the way, and he ſent a Brother of his into *England* for her, but went not himſelf. Thus the King impoſed this penalty upon himſelf for his over-large ſpeech.

CHAP. XI. *How the Constable after the Truce made with the Englishmen, sought to excuse himself to the King: And how Truce was also concluded for nine years, between the King and the Duke of* Burgundy.

THe self-same day abovementioned, being the next day after the enterview, the Constable sent Letters to the King, by a servant of his, named *Rapine* (who was a trusty servant to his Master, and whom also the King preferred afterwards) Monsieur *de Lude* and my self were commanded to hear his message. Now you shall understand, that Monsieur *de Contay* was already returned from the Duke of *Burgundy* to the Court, about the practise abovementioned devised against the Constable: So that the said Constable knew not to what Saint he should vow himself, but remained in utter despair. *Rapines* message was very humble, tending to excuse his Master of the sundry evill reports, that he knew had been made of him to the King; for that the end sufficiently declared, that he never meant to do otherwise then duty required. And to the intent he might the better assure the King of his true dealing, he promised so to practise with the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he would perswade him to help to destroy the King of *England* and his whole Army, if it so pleased the King. And it seemed by his speech, that his Master was in utter despair. We told him, that we were in perfect amity with the English-men, and would have no War. But Monsieur *de Lude*, who was with me, adventured to aske him, if he knew where his Masters treasures lay. I marvelled to hear such a word scape him: For seeing this *Rapine* was a very trusty Servant to his Master, this speech was sufficient to have caused the Constable to fly, and to understand in what estate he was, and what was a brewing for him, especially seeing the danger he had been in, not past a year before. But I never knew any man in my life, either here nor elsewhere, that could dislodge in time, and shun the danger hanging over his head: Some, because they think, they shall not be received, nor be in safety in strange Countries; and other some because they are too affectionate to their Goods, Wives, and Children: Which two Reasons have been the cause of many a good mans undoing.

After we had made report to the King, of *Rapines* message, he called for one of his Secretaries, none being with him but the Lord *Howard* the King of *Englands* Servant, (who understood nothing of this practise against the Constable) the Lord of *Contay*, who was returned from the Duke of *Burgundy*, and we two that had talked with the said *Rapine*. Then he indited a Letter to the Constable, wherein he advertised him of all that was done the day before, namely the treaty of Peace. Further, he sent him word, that he was busied with divers affairs of great importance, and had need of such a head as his: Which word was no sooner uttered but he turned to the English-men, and the Lord of *Contay*, saying softly to them, I mean not that we should have the Body, but the Head without the Body. This Letter was delivered to *Rapine*, who liked it marvellous well, especially those words, that the King had need of such a head as his Masters, but he understood not the mystery thereof. The King of *England* also sent the King the two Letters of credit, that the Constable had written to him, and disclosed all the Messages that he had sent him, whereby you may perceive, how the Constable had behaved himself towards these three great Princes, and in what estate he was: Every one of the three desiring his death.

The King of *England* upon the receit of his money departed, and marched in great haste towards *Calice*, fearing the Duke of *Burgundies* malice and his Subjects, and not without cause: for whensoever his men scattered and singled themselves, some of them came short home. At his departure he left for Hostages with the King, till his return into *England*, according to his promise, the Lord *Howard*, and the Master of his Horse called Sir *John Cheiny*.

You have heard before, at the entrance into these English Affairs, that King *Edward* had no great devotion to this Voyage into *France*; For being come to *Dover*, before he embarqued, he began to practise with us. But there were two causes, that moved him to passe the Seas: one, the desire his whole Realm had, according to their

naturall inclination, to make war in *France*; and the rather at this preſent, becauſe the Duke of *Burgundy* preſſed the War ſo earneſtly: the other, the hope he had to reſerve to himſelf a great part of the Subſidy levied in *England*, for this voyage: for, as before I have ſaid, the Kings of *England* receive only the bare Revenues of their Lands, ſave, when they levy money to make war in *France*. Further, King *Edward* had deviſed this ſubtilty to appeaſe his ſubjects: he had brought with him ten or twelve great fat paunches, as well of the City of *London*, as of other towns in *England*, who were the wealthieſt men of the commonalty, and had been the chiefeſt inſtruments both in perſwading the King to paſſe into *France*, and alſo in levying this mighty Army. The King cauſed them to be lodged in good Tents, but that was not the life they were accuſtomed to lead: wherefore they ſoon waxed weary of it. At their firſt arrivall, they looked for the Battell within three dayes after their Landing. But the King of *England* alledged many doubts unto them, and endeavoured to put them in fear of the Battel, and to perſwade them to allow of the Peace, to the end they might aid him at their return into *England* to pacifie the murmuring and grudging of the people, that happily might ariſe becauſe of his return: for never King of *England*, ſince King *Arthur*, paſſed at one time with ſo great force, and ſo many Noble Perſonages into *France*. But after the Peace was concluded, the King of *England* repaired homeward with ſpeed, reſerving to himſelf a great ſum of money levied in *England* for the paiment of his Souldiers; ſo that he obtained in effect all his purpoſes. His Body could not away with ſuch labour as a King of *England* muſt endure, that mindeth to atchieve any great enterpriſe in *France*. Further, the King our Maſter had made great preparation for reſiſtance, though, to ſay the truth, he could not well have provided defence ſufficient againſt all his enemies: for he had too many. Laſtly, the King of *England* had a marvellous great deſire to accompliſh the marriage of his daughter with King *Charles* the eighth now raigning, which cauſed him to wink at a number of inconveniencies, that turned afterward to the King our Maſters profit.

After all the Engliſhmen were returned home ſaving the Hoſtages, the K. took his journey towards *Laon*, and lodged in a little Town upon the Marches of *Henault* called *Vervins*; and to *Avennes* in *Henault* came the Chancellor of *Burgundy*, with the Lord of *Cantay* and other ambaſſadours from the Duke. The King was very deſirous at this time to conclude a finall peace: For this mighty Engliſh Army had put him in fear, and no marvel; for he had ſeen in his time of their doings in this Realm, and wiſh'd in no wiſe their return. The ſaid Chancellour writ to the King, deſiring that it would pleaſe him to ſend his Commiſſioners for the Peace to a certain Bridge in the mid way between *Avennes* and *Vervins*; ſaying, that he and his Colleagues would meet them there. The King ſent him anſwer that he would come thither himſelf; and notwithſtanding that divers, whoſe advice he asked in this matter, perſwaded him to the contrary: yet thither he went, leading alſo with him the Engliſh Hoſtages, who were preſent when he received the Dukes ambaſſadors, the which came very well accompanied with archers and men of War. At this firſt meeting they did but ſalute the King, and then went to dinner. One of the Engliſhmen began to repent him that the Treaty was concluded, and ſaid to me at a Window, that if they had ſeen many ſuch men with the Duke of *Burgundy*, peradventure they would not have made Peace. Which words the Vicount of *Narbonne* (now Lord of *Fovez*) hearing, ſaid: Were you ſo ſimple to think, that the Duke of *Burgundy* had not great forces of ſuch men? he had ſent them only to refreſh themſelves: but you were ſo deſirous to return home, that ſix hundred pipes of wine, and a penſion the King gave you, blew you quickly back into *England*. The Engliſhman in a great fury, anſwered; I perceive now their ſayings to prove true, that told us, you would deride us for making peace: Call you the money the King giveth us, a penſion? It is tribute, and, by Saint *George*, you may babble ſo much that you may ſoon make us to return. But I brake off their talke and turned it to a jeſt: Notwithſtanding the Engliſhman was diſcontented and caſt out a word thereof to the King, who was marvellouſly offended with the Lord of *Narbonne* for his ſpeech.

The King communed not long at this firſt meeting with the Chancellour and the other ambaſſadours. for it was agreed, that they ſhould go with him to *Vervines*, where when they arrived he commanded Maſter *Tannegue du Chaſtell*, and Maſter *Peter doriole* Chancellour of *France*, and others, to negotiate with them: much ado there was between them, many reaſons alleadged, and many demands made on each ſide. The Kings Commiſſioners made report to him, that the Burgundians uſed fierce and ſtout language, but

' The French having onely *Monſieur de Narbonne*, made *Sleiden* tranſlate it *the Biſhop of Narbonne* whereas indeed he was Vicount of *Narbonne* not Biſhop, as other authors affirm: and as theſe words, (*Qui an jourd' huys appelle Monſieur de Fovez*) plainly prove: wherefore, for avoiding of *Sleidens* errour, I have put this word (*Vicount*) into the text; though it be not in the French.

but that they had paid them with the like, and withal, told him what their anſwers were. Which he much miſliked, ſaying, That the like Anſwers had been made divers times before, and that they treated not of a final peace, but onely of truce; whereof he would have no more ſuch language uſed, but would himſelf commune with them: And thereupon cauſed the ſaid Chancellor, and the other Ambaſſadors to come into his Chamber; out of the which, all men were commanded to avoid, ſave the late Lord Admiral, called the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, Monſieur *de Bouchage*, and my ſelf. There the King concluded truce for nine years, wherein it was agreed, that every man ſhould be reſtored to his former eſtate. But the Ambaſſadors beſought the King, that the truce might not yet be proclaimed, to ſave the Duke their Maſters oath, who had ſworn not to make truce before the King of *England* had been a certain ſpace in his Realm, leſt he ſhould think their Maſter had accepted this truce.

But the King of *England* (who thought great ſcorn, that the Duke would not be comprehended in his truce) being advertiſed that he treated with the King of another, ſent over into *France* a Knight near about him, called Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, who came to *Vervins*, at the very ſame inſtant that the King treated with the Duke of *Burgundies* Ambaſſadors of this truce abovementioned. The ſaid Sir *Thomas* required the King, in the King his Maſters name, to make no other truce with the Duke of *Burgundy*, then that which was already concluded between them two. Further deſiring him not to deliver St. *Quintin* into the Dukes hands, and offering, that if he would continue war with the Duke, his Maſter would be content the next Summer to paſs the Seas again for him, and in his aid, with theſe conditions. Firſt, that the King ſhould recompence the loſs the King of *England* ſhould ſuſtain by the Wool cuſtom of *Calais*, amounting yearly to 50000 Crowns; which if the war opened with *Flanders*, were clearly loſt. And ſecondarily, that the King ſhould pay the one half of the Engliſh army, and the King of *England*, the other. The King yielded great thanks to the King of *England* for this courteous meſſage, and gave a goodly preſent of Silver Plate to the ſaid Sir *Thomas*. Notwithſtanding, as touching the war, he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, that the truce was already concluded, being the very ſame that the King of *England* and he had made for the term of nine years, ſave that the Duke would have his Letters apart. Thus to content the Ambaſſador, he excuſed the matter the beſt he could, and the ſaid Sir *Thomas* returned into *England*, and the Hoſtages with him. The King marvelled much at the King of *Englands* offers, at the report whereof, my ſelf onely was preſent: But it ſeemed to him a dangerous thing, to cauſe the King of *England* to paſs the Seas again, both becauſe every trifle would breed quarrels between the French and the Engliſh, being in Camp together; and alſo, becauſe it was to be feared, that the Burgundians and they, would eaſily reconcile themſelves; wherefore, he was ſo much the more deſirous to conclude the truce with the Duke of *Burgundy*.

CHAP. XII.

How the Conſtables death was fully concluded and ſworn, between the King and the Duke of Burgundy; and how he went into the Dukes dominions, where, by his commandment he was ſtaid, and delivered to the King; and after put to Death.

THe Truce being concluded, the old practiſe againſt the Conſtable was revived; and to the end the proceſs thereof ſhould be ſhort, they ratified all that was done before at *Bouvines*, and the writings there made (as before you have heard) were again interchangeably delivered. In the ſaid writings, the King promiſed the Duke Saint *Quintins*, *Han*, *Bohain*, and all the Lands that the Conſtable held of the Duke, and all his moveables whereſoever they were found [1]. Further, the manner how to beſiege him in *Han* (where he lay) was deviſed. It was alſo agreed, that whether of the two Princes could firſt take him, ſhould either put him to death within eight days, or deliver him to the other. All men incontinently began to fear this confederacy, ſo far forth, that the Conſtables principal ſervants forſook him, namely, Monſieur *de Genly*, and divers others. Further, he being advertiſed, that King *Edward* had delivered his Letters to the King, and diſcovered all that he knew of him; And ſeeing alſo, that his enemies had made

[1] Underſtand this as well of the moveables he had in the Kings Dominions, as under the Duke.

made truce, fell into great fear, and ſent to the Duke of *Burgundy*, humbly beſeeching him to give him a ſafe conduct to come and ſpeak with him, about certain affairs that greatly imported him. The Duke at the firſt, made dainty to grant a ſafe conduct, but in the end, ſent him one. This mighty Nobleman had oft debated, whither he ſhould flie to ſave himſelf; for he was informed of all that was done, and had ſeen the writings deviſed againſt him at *Bouvines*. Sometime he conſulted with certain of his ſervants being *Lorrains*, determining to flie with them into *Almain*, carrying a great ſum of money with him (for the way was very ſafe) therewith to buy ſome place upon the River of *Rhine* to remain in, till he were reconciled to one of the two Princes. Sometime he reſolved to put himſelf into his ſtrong Caſtle of *Han*, which had coſt him ſo much money, and which he had fortified to ſerve him at ſuch a pinch, and furniſhed of all things, as well as any Caſtle that ever I knew: But he could not finde men to his minde to put into the place, becauſe all his ſervants were born under the Dominions of one of the two Princes. And peradventure his fear was ſo great, that he durſt not wholly diſcover himſelf, and his eſtate to them: For, I think, a great many of them would not have forſaken him; neither was it ſo dangerous for him to be beſieged of both the Princes, as of one; for it had been impoſſible for the two armies to agree. But in the end, he concluded to go to the Duke of *Burgundy*, under this ſafe conduct, being accompanied onely with fifteen or twenty horſe, and rode to *Montz* in *Hainault*, where the Lord *Deſmeriez*, Great Bailiff of *Hainault*, and his eſpecial friend, lay: With him, he ſojourned a certain ſpace, attending news from the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had lately begun war upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, becauſe he had defied him when he lay at the ſiege before *Nuz*, and done much harm in the Countrey of *Luxemburg*.

The King being advertiſed of the Conſtables departure, purpoſed ſo to order the matter, that he ſhould never recover the Duke of *Burgundies* favor; for he levied ſeven or eight hundred men of arms, and rode with them in all haſte to St. *Quintins*, knowing well what force was within the Town: Near to the which when he approached, certain of the Citizens came forth to receive him. The King commanded me to enter the Town, and appoint every Captain to his Quarter, and ſo I did. Firſt the Souldiers entred, and then the King, who was very honorably received of the Townſmen; whereupon certain of the Conſtables ſervants retired into *Hainault*. The King immediately advertiſed the Duke by a Letter of his own hand, of the taking of St. *Quintins*; thereby to put him utterly out of hope to recover it by the Conſtables means. Which news, when the Duke underſtood, he ſent word to the Lord *Deſmeriez*, Great Bailiff of *Hainault*, to guard the Town of *Montz* in ſuch ſort, that the Conſtable could not depart; and farther, to command him to keep his lodging: Which commandment the Bailiff executed accordingly, for he durſt do no leſs. Notwithſtanding, the Guard was not ſtrong enough for ſuch a perſonage, if he had been diſpoſed to eſcape. What ſhall we ſay here of Fortune? This Nobleman dwelt upon the Frontiers of both theſe Princes dominions, being enemies, having ſtrong Towns in his hands, and four hundred men of arms well paid; of the which, he was Comptroller himſelf, and placed whom it pleaſed him, and had been their Captain the ſpace of twelve years. He was a wiſe and a valiant Knight, and of great experience, and had great treaſure in ready Coyn; yet notwithſtanding, at this laſt pinch his courage ſo failed him, that he wiſt not what ſhift to make. We may well ſay, that fickle Fortune beheld him with a frowning countenance; or rather (if we will ſpeak like good Chriſtians) we muſt ſay, that ſuch great miſeries depend not upon Fortune; for Fortune is but a phantaſtical fiction of Poetry. Wherefore we muſt think, if we well weigh both the reaſons above alledged, and divers other here unrehearſed, That God had utterly forſaken him, and given him over. And if it were lawful for man to judge, as I know it is not (eſpecially for me) I would ſay, that in my opinion all this miſery fell upon him, becauſe he laboured continually to the uttermoſt of his power to nouriſh the war between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, knowing his great authority and eſtate to depend thereupon: Although to ſay the truth, the matter needed no great labor, for there was a natural antipathy between them. Who is ſo rude or ignorant to think, that Fortune, or any other like chance, was able to caſt ſo wiſe a man into the diſgrace of both theſe Princes, at once, (who in their lives, never agreed in any thing, ſave onely this,) eſpecially into the King of *Englands* diſgrace, who had married his Neece, and loved entirely all his Wives Kinſmen, eſpecially thoſe of this houſe of Saint *Paul*. It is like therefore, yea, it is moſt certain, that God had withdrawn his grace from him, in that he had purchaſed

himſelf

himself such hatred of all these three Princes, and had not one friend in the world that durst give him a nights lodging: Neither was it feigned Fortune struck this stroke, but God alone. The like whereof hath hapned, and shall happen to divers others, who after great and long prosperity, fall into great adversity and trouble. After the Constable was arrested in *Hainault*, by the Duke of *Burgundies* commandment, the King sent word to the Duke, either to deliver him into his hands, or execute him according to the tenure of the writings abovementioned. The Duke answered, that he would so do, and commanded the Constable to be led to *Peronne*, and there straightly kept. Further you shall understand, that the Duke had already taken divers places in *Lorrain* and *Barrois*, and at this present held the siege before *Nanci*, which was valiantly defended. The King had great force of men of arms in *Champaign*, which held the Duke in fear; for the King was not bound by the Truce, to suffer him to destroy the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was retired into *France*. The Lord of *Bouchage*, and divers other Ambassadors sent by the King, pressed the Duke earnestly to perform his promise and oath; and he answered ever, That he would so do; but yet delaid it more then a moneth, over and above the eight days, wherein he should either have delivered the Constable, or put him to death. Notwithstanding, in the end seeing the matter so earnestly pressed, and fearing that the King would hinder his enterprise in *Lorrain*, which he so much desired to atchieve; to the end, he might have the passage open from *Luxemburg* into *Burgundy*, and joyn all these Seigniories together; for this little Dutchy of *Lorrain* being his, he might come upon his own Dominions from *Holland*, almost as far as *Lions*[2]: For these considerations, I say, he wrote to his Chancellor and the Lord of *Himbercourt*, so often already mentioned, (which two had absolute authority in his absence, and were both of them the Constables enemies and ill-willers) to go to *Peronne* and deliver the Constable at a day by him prefixed, to those that the King should there appoint to receive him, sending word withal to the Lord *Desmiriez*, to deliver him to the said Chancellor and *Himbercourt*.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, in the mean time, beat continually the Town of *Nanci*; but there were good Soldiers within it, which valiantly defended it. Further, one of the Dukes own Captains, called the Earl of *Campobache*, a Neapolitan born, but banished thence for the house of *Anjou*'s faction, was lately entred in o intelligence with the Duke of *Lorrain* Heir apparant to the house of *Anjou*, after the death of King *Rene*, his Mothers Father. The Earl of *Campobache* promised to prolong the siege, and find means that such things should be lacking, as were necessary for the taking of the Town[3]. Which his promise, he was very well able to perform, being then the greatest man in the Dukes army; but a false Traitor to his Master, as hereafter you shall hear more at large. This was a preparative, as it were, of all those evils and miseries that fell afterward upon the Duke of *Burgundy*. The said Duke meant, as I suppose, if he had taken the Town before the day appointed for the Constables delivery, not to deliver him at all: And on the other side, I think, if the King had had him, he would have done more in the Duke of *Lorrains* favor then he did; for he was advertised of the Earl of *Campobaches* traiterous practises, but medled not in them: Yet was he not bound to let the Duke of *Burgundy* do what he listed in *Lorrain*, (notwithstanding, for divers respects, he thought it best so to do;) besides this, he had great forces upon the frontiers of the said Country of *Lorrain*.

The Duke could not take *Nanci* before the day appointed for the Constables delivery[4], which being come, the two abovementioned, executed willingly their Masters commandment[5], and delivered him at the Gate of *Peronne*, to the Bastard of *Bourbon*, Admiral of *France*, and to Monsieur *de Saint Pierre*, who led him to *Paris*. Divers have told me, that within three hours after his departure, Messengers came in Poste from the Duke with a countermand; to wit, that he should not be delivered before *Nanci* was taken, but it was too late. At *Paris* the Constables Proces was made, and the Duke delivered all his Letters that were in his hands, and all such evidence as served for the Proces. The King pressed the Court earnestly, and Justices were appointed for the hearing of his cause; who seeing the evidence that both the King of *England* and the Duke gave against him, condemned him to die[6], and confiscated all his goods.

[2] The Duke desired *Lorrain* not onely for the cause here alledged by our Author, but also to proclaim himself, under that colour, K. of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*.

[3] This *Campobache* (as some report) wrought this Treason, for Treason; for that the D. had once in his rage given him a blow. *Meyer*.

[4] He took *Nanci* about the 19 of *November*. But *La Marche* saith in the end of *November*. *Meyer* 28 *November*, 1475. And the Constable was delivered the 30 of *November*.

[5] The Chancellor and *Himbercourt* delivered him with such speed through ill-will, whereas they ought to have staid till the second Message had come from the Duke; for as saith *Meyer*, *Ferebat consuetudo, ex jure militari civilique desumpta, ut in talibus gravibus rebus secundum semper prætores ministrique expectarent jussionem: at hoc isti duo odio gravissimo deflagrantes in Comitem stabuli, gratumque volentes facere regi, mirum in modum sanguinem illius sitienti, non observaverunt. Si observassent, ut debebant, fortassis & virum ipsum, & Ducem Dominum suum seque ipsos plane servassent. Siquidem statim post Caroli interitum ambo apud Gandavum accepêre rationem.*

[6] The Constable died the 19 of *December*, 1475. *Annal. Franc. Gaguin. Meyer.* In whom read the causes of his death, *fol.* 368.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII. *A discourse of the faults, of the Duke of* Burgundy, *committed in delivering the Constable to the King contrary to his safe conduct; and what ensued thereof.*

THis delivery of the Constable was marvellous strange; notwithstanding, I speak it not to excuse his faults, neither to accuse the Duke; for sure he had just cause to seek his death. But I think, that he, being so great a Prince, and of so Noble and Honorable a House, should not have given him a safe conduct and then arrested him. And undoubtedly it was great cruelty to deliver him where he was sure to dy, especially for covetousnesse. But soon after he had thus dishonoured himself by this deed, he received great losses, and began to fall to ruin. So that, if we well consider the works that God hath done in these our dayes, and daily doth, we shall easily perceive, that he will leave no fault unpunished, and that these strange punishments are inflicted onely by him, because they surmount far the Works of Nature. For his punishments are sudden, especially upon those that use violence and cruelty: who cannot be mean persons, but mighty men, either in Seigniories, or Authority. This House of *Burgundy* had long flourished, for the space of an hundred year or there about (during the which time reigned four of this House) it was more esteemed than any other House in Christendome. For all those that were mightier then it, had suffered great afflictions and adversities, but it lived continually in perpetuall felicity and honour. The First great Prince of this House was *Phillip* sirnamed the *Hardy*, Brother to *Charles* the fifth, King of *France*, who married the Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Flanders*, being Countesse not onely of that Country, but also of *Artois*, *Burgundy* [1], *Nevers*, and *Rethel*. The Second was *John*. The Third was the good Duke *Philip*, who joyned to his house the Dutchies of *Brabant*, *Luxembourg*, *Lambourg*, and the Counties of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Henault*, and *Namur*. The Fourth was the Duke *Charles*, who, after his Fathers death, was one of the richest and most redoubted Princes of Christendom; and had in moveables, namely, Jewels, Plate, Tapestry, Books, and Napery, more then three of the Greatest Princes in Christendom. Of treasure in Coin, I have seen greater abundance in other Princes Courts: For Duke *Philip*, for the space of many years, levied neither subsidies nor taxes; yet notwithstanding at his death, he left his Son above three hundred thousand crowns in ready money and in peace with all his neighbours, which long endured not: notwithstanding I will not impute the whole occasion of the Wars to him, for others were as busie as he. His Subjects immediately after his Fathers death, upon a small request, granted him very willingly a subsidy (every country a part) for the term of ten years, amounting yearly to the summe of 350000 crowns; *Burgundy* being not comprehended therein. Yea, and at the time he delivered the Constable, he levied yearly over and above the former sum, more than three hundred thousand crowns, and had above three hundred thousond crownes in Coin; and all the Constables goods that came to his hands, amounted hardly to the value of 80000 crownes, for he had but 76000 in coin. So that the Duke committed this foul fault, for small gain, yet was the punishment thereof great: for God raised up an enemy against him of small force, of young years, and of little experience in all things; and caused his servant, whom he then most trusted, to become false and traiterous. He made also the Duke himself to mistrust his own Subjects and faithfull Servants. Are not these such manifest tokens and preparatives, as God used in the Old Testament against those whose good fortune and prosperity, he meant to change into misery and adversity? Yet he never humbled himself before God, but even till the hour of death attributed all his good successe to his own wisdom and Prowesse: before his death he was mightier than any of his Predecessors, and more esteemed through the whole world.

Before the Constables delivery, he was fallen into a marvellous mistrust, or great disdain of his own Subjects, for he had sent into *Italy* for a thousand men of arms, *Italians*. Before *Nuz* also he had great force of Italians in his Camp: for the Earl of *Campobache* had under his charge four hundred men of Armes, and better. This Earl had no possessions for his maintainance; for, because of the Wars the House of *Anjou* had made in the Realm of *Naples* (which House he served) he was banished his country, and lost all his Lands

[1] Understand this of the County of *Burgundy* not of the Dutchy.

Lands, and ſerved ever ſince his departure out of *Italy*, in *Provence* *Lorrain*, under King *Rene* of *Sicile*, or Duke *Nicholas* Son to Duke *John* of *Calabria*. After whoſe death the Duke of *Burgundy* gave entertainment to moſt of his Servants, eſpecially all his Italians: Namely this Earl of *Campobache*, *James Galeot* a valiant, honourable, and faithfull Gentleman, and divers others. The ſaid Earl of *Campobache*, when he went into *Italy* to levy his men, received of the D. of *Burgundy* 40000 ducats in preſt for his company. But as he paſſed through *Lyons*, he fell in acquaintance with a Phyſitian, named Maſter *Simon* of *Pavy*, by whom he advertiſed the King, that, if he would grant him certain demands, he would promiſe him at his return to deliver the Duke of *Burgundy* into his hands: the like offer made he alſo to Monſieur *de Saint Fray*, then Ambaſſadour in *Piemont* for the King. Again, at his return, having his men of Arms lying in the County of *Marle*, he offered the King that ſo ſoon as he ſhould be in the camp with his Maſter, he would not fail either to kill him or take him Priſoner; ſhewing withal, the manner how he would do it, which was this. The Duke rode often about his camp to view it, mounted upon a little Nag, and very ſlenderly accompanied; at ſome ſuch time, this Earl ſaid, he would Aſſault him, and execute his Enterpriſe. He made yet alſo another offer to the King, namely, if the King and the Duke met together in Battell, to turn with his men of Arms on the Kings ſide, under condition, that the King would grant him certain demands. The King deteſted much the treaſon of this man, and of a Noble courage advertiſed the Duke of his practiſes by the Lord of *Contay* abovementioned. Notwithſtanding the Duke would not credit the meſſage, (ſuppoſing that the King ſent him this advertiſement to ſome other end) but loved the Earl the better. Wherefore you may ſee how God had troubled his wits, in that he would give no credit to thoſe manifeſt demonſtrations, the King ſhewed him. Well, this Earl of *Campobache* was not ſo falſe and traiterous, but *James Galeot* was true and as truſty, who lived many years, and died with great honour and renown.

THE

THE FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I. *How the Duke of* Burgundy *making war upon the Switzes was overthrown, at the ſtraights of the mountains near to* Granſon.



THe Duke of *Burgundy*, having conquered the Dutchy of *Lorrain*, and received Saint *Quintins*, *Han*, and *Bohain*, with all the Conſtables goods of the King, treated with him of a finall Peace: for accompliſhment whereof, they two reſolved to meet upon a bridge built over a River, like to that made at *Piquigny*, at the enterview of the King of *England* and *France*. About the which meeting, meſſengers paſſed to and fro; ſo far forth, that the Duke was once purpoſed to diſmiſſe the greateſt part of his Army, to the end his men (being in very ill order, as well becauſe of the ſiege at *Nuz*, as alſo of this ſmall war in *Lorrain*) might refreſh themſelves: and the reſt to put in Garriſon into certain of the Earl of *Romonts* places, near to the towns of *Bern* and *Fribourg*, upon the which he was fully reſolved to make war, becauſe they had invaided his dominions, while he was before *Nuz*, had holpen to take the County of *Ferrette* from him (as you have heard) and had alſo conquered from the Earl of *Romont* part of his Country. The King earneſtly preſſed him to come to the meeting appointed, to leave theſe poor *Switzers* in Peace, and to refreſh his Army. The *Switzers* alſo, ſeeing him approach ſo near them, ſent their Ambaſſadours to him, offering to reſtore all that they had taken from the Earl of *Romont*, who, on the other ſide, preſſed him earneſtly to ſuccour him in perſon: whereupon the Duke altered his mind, and determined to march againſt them, leaving that courſe, which, in all mens opinions, ſeemed beſt, conſidering both the time of the year, and the ſtate of his Army. Further, it was agreed between the King and him, that for the Dutchy of *Lorrain*, they ſhould not fall at variance.

The Duke departed out of *Lorrain*, with this poor, weary, and defeated Army, and entred into *Burgundy*, where the Ambaſſadours of theſe ancient confederates of *Almain*, commonly called Switzers, repaired again to him, making larger offers than before: for beſides the reſtitution of the Earl of *Romonts* places, they offered to depart from all leagues that he ſhould not allow of, eſpecially, their league with the King, and to enter into confederacy with him, and to ſerve him againſt the King, with ſix thouſand men well armed (and that for very ſmall pay) as often as he ſhould require, which offer he refuſed: for God was fully purpoſed to bring him to deſtruction. In thoſe countries are certain Towns called the new Confederates, namely, *Baſill*, *Strasbourg*, and divers other Imperiall Cities[1], ſcituate near the River of *Rhene*, which in times paſt had been enemies to the Switzers, in favour of *Sigiſmund* Duke of *Auſtrich*, whoſe confederates they were during the wars between the ſaid Switzers and him. But now all theſe townes joyned with the Switzers and a league was made between them for ten years, and peace alſo between Duke *Sigiſmond* and them: which league (as before you have heard) was concluded by the Kings procurement, earneſt ſute, and great expences, at the ſame time, that the County of *Ferrette* was taken from the Duke of *Burgundy*, and his Lievtenant there, called *Peter Archambault* beheaded at *Baſil*. The only cauſe of which inconvenience proceeded of this *Archambault* himſelf, which ſurely was a ſhrewd check to the Duke of *Burgundy*, being the very fountain of all his other miſeries. Wherefore a Prince that hath lately joyned a ſtrange Country to his dominions, ought to be circumſpect what Governours he placeth there For whereas ſubjects newly conquered, ought to be courteouſly intreated, to have juſtice truly adminiſtred, and to be better uſed than under their former Government: this *Archambault* did the clean contrary, for he uſed great violence and extortion, whereupon enſued utter deſtruction to himſelf, his Maſter, and many a good man beſides.

This League abovementioned made by the Kings onely procurement, turned afterwards to his great benefit; yea greater than the World ſuppoſeth, ſo far forth that for my part, I account it one of the wiſeſt deeds that ever he did, and moſt to the damage of

[1] Theſe townes were *Baſil*, *Strasbourg*, *Sleeſtat*, *Colmar*, *Sunggau*, and *Briſgau*.

his enemies. For, the Duke of *Burgundy* once deſtroyed, the King of *France* never found man afterward of his own Subjects, that durſt lift up his finger againſt him: for they ſailed all with his wind. Wherefore it was a worthy exploit to joyn Duke *Sigiſmond* of *Auſtrich*, and theſe new confederates in League with the Swiſſers, whoſe ancient enemies they had been: and I warrant you it was never brought to paſs, without great expenſes and many voyages.

After the Duke of *Burgundy* had put the Swiſſers from all hope of peace, they returned to advertiſe their confederates thereof, and to make preparation for defence. The Duke led his army into the countrey of *Vaulx* in *Savoy*, which the Swiſſers (as you have heard) had taken from the Lord of *Romont*. There he won three or four places belonging to Monſieur *de Chaſteauguion*, which the Swiſſers held and negligently defended. From thence he removed, and laid his ſiege before a Town called *Granſon*, belonging alſo to the ſaid Lord of *Chaſteauguion*, within the which were eight or nine hundred Swiſſers, choiſe men: for becauſe the place was near their country, they had manned it well. The Dukes force was reaſonable great: for divers bands came daily to him out of *Lombardy*, and the Subjects alſo of this Houſe of *Savoy* were in pay with him. He loved ſtrangers better then his own Subjects, notwithſtanding that he might have levyed in his own Dominions, great force of good Souldiers: but the Conſtables death, together with certain other conceits he had in his head, cauſed him to miſtruſt his own people. His Artillery was marvellous ſtrong, and he lay in great Pomp and Triumph in his Camp, to ſhew his magnificence to the Ambaſſadors that came to him out of *Italy* and *Almain:* for the which purpoſe alſo he had brought with him, all his beſt Jewels and Plate, and great abundance of all kind of furniture. Moreover he had many phanſies in his head touching the Dutchy of *Milan*, where he truſted ſhortly to have great intelligence. After he had beſieged this Town of *Granſon*, and battered it with the Cannon certain dayes, they yielded to his mercy [3], and he put them all cruelly to death. The Swiſſers were aſſembled, but in ſmall number, as divers of them have told me: for they are not able to levy ſo great force in their country as the world ſuppoſeth; and at that time much leſſe then now, becauſe ſince moſt part of them have forſaken their husbandry, and given themſelves to arms. Further, of their confederates few were with them, becauſe they were forced to ſuccour the place in haſte; but ſo ſoon as they were abroad in Camp, they heard of their companions death. The Duke contrary to their opinion whoſe advice he asked, determined to meet them at the entry of the Mountains, where they yet lay, greatly to his own diſadvantage: for he was encamped in a place very well ſeated for the Battell, being fortified on the one ſide with his Artillery, and on the other with a Lake; ſo that in all appearance they could not have endamaged him. He had ſent an hundred archers before him, to keep a ſtrait, directly over againſt the Mountain where the Swiſſers lay, and marched forward himſelf, and his enemies encountred him, the greateſt part of his army being yet in the plain. The firſt ranks of his men, thought to retire to joyn with the reſt; but thoſe that were behind, ſuppoſing theſe to flie, began to turn their backs, and by little and little the Dukes army retired towards his Camp; ſome of them valiantly behaving themſelves. But to be ſhort, when they drew near to the Camp, they never ſtood to defence, but fled all [4]. So that the *Almains* won the Dukes Camp, his Artillery, all his Tents and Pavilions, and his mens alſo, (whereof there was great abundance) and other riches and treaſures infinite [5]: for nothing was ſaved but the men onely. Moreover the Duke loſt here all his goodly Jewels, notwithſtanding, in this Battell were ſlain only ſeven men of arms; all the reſt fled, and himſelf alſo. A man may juſtlier ſay of him that he loſt this day honour and reputation, than of King *John* of *France*, who, valiantly defending himſelf, was taken priſoner by the Engliſh men at the Battell of *Poitiers*.

This is the firſt misfortune that ever hapned to this Duke: for all his other enterpriſes turned him either to honour or profit. But what a deadly wound received he this day by following his own brain, and deſpiſing good advice? what damage received his houſe thereby? in how miſerable eſtate is it yet, and ſhall be we know not how long? how many men became his enemies and declared themſelves againſt him, that the day before ſpake him fair, and temporiſed with him? And for what quarrell began this War? forſooth for a load of Ships-skins, taken by the Earl of *Romont* from a Swiſſer paſſing through his country. Sure, if God had not utterly abandoned the Duke of *Burgundy* it is not to be thought, he would have put himſelf into ſo great danger for ſo ſmall a trifle, conſidering

[2] He laid his ſiege before *Granſon*, the 12. of *February*, 1476. beginning the year at New years tide, with 50000. men, & 500. pecces of artillery, *Annal. Burgun.* Others write but 400.

[3] Others write that they would not yield unleſs the Duke would receive them to his mercy: which he did, and yet after put them cruelly to death.

[4] This battel was fought on *Saturday* the ſecond of *April*, or of *March* as ſome ſay: the Swiſſers at this battel were not above 5000. & they moſt Harquebuſiers. *Annal. Burg.*

[5] All that the Duke loſt that day was valued at three millions of crowns. *Annal. Burg.*

ſidering both the offers made him, and the men he had to do with; by vanquiſhing whom, he could obtain neither riches nor honour For at that time, the Swiſſers as touching their valour, were not eſteemed as they be now; and their poverty was ſo great, that a Knight of their country, who was one of their firſt Ambaſſadors to the Duke, told me, that amongſt divers other reaſons he uſed to diſſwade him from this War, this was one: that by conquering them he could gain nothing, becauſe their country was barren and poor, and void of all good priſoners, ſo far forth that he thought verily if all their country-men were taken, they ſhould not be able to pay a ranſome to the value of the Spurs and Bridle-bits in his Camp.

But to return to the Battell: the King being immediately advertiſed of all that was hapned, by the ſundry ſpyes and meſſengers he had abroad in the country, moſt of the which were ſtrangers; rejoyced much at this news, and ſorrowed onely that ſo few were ſlain. Further, becauſe of theſe affairs, he lay at *Lions*, to the end he might the ſooner be advertiſed of all that hapned, and the better countermine all ſuch enterpriſes as the Duke had in his head. For the King being a wiſe Prince, feared leſt he ſhould joyn the Swiſſers to him by force. As touching the Houſe of *Savoy*, the Duke diſpoſed thereof as of his own: the Duke of *Milan* was in League with him: King *Rene* of *Sicily* was fully bent to have put the country of *Provence* into his hands. So that if his affairs had received good ſucceſſe, he ſhould have held under his Dominion, all that lyeth between the Weſt and Eaſt Seas, and have ſo bridled the Subjects of this Realm, that they could have ſtirred no way out of *France*, but by Sea, without his permiſſion: *Savoy*, *Provence*, and *Lorrain*, being under his ſubjection. To every one of theſe Princes the King ſent Ambaſſadors. The one, namely the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* was his Siſter, but friend to the Duke of *Burgundy* to the uttermoſt of her power. The other, to wit, King *Rene* of *Sicily* was his Unkle, who hardly gave his Ambaſſadors audience, but referred all matters to the Duke of *Burgundy*. The King ſent alſo to theſe confederates of *Almain*, but with great difficulty; for, becauſe the paſſages were ſtopped, he was forced to ſend beggers, pilgrims, and ſuch kind of men. The ſaid confederates gave him a proud anſwer, that unleſs he would declare himſelf for them, they would make peace with the Duke, and joyn with the Burgundians againſt him: which notwithſtanding that he greatly feared, yet thought he it not time as yet, to dicover himſelf the Dukes enemy, doubting alſo leſt ſome of his meſſengers, whom he ſent about the country ſhould be taken, and ſo all his practiſes diſcovered.

CHAP. II. *How after the overthrow at* Granſon, *the Duke of* Milan, *King* Rene *of* Sicily, *the Dutcheſs of* Savoy, *and others, departed from their League with the Duke of* Burgundy.

LET us now ſee how the world changed after the Battell, and how the courage of the Duke of *Burgundy* and his confederates altered, and withall how wiſely the King governed his affairs. For this ſhall be a goodly example for young Princes that attempt fooliſh enterpriſes, not conſidering what may enſue thereof; and deſpiſe the Counſell of thoſe, whoſe advice they ought to uſe, notwithſtanding that themſelves be utterly void of all experience. Firſt, the Duke himſelf ſent the Lord of *Contay* to the King, with a lowly and humble meſſage, contrary both to his accuſtomed manner and to his Nature. Mark here how ſuddenly he was changed, even in a moment: he deſired the King faithfully to keep the truce, and excuſed himſelf for not coming to the meeting appointed at *Auxerre*, promiſing ſhortly to meet him there or elſewhere at his pleaſure. The King received the ſaid *Contay* very honourably, aſſuring him of all his demands: for as yet he thought it not time to declare himſelf, becauſe he knew well the loyalty of the Dukes ſubjects to be ſuch to their Prince, that he ſhould ſoon be afloat again. Wherefore he was deſirous to ſee the end of this War, without giving occaſion to either party to make peace. But notwithſtanding the good entertainment the King gave the ſaid *Contay*, yet heard he many ſcoffs and taunts in the Town: for ballads were openly ſung in the commendation of the vanquiſhers, and reproach of his folly that was vanquiſhed.

So ſoon as *Galeas* Duke of *Milan* (then living) underſtood of this adventure, he rejoyced not a little thereat, notwithſtanding that he was the Duke of *Burgundy*'s confederate: for

he was entred into League with him for fear onely, seeing the Duke so highly favoured in *Italy*. Wherefore the said Duke of *Milan* sent in all haste to the King a Citizen of *Milan*, a man of small appearance, who by mediation of others was directed to me, and brought me a Letter from the D: whereof when I had advertised the King, he commanded me to hear his message. For he would not give him audience himself, because he was displeased with the Duke of *Milan* for abandoning his League with him, to enter into confederacy with the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the rather for that his Wife was the Queens Sister. The said Ambassadors message was, that his Master the Duke of *Milan* was advertised, that the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* should meet to conclude a finall peace, and a League greatly to his Masters dicontentation, and divers slender reasons he alledged to disswade the King from the conclusion thereof. But his last perswasion was, that if the King would be bound to make neither peace nor truce with the Duke of *Burgundy*, his Master would presently give him 100000. Ducats. When the King heard the substance of his ambassage, he caused him to come to his presence, my self onely being with him, and said thus briefly unto him: Here is Monsieur *d' Argenton* that advertiseth me thus and thus: tell your Master I will none of his money; for I levy once in a year thrice as much as he. And as touching Peace or War, I will dispose thereof at my pleasure: but if your Master repent him that he hath forsaken his League with me, to enter into confederacy with the Duke of *Burgundy*, tell him that I am contented that the League between us shall continue as it was first concluded. The Ambassador gave him most humble thanks, perceiving him by his answer to be no covetous Prince, and desired that it would please him to cause the said League between him and his Master, to be proclaimed in manner and form as it was first concluded, saying, that he had power to bind his Master thereunto. The King was contented, and after Dinner it was proclaimed, and an Ambassador forthwith dispatched to *Milan*, where the League was again proclaimed, with great solemnity. This is one blow Adversity gave the Duke of *Burgundy*: for here is one mighty Prince suddenly fallen from him; who had sent a great and solemn ambassage to enter into League with him but three weeks before.

King *Rene* of *Sicily* was purposed to make the Duke of *Burgundy* his heir, and to put *Provence* into his hands; so far forth, that Monsieur *de Chasteauguion* that now is, and divers others, were already gone into *Piemont* with 20000. crowns, to levy men to take possession of the said country for the Duke of *Burgundy*: but upon the news of this overthrow they fled, and hardly saved themselves; and as touching their mony, the Lord of *Bresse* being then in those parts took it. The Dutchess of *Savoy* hearing this news, sent word thereof immediately to King *Rene* of *Sicily*, extenuating the overthrow, and willing him to be of good cheer, notwithstanding this small losse: but her messengers being Provincials were intercepted, and thereby King *Renes* practise with the Duke of *Burgundy* discovered. Whereupon the King sent forces to the frontiers of *Provence*[1], and Ambassadors to the King of *Sicily*, desiring him to come to him and assuring him of good entertainment; which if he refused to do, he threatned by force to prevent this inconvenience. Wherefore in the end the King of *Sicily* agreed to repair to *Lions* to the King, where he was honourably received and well feasted. I was with the King, and heard the words that passed between them at their first meeting: which being ended, *John Crosse* Seneschall of *Provence*, a worthy Gentleman and of a good House in the Realm of *Naples*, said thus to the King: Sir, you must not marvell if the King my Master your Unkle, offered to make the Duke of *Burgundy* his heir: for he was counselled thereunto by his servants, especially by my self, because you being his Sisters Son and his Nephew, have done him so great wrong in taking from him the Castles of *Bar* and *Angiers*, and handled him so ill in all his other affairs. Wherefore we meant to enter into this practise with the Duke of *Burgundy*, to the end, that you hearing this news, might endeavour your self to repair the injuries you have done us, and acknowledge in the end the King our Master to be your Unkle: but we never minded to bring this treaty to a full conclusion. The King being a wise Prince, took this practise in good part, which the said *John Crosse* uttered indeed simply as it was meant, for himself was the onely contriver thereof. In short space, all controversies between them were ended, and mony was given to the King of *Sicily* and his servants. Further, the King feasted him with the Ladies, and used him in all points according to his own humour as near as he could; and of the Duke of *Burgundy* no more mention was made, but he was utterly abandoned of King *Rene*. This is another mishap that ensued this small adversity.

[1] For *Provence* was held of the Crowne of *France*, and therefore the King wouldnot suffer his enemy the Duke of *Burgundy* to possess it.

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The Dutcheſs alſo of *Savoy*, who of long time was thought a great enemy to the King her Brother, ſent one Monſieur *de Montaigny*, (who was addreſſed to me) with a ſecret meſſage to reconcile her ſelf to the King, alledging divers reaſons why ſhe was fallen out with him, and wherein ſhe ſtood in fear of him. Notwithſtanding ſhe was a very wiſe Lady, and the Kings Siſter indeed: for it appeared that ſhe meant to temporize as he did, to ſee what would happen further to the Duke, before ſhe would abandon him. The King gave her better words then he was accuſtomed, and ſent the meſſengers very good anſwers by me, willing him to deſire his Miſtreſs to come into *France*; and thus her man was diſpatched. See here another of the Duke of *Burgundies* confederates, practiſing to forſake him. Beſides this, through the whole country of *Almain*, enemies began to declare themſelves againſt him, and all the Imperiall Towns, as *Nuremburg*, *Francfort*, and divers others, joyned themſelves with theſe old and new confederates of *Swiſſerland*: ſo that all the world ſeemed to be perſwaded, the doing of him harm to be good ſervice to God.

The ſpoils of his Camp, enriched marvellouſly theſe poor Swiſſers, who at the firſt knew not what treaſures were fallen into their hands, eſpecially thoſe of the ruder ſort: one of the richeſt and goodlieſt Pavilions in the World, was torn all to pieces. There were that ſold a number of Silver-Plates and Diſhes for two ſouſe a piece, ſuppoſing them to be Pewter. The Dukes great Diamond, being the goodlieſt jewell in Chriſtendom, at the which hung a great orient Pearl, was taken up by a Swiſſer, who put it again into the Box where it was kept, and threw it under a Cart; but afterward returned to ſeek it, and ſold it to a Prieſt for a Guldon, who ſent it to the Lords of their countrey, of whom he received three Franks for it. They won alſo three goodly Ballais Rubies, called the three Brethren, becauſe they were in all points alike, and another great Ballais Rubie called La hotte, with a goodly Stone called the Round Ball of *Flanders*, the Greateſt and Faireſt Stones in the World. Other infinite treaſures they gained alſo; which ſince have taught them to know what is money-worth. Further, the Victories they have obtained, the account the King made of them ever after, and the Summes of money he beſtowed upon them, have marvellouſly enriched them. Every Ambaſſador of theirs that came to him at the beginning of theſe Wars, received goodly Preſents of him, either in money or Plate, whereby he aſſwaged the diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt him, for not declaring himſelf the Duke of *Burgundies* enemy: for he ſent them home well contented, with full purſes and clothed in ſilks and velvets. Then began he alſo to promiſe them a yearly penſion of 40000. Guldons, which afterward he truly paid, but the ſecond Battell was paſt firſt. Of this penſion twenty thouſand Guldons were for the Towns, and the other twenty thouſand for the Governours of the Towns. And I think verily I ſhould not lie, if I ſaid that between the firſt Battell of *Granſon* and the King our Maſters death, theſe Towns and Governours of the Swiſſers, received out of *France* above a million of Florens. When I name, Towns, I mean but theſe four: *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Friburge*, and *Zurich*, together with their Cantons ſcituate in the Mountains. *Swiſſe* alſo is one of their Cantons, though but a Village. Yet have I ſeen an Ambaſſador of that Village clothed in very ſimple apparell, give his advice in every matter as well as any of the reſt. The other two Cantons are called *Soleurre* and *Uderwalde*.

CHAP. III. *How the Swiſſers vanquiſhed the Duke of* Burgundy *in Battel, near to the Town of* Morat.

NOw to return to the Duke of *Burgundy*, he levied men on all ſides, ſo that within three weeks he had aſſembled a mighty army: for a great number of his Souldiers that fled the day of the Battell, repaired again to his Camp. He lay at *Loſanna*[1] in *Savoy*, where you (my Lord of *Vienna*) aſſiſted him with your Counſell, in a dangerous ſickneſs he was fallen into, for ſorrow and grief of the diſhonour he had received: which ſo much altered him, that I think after this Battell of *Granſon*, his wits were never ſo freſh, nor ſo good as before[2]. Of this new army he now levied, I ſpeak upon the Prince of *Tarentes* report, who

[1] The Duke after the Battle of *Granſon* retired firſt to *Jouigne*, from thence to *Noſeret*, and then to *Loſanna*. *La Marche*.

[2] This proveth both *Vitia animi ſcatere ad corpus, & animam ſequi temperaturam corporis*, which proceedeth of the great ſympathy between the minde and body: *Liv. lib.* 1. *decad.* 1. writeth thus; *Longinquus morbus, Tulli mores prorſus immutavit.*

made relation thereof to the King in my preſence. For you ſhall underſtand, that the ſaid Prince about a year before the Battell, was come to the Duke of *Burgundy*, with a goodly train, in hope to marry his Daughter and heir. And notwithſtanding that his behaviour, apparell, and train, ſhewed him indeed to be a Kings Son, and his Father the King of *Naples* to have ſpared no coſt in ſetting him forth: yet did the Duke but diſſemble with him, and fed at the ſelf-ſame time with fair promiſes, the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* putting her in hope of this marriage for her Son. Wherefore the Prince of *Tarente*, called *Don Frederick* of *Arragon*, and his Councell, miſliking theſe delayes, ſent to the King our Maſter a Herauld of arms, a wiſe fellow, who humbly beſought him to grant the Prince his ſafe Conduct to paſſe through his Realm, to the King his Father who had ſent for him, which he eaſily obtained of the King, becauſe it ſeemed to tend to the Duke of *Burgundies* diſhonour and diſcredit. Notwithſtanding, before the Princes meſſenger returned to his Maſter, a great number of theſe confederate Towns, were aſſembled and encamped hard by the D. of *Burgundy*. The ſaid Prince obeying the K. his Fathers commandment, took his leave of the Duke the night before the ſecond Battell was fought; for at the firſt he was preſent, and behaved himſelf like a valiant Gentleman. Some ſay (my Lord of *Vienna*) that he uſed your advice herein: for when he was here with the King, I have heard both him and the Duke of *Aſcoly*, commonly called the Earl *Julio*, and divers other affirm, that you wrote in *Italy* of the firſt and ſecond Battell, and told what ſhould enſue thereof, long before they were fought.

At the Princes departure great forces of theſe confederate Towns were encamped (as I have ſaid) hard by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and came to give him Battell, meaning to levy the ſiege he held before *Morat* [a], a little Town near to *Bern*, belonging to the Earl of *Romont*. The ſaid Towns had in their army (as ſome that were at the Battell have enformed me) 35000. men, whereof four thouſand were Horſmen, the reſt footmen well choſen and well armed; that is to ſay, 11000. pikes, 10000. halbards, and 10000. harquebuſiers. Their whole force was not yet aſſembled, and theſe onely fought the Battell, neither needed any more help. The Duke of *Lorrain* arrived at their Camp, a little before the Battell, with a very ſmall train; which his coming turned afterward to his great profit: for the Duke of *Burgundy* held then all his countrey, and a happy turn it was for him that they waxed weary of him in our Court, as all thoſe that maintain a Nobleman overthrown, uſually do; notwithſtanding he never underſtood thus much. The King gave him a ſmall ſum of money, and ſent a good Troup of men of arms, to conveigh him ſafe through *Lorrain*; who brought him to the frontiers of *Almain*, and then returned home. This Duke of *Lorrain* had not only loſt his Dutchy of *Lorrain*, the County of *Vaudement*, and the greateſt part of *Batrois* (the reſt being withheld from him by the King, ſo that he had nothing left:) but his Subjects alſo, yea his houſhold-ſervants had voluntarily done Homage to the Duke of *Burgundy*: ſo that his eſtate ſeemed almoſt irrecoverable. Notwithſtanding God remaineth alwayes Judge, to determine ſuch Cauſes at His pleaſure.

[a] The Duke laid his ſiege before *Morat* (called in Dutch *Murten*) the 9. of *June* 1476. with 40000. men *Annal. Burgun.* and ſo had the Swiſſers alſo, *Idem Meyer* ſaith the Duke had but 24000 and the Swiſſers 30000.

After the Duke of *Lorrain* was paſſed through *Lorrain* into *Almain*, and had journied a few dayes, he arrived at the *Almains* Camp with ſmall force, three or four hours before the Battell began: which Voyage (as before I have ſaid) turned to his great honour and profit; for if his ſucceſſe had been bad, I think he ſhould have found but cold entertainment in any place. At the very inſtant that he arrived, the Battells marched on both ſides. For the confederates had layn in Camp three dayes or more, in a ſtrong place hard by the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was at the very firſt diſcomfited and put to flight: neither had he ſo good luck here as in the former Battell, wherein he loſt but ſeven men of arms; which happned becauſe the Swiſſers had then no horſmen: but at this Battell near to *Morat* (whereof I now ſpeak) they had four thouſand horſmen, well mounted, the which purſued fiercely the Burgundians that fled. Further, their Battell of footmen joyned alſo with the Dukes Battle, which was mighty and ſtrong: for beſides great force of his own Subjects, aud certain Engliſhmen that ſerved him; divers bands were newly come to him, out of *Piemont* and the Dutchy of *Milan*. So that the Prince of *Tarente* at his being here with the King told me, that he never ſaw in his life ſo goodly an army: for himſelf and divers others by his commandment, numbering the force as it paſſed over a Bridge, had told to the number of 23000. Souldiers taking pay, beſides thoſe that followed the army, and were appointed to ſerve at the Artillery; which force I think was great, notwithſtanding that many talk of millions, and report they wot not what, making armies five times greater

then

then they are. The Lord of *Contay*, who came to the King immediately after the Battell, confeſſed in my hearing, that the Duke his Maſter loſt there eight thouſand Souldiers taking pay, beſides the ſtraglers: ſo that the whole number of the dead (for ought I could ever learn to the contrary) amounted to [5] eighteen thouſand which is not incredible, conſidering both the great force of Horſmen that divers Princes of *Almain* had there; and alſo the great number of men that were ſlain in the Dukes Camp, lying ſtill at the ſiege before *Morat* [6]. The Duke fled into *Burgundy*, utterly diſcomfited, and not without cauſe; and held himſelf cloſe in a Town, called *la Riviere*, where he aſſembled all the forces he could. The Swiſſers followed the chaſe but that night, and then retired without further purſuit of their enemies.

[5] Others write, 17000. others 22700. others 26000. and of the Swiſſers but 50. *Meyer.* ſaith the Duke loſt 14000.

[6] For better underſtanding of this place, we muſt know that after the Dukes vaward was overthrown, they within *Morat*, iſſued forth and joyned with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and entred perforce the Duke of *Burgundies* Camp, lying before the ſaid Town of *Morat*; where they made a great ſlaughter, as our Author here maketh mention.

CHAP. IV. *How after the Battell of* Morat, *the Duke of* Burgundy *took the Dutcheſs of* Savoy, *and how ſhe was delivered, and ſent home into her country by the Kings means.*

THis misfortune drave the Duke into utter deſpair: for he well perceived by the ſequel of the firſt Battell at *Granſon* (between the which and this ſecond, there was but three Weekes ſpace [1]) that all his friends would abandon him. Wherefore by the advice of thoſe that were about him, he made the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* and one of her Children now Duke of *Savoy*, to be led by force into *Burgundy*: but her eldeſt Son was conveighed away by certain of her Servants; for thoſe that committed this outrage, did it in great fear and upon a ſudden. The cauſe that moved the Duke thereunto was partly fear, leſt the Dutcheſs ſhould retire to the King her Brother; and partly becauſe all theſe misfortunes were happened to him (as he ſaid) for ſuccouring this houſe of *Savoy*. Thus was the Dutcheſs led to the Caſtle of *Rouvre* near to *Dyion*, where a ſmall guard was appointed over her. Notwithſtanding every body that would, went to viſit her, and among other the Lord of *Chaſteauguion*, and the Marqueſſe of *Rotelin* that now are; between the which two, and two of the Dutcheſſes Daughters, the Duke of *Burgundy* endeavoured to make two marriages, which afterward were accompliſhed. Her eldeſt Son called *Philibert*, then Duke of *Savoy*, was led by thoſe that ſtole him away, to *Chambery*, where the Biſhop of *Geneva* lay, who was alſo of the houſe of *Savoy*. This Biſhop was altogether given to ſloth and wantonneſſe, and governed wholly by a Knight of the *Rhodes* [2]: but the King ſo practiſed with him, and the Knight his Governour, that they put into his hands the ſaid Duke of *Savoy*, and a little Brother of his called *Le Prothonoſtaire*, together with the Caſtles of *Chambery* and *Montmelian*, and held alſo to the Kings uſe another Caſtle, where all the Dutcheſs's Jewels lay. When the Dutcheſs was come to *Rouvre* accompanied with all her Women, and a great number of her ſervants; ſhe perceiving the Duke of *Burgundy* to be buſied in levying men, and thoſe that guarded her not to ſtand in ſuch fear of their Maſter as they were accuſtomed; determined to ſend to the King her Brother to reconcile her ſelf to him, and to deſire him to deliver her out of this thraldom. For notwithſtanding that ſhe feared much to fall into his hands, becauſe of the great and long hatred that had been between them: yet the miſery wherein ſhe was, forced her in the end thereunto. Wherefore ſhe ſent to him a Gentleman of *Piemont* called *Riverol*, being ſteward of her houſe, who was directed to me. When I had heard his meſſage, and advertiſed the King thereof, he commanded him to come to his preſence: and after he had given him audience, anſwered, that he would not forſake his Siſter in this extremity, notwithſtanding their former variance: and that if ſhe would enter into League with him, he would ſend for her by the Governour of *Champaigne*, called Maſter *Charles* of *Amboiſe* Lord of *Chaumont*. The ſaid *Riverol* took his leave of the King, and returned with ſpeed to his Miſtreſs, who rejoyced much at this news. Notwithſtanding ſhe ſent yet again to the King, upon the return of the firſt meſſage, to deſire a ſafe conduct and aſſurance therein, that ſhe ſhould depart out of *France* into *Savoy*, and that the Duke her Son and his little Brother, together with the places which the King held, ſhould be reſtored to her: and further, that he would help to maintain

[1] I ſuppoſe, yea I aſſure my ſelf that the Printer hath here made a great fault, and that theſe *three weeks*, muſt be read *three Moneths*. For the Battell of *Granſon* was fought the 2. of *March* or *April*, and this Battell the 22. of *June*, which is much more then three Weeks, and agreeth well with three Moneths, and ſo alſo *Annal. Burgundiæ* report the time.

[2] The French hath *un Commandeur de Rhodes*, what this *Commandeur* is, look in the Notes of the ninth Chapter of the 7. book.

tain her authority in *Savoy*, and ſhe for her part would forſake all confederacies, and enter into League with him. All the which her requeſts the King granted, and immediately ſent a man purpoſely to the ſaid L. of *Chaumont*, about this enterpriſe; the which was well deviſed, and executed accordingly. For the ſaid Lord of *Chaumont*, went himſelf peaceably through the Country wi h a good band of men to *Rouvre*, from whence he led the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* and all her train, to the next place of the Kings dominions. Before the diſpatch of the Dutcheſſes laſt meſſenger, the King was departed from *Lions*, where he had layen half a year to overthrow covertly the Duke of *Burgundies* enterpriſes, without breaking the Truce. But if a man conſider well the Dukes eſtate, the King made ſharper War upon him, by letting him run himſelf out of breath, and privily ſtirring up enemies againſt him, then if he had openly proclaimed War. For immediately upon the Proclamation, the Duke would have relinquiſhed his enterpriſe, and then all theſe miſhaps had never fallen upon him.

The King being departed from *Lions*, continued ſtill his journey, and from *Rouvenne* went down the River of *Loire* to *Tours*: where at his arrival he received news of his Siſters liberty, whereat he rejoyced not a little, and ſent for her with all ſpeed to come to him, and gave order for her charges upon the way. Moreover, when ſhe drew near, he ſent a great company of Gentlemen to wait upon her, and went himſelf to receive her, as far as the gate of *Pleſſis du Parc*; where at their firſt meeting with a merry countenance, he ſaid unto her: Lady of *Burgundy* you are heartily welcome. Then ſhe knowing by his countenance that he did but ſport, made him a wiſe anſwer, ſaying. Sir, I am a true French-woman, and ready to obey you in all you ſhall command. The King led her to her Chamber, where ſhe was very honourably entertained. True it is, that he deſired to ſend her home as ſpeedily as might be, whereof ſhe was no leſſe deſirous, than he: for ſhe was a very wiſe woman, and they were well acquainted the one with the others conditions. The whole charge of this matter was committed to me, firſt to provide money to defray her in her return: Secondarily, to ſeek Silks and Velvets for her: and laſtly, to put in writing the Articles of their new League and amity. Moreover, the King endeavoured to diſſwade her from the marriage of her two Daughters above-mentioned; but ſhe made her excuſe by the Daughters themſelves, who were obſtinate therein; which when the King perceived, he yielded unto them, and in my opinion they were well beſtowed. After the Dutcheſs had ſojourned at *Pleſſis* ſeven or eight dayes, the King and ſhe ſware, thence forth to be friends each to other, and writings touching their amity were interchangeably delivered between them: which done, the Dutcheſs took her leave of the King, who cauſed her ſafely to be conveighed into her own country and reſtored unto her, her Children, all the places that were in his hands, all her Jewels, and all that belonged to her. They were both glad of their departure, and lived ever after as Brother and Siſter till their death.

CHAP. V. *How the Duke of* Burgundy *lived as it were ſolitary, the ſpace of certain Weeks, during the which time the Duke of* Lorrain *recovered his Town of* Nancy.

BUT to proceed in this Hiſtory, I muſt now return to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who after the Battell of *Morat*, which was in the year 1476. fled to the frontiers of *Burgundy* and kept himſelfe cloſe in a Town called *La Riviere*, where he lay more then ſix Weekes, with intent to levy yet another army, wherein notwithſtanding he proceeded but ſlowly: for hee lived as it were ſolitarily, in ſuch ſort, that all his doings ſeemed (as you ſhall hereafter perceive) rather to proceed of obſtinacy then any reaſon. For the grief he had conceived of the firſt overthrow at *Granſon* ſo inwardly vexed him, that he fell into a dangerous Sickneſſe; which ſo altered his complexion, that whereas before his Colour and Naturall Heat was ſo great that he drank no Wine, but Tyſan every Morning ordinarily, and eat conſerve of Roſes to refreſh him: now this ſorrow and grief had ſo much weakened his ſpirits, that he was forced to drink the ſtrongeſt Wine without Water, that could be gotten. And further, to reduce the Blood to the Heart, his Phyſitians were fain to put burning flax into boxing Glaſſes, and ſo to ſet them on his Breaſt, near to

the

the heart. Of this ſickneſs (my lord of *Vienna*) you can better write then my ſelf, becauſe, all the time thereof you were continually with him, to aſſiſt him with your advice, and cauſed him alſo to ſhave his beard, which before he wore long. But in my opinion after this ſickneſs, his wits were never ſo freſh as before, but much weakned and decayed. Such are the paſſions of thoſe, that being fallen into great misfortunes, ſeek not the true remedies, eſpecially, of proud and diſdainfull Princes. For in ſuch a caſe, the beſt and ſovereigneſt remedy is, to have recourſe to God, to bethink our ſelves if we have in any point offended him, to humble our ſelves before him, and to acknowledge our faults; for he it is that determineth theſe cauſes, and to Him no man may impute any error. The ſecond remedy in ſuch a caſe, is to conferr with ſome familiar friend, to reveal boldly unto him all our paſſions, and not to be aſhamed to utter our grief to our dear friend: for that eaſeth and comforteth the mind, and by talking thus in Counſell with a faithfull friend, the ſpirits recover their former vertue and ſtrength. The third remedy in ſuch a caſe is, to fall to ſome exerciſe and bodily labour: for ſeeing we are men, ſuch penſiveneſs and grief cannot be paſſed over, without great paſſions either publick or private [1]. But the Duke took the clean contrary courſe, for he hid himſelf, and kept himſelf ſolitary, whereas, he ſhould have put to flight, all ſuch Melancholike Auſterity. Further, becauſe he was a terrible Prince to his ſervants, none durſt preſume to give him Counſell or Comfort, but ſuffered him to follow his own ſenſe, fearing if they had gone about to perſwade him, it might have turned to their own diſpleaſure.

[1] *Cardanus* giveth three natural remedies or purgations of ſorrow: faſting, weeping, ſighing.

During this ſix Weeks ſpace, or thereabout, that he ſojourned at *La Riviere* with ſmall force, (which was no marvell having loſt two ſo great Battells) many new enemies aroſe againſt him, his friends fell from him, his ſubjects being defeated and diſcomfited, began to murmure & deſpiſe him, which is a thing uſual (as before I have ſaid) in ſuch adverſities. Further, many places in *Lorrain* were either razed or won from him, namely, *Vaudemont*, *Eſpinall*, and divers others; and on every ſide enemies prepared to invade him, and the miſerableſt ſlaves were the hardieſt. In this hurliburly, the Duke of *Lorrain* aſſembled a ſmall force and came before *Nancy*: of the little Towns thereabout he held the greateſt part; notwithſtanding the Burgundians kept ſtill *Pont-à-mouſſon*, four Leagues diſtant from *Nancy*.

Among thoſe that were beſieged within the ſaid Town of *Nancy*, was a worſhipfull Knight called Monſieur *de Beures* of the Houſe of *Croy*, who had under him certain harquebuſiers; within the Town was alſo an Engliſh Captain, though but of mean parentage, yet very valiant called *Colpin* [2], whom my ſelf preferred with certain others of the Garriſon of *Guiſnes* to the Dukes ſervice. This *Colphin* had within the Town under his charge, a band of three hundred Engliſhmen, the which grew weary of the ſiege (though they were troubled neither with battery nor approaches) becauſe the Duke made no more haſte to ſuccour them. And to ſay the truth, he committed a foul overſight, in that he approached no nearer to *Lorrain*, but lay thus in a place far off, and where he could do no ſervice: ſince it ſtood him more upon to defend that he had already gotten, then to invade the Swiſſers in hope to revenge his loſſes. But his obſtinacy turned to his great inconvenience, in that he would ask no mans advice, but truſted wholly to his own brain: for notwithſtanding that they that were beſieged continually, and earneſtly ſollicited him to ſuccour the place; yet lay he ſtill, upon no neceſſity, at the ſaid Town of *Riviere* ſix Weeks or thereabout; whereas if he had done otherwiſe, he might eaſily have relieved the Town. For the Duke of *Lorrain* had no force before it, and by defending the country of *Lorrain*, the paſſages from his other Seigniories into *Burgundy*, ſhould ever have been open through *Luxemburg* and *Lorrain*. Wherefore if his wits had been ſuch then, as before time I have known them, he would ſure have uſed greater diligence.

[2] This *Colpin* the new copy calleth thoroughout *Cohus*, but the old *Colpin*, and *La Marche*, *Jehannen Collepin*, wherefore I have been bold to amend it according to the old copy.

During the time that they within *Nancy* looked daily for ſuccours, *Colpin* abovementioned, Captain of the Engliſh band within the Town, was ſlain with a Cannon ſhot, greatly to the Duke of *Burgundies* prejudice. For the preſence of one man alone, endued with vertue and wiſdom, though but of baſe race and parentage, oftentimes delivereth his Maſter from great inconveniencies. As touching the which point, I commend above all others the wiſdom of the King our Maſter: for never Prince feared ſo much the loſſe of his men as he did. *Colpin* being thus ſlain, the Engliſhmen within the Town began to mutiny, and deſpair of ſuccours: for neither knew they of how ſmall Power the Duke of

Lorrain

Lorrain was, nor what goodly means the Duke of *Burgundy* had to levy new forces. Further, becauſe of long time the Engliſhmen had made no Wars out of their own Realm, they underſtood not what the ſiege of a Town meant. Wherefore they reſolved in the end to parley, and told Monſieur *de Beures* Captain of the Town, that, if he would not fall to compoſition with the Duke of *Lorrain*, they would compound without him. He, notwithſtanding that he were a truſty Knight, lacked courage, and fell to intreaties and perſwaſions, whereas, in my opinion, ſtouter language would better have prevailed: but God had already diſpoſed hereof. If the Town had been held but three dayes longer, it had been relieved. To conclude, the ſaid *de Beures* agreed to the Engliſhmen, and yielded the place to the Duke of *Lorrain*[3]: and ſo departed he, and all that were within it, with bag and baggage.

[3] *Nancy* was yielded the 6. of *October*, *Meyer*.

The next day, or at the furtheſt within two dayes after the Town was yielded, the Duke of *Burgundy* arrived there, well accompanied, conſidering his eſtate: for certain bands were come to him from *Luxembourg*, which had been levied in his other Seigniories. Before *Nancy* the Duke of *Lorrain* and he met; but no great exploit was done, becauſe the Duke of *Lorrain*, force was ſmall. The ſaid Duke of *Burgundy* continuing ſtill his former enterpriſe, determined to lay ſiege before *Nancy*: wherefore, better it had been for him, not to have delayed ſo long, upon ſelf-will, the ſuccouring of the Town. But God giveth ſuch extraordinary mindes to Princes, when he is purpoſed to alter their good ſucceſſe. If the Duke would have followed good advice, and manned well the ſmall places about the Town, he might eaſily in ſhort ſpace have recovered it: for it was unfurniſhed of Victuals, and he had men enow, yea, too many to have held it in great diſtreſs. In the mean time he might commodiouſly have refreſhed and repaired his army, but he took the contrary courſe.

CHAP. VI. *Of the Earl of* Campobaches *great Treaſons, and how he kept the Duke of* Burgundy *from hearing a Gentleman that would have revealed them to him before he was put to death, and how the ſaid Duke made no account of the advertiſement the King ſent him.*

DUring the time the Duke of *Burgundy* held before *Nancy* this ſiege, unfortunate to himſelf, to all his ſubjects, and to many others, whom this quarrell no way concerned: divers of his men began to practiſe his deſtruction. For (as you have heard) many enemies were now riſen againſt him on all ſides, and among others *Nicholas* Earl of *Campobache*, in the Realm of *Naples*, whence he was baniſhed for the Houſe of *Anjous* Faction. This Earl after the Death of *Nicholas* Duke of *Calabria* whom he ſerved, having, as I ſaid before, neither Lands nor Living, was received with divers others of the ſaid Duke of *Calabrias* ſervants, into the Duke of *Burgundies* Houſe, who at his firſt coming delivered him 40000. ducats in preſt to go into *Italy*, to levy therewith four hundred Launces that were under the ſaid Earls charge, and paid by himſelf. From the which day forward, even till this preſent, he ever ſought his Maſters deſtruction, and now ſeeing him in this adverſity, began to practiſe a freſh againſt him, both with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and alſo with certain of the Kings Captains, and ſervants that lay in *Champaigne*, near to the Dukes Camp. To the Duke of *Lorrain* he promiſed ſo to order the matter, that this ſiege ſhould take no effect. For he would finde means that ſuch things as were neceſſary both for the ſiege and battery ſhould be lacking: which promiſe he was well able to perform, for the principall charge thereof was committed to him; neither had any man ſo great authority in the army under the Duke of *Burgundy* as he. But his practiſes with the Kings Captains touched the quick nearer: for he continually promiſed them either to kill his Maſter, or take him priſoner, demanding for recompence thereof, the charge of theſe four hundred Launces, twenty thouſand crowns to be delivered him in ready money, and ſome good Earldom in *France*.

While this Earl was practiſing theſe Treaſons, certain of the Duke of *Lorrains* Gentlemen attempted to enter the Town of *Nancy*. Some of the which entred and ſome were taken, among whom was one *Cifron* a Gentleman born in *Provence*, who was the onely

onely man that entertained these practises between the Earl of *Campobache*, and the said Duke of *Lorrain*. The Duke of *Burgundy* presently commanded the said *Cifron* to be hanged, alledging, that by the law of Arms after a Prince hath laid his siege before a place and made his battery, if any man attempt to enter to comfort those that are besieged he ought to dy Yet is this Law not practised in our wars, which are much crueller then the wars of *Italy* or *Spain*, where it is put in use. But Law or no Law, the Duke would in any wise that this Gentleman should dy, who seeing no remedy, sent word to the Duke, that if it would please him to give him Audience, he would reveal a secret to him that touched his life; whereof certain Gentlemen to whom he uttered this speech, went to advertise the Duke: with whom at their arrivall, they found the Earl of *Campobache* come thither either by chance or of purpose to be alwayes at hand; fearing lest *Cifron*, whom he knew to be taken, should reveal all his conspiracies: for he was privy to them all; and that was indeed the secret he would have revealed. The Duke made answer to these Gentlemen that brought him this message, that he used this delay onely to save his life, commanding him to open the matter to them: upon which word the Earl of *Campobache* laid hold, perswading the Duke that it would be best. For you shall understand that none of the Dukes Council, neither any other persons were present with him at the debating of this matter, but this Earl onely, who had charge of the whole Army, and a Secretary that was writing. The Prisoner answered, that he would utter it to no man, but to the Duke onely: whereupon the Duke commanded him again to be led to execution, and so he was. But upon the way thitherward, he desired divers Gentlemen to intreat the Duke their Master for him; affirming this to be such a secret, as the Duke would not for a Dutchy but know. Many, that were acquainted with him, pitied him, and went to desire the Duke to vouchsafe him the hearing. But this traiterous Earl who kept the Dukes Chamber (being of timber) so streightly, that no man might enter in, refused the door to these Gentlemen, saying that the Duke had commanded him to be hanged with speed; and further, sent divers messengers to the Provost to hasten the execution. Thus was this *Cifron* hanged to the Duke of *Burgundies* great prejudice, and better had it been for him to have used lesse cruelty, and gently to have heard this Gentleman; which if he had done, peradventure he had been yet living, his House flourishing, his Dominions in safety, yea, and much inlarged, considering the broils that have happened since in this Realm.

But it is to be thought that God had otherwise disposed hereof, because of the dishonourable part the Duke had played the Earl of *Saint Paul*, Constable of *France*, not long before. For you have already heard in this History, how, notwithstanding his safe conduct, he took him Prisoner, delivered him to the King to be put to death, and sent also the Letters and Writings he had of the said Constables, serving for his processe. And although the Duke had just cause to hate him even to the death, and to procure his death for divers considerations, too long to rehearse, (so that he might have done it without staining his honour:) yet all the reasons that may be alledged on his behalfe, cannot excuse his fault, in that, contrary to his promise and honour, having given him a sufficient safe conduct, he took him and sold him for covetousnesse; partly to recover the town of *Saint Quintin*, with other the said Constables places, lands, and goods; and partly to stay the King from hindring his enterprise at *Nancy*, when he first besieged it. For lying at that siege after many delaies he delivered the Constable, fearing lest the Kings Army being in *Champaign* would have hindred his said enterprise, if he had done otherwise. For the King threatned him by his Ambassadours, because it was agreed between them, that whether of them could first lay hands upon him, should deliver him to the other within eight dayes or put him to death. But the Duke had passed the term of the Constables delivery many dayes, as you have heard; so that the onely fear of losing *Nancy*, and the greedy desire of having it, caused the Duke to deliver him to the King. But even as in this place of *Nancy* he committed this foul fault, and afterward also in the same place at the second siege put *Cifron* to death, refusing to hear him speak as one having his ears stopped and wits troubled: even so in the self-same place was himself deceived, and betrayed by him whom he most trusted, and peradventure justly punished for his false dealing with the Constable, in delivering him for covetousnesse to have the said town. But the judgement hereof appertaineth to God alone, neither speak I it to any other end, but to declare this matter at large, and to shew how much a good Prince ought to eschew such false and faithlesse dealing, what counsell soever be given him thereunto. For oftentimes those

that

that give a Prince ſuch advice; do it either to flatter him, or becauſe they dare not gainſay him: yet when the fact is committed, they are ſorry for it, knowing the puniſhment both of God and Man, that is like to enſue. But ſuch Counſellors are better far from a Prince, then near about him.

You have heard, how God appointed the Earl of *Campobache* his deputy in this world, to take revenge of the Conſtables death committed by the Duke of *Burgundy*, in the ſelfſame place and after the ſame manner, or rather a crueller. For even as the Duke, contrary to his ſafe conduct, and the truſt the Conſtable had repoſed in him, delivered him to death: even ſo was he himſelfe betrayed by the truſtieſt man in his Army (I mean by him whom he moſt truſted) and whom he had received into his ſervice being old, poor, and deſtitute of living, and whom he yearly entertained with an hundred thouſand ducats, wherewith this Earl himſelf payed his men of Arms, beſides divers other great benefits, that he had received at the Dukes hands. And when he firſt began to conſpire his death, he was going into *Italy*, with forty thouſand ducats, which (as you have heard) he had received in preſt of the Duke, to levy therewith his men of Armes. Moreover, the better to execute his traiterous enterpriſe; he practiſed in two places, firſt, with a Phyſitian dwelling in *Lyons*, called Maſter *Simon* of *Pavia*; and afterward with the Kings Ambaſſadour in *Savoy*, as before I have rehearſed. Again at his return out of *Italy*, his men of Armes lying in certain ſmall townes in the County of *Marle*, which is in *Launois*, he began anew to practiſe againſt his Maſter, offering, either to deliver into the Kings hand, all the places he held, or when the King ſhould be in batttell againſt his Maſter, a privy token to be between them; upon the ſight whereof he would turn with all his company to the King againſt the Duke his Maſter. But this laſt overture pleaſed not the King. He offered yet further, ſo ſoon as his Maſter ſhould be abroad with his Atmy, either to take him priſoner or to kill him, as he went to view the ſeat of his camp; which laſt enterpriſe undoubtedly he would have executed. For the Dukes manner was, when he alighted from his horſe at the place where he encamped, to diſarm himſelf all ſaving his quirace, and to mount upon a little Nag, accompanied onely with eight or ten Archers on foot, or ſometime two or three Gentlemen of his chamber; in the which eſtate he uſed to ride about his camp, to ſee if it were well incloſed: ſo that the Earl might with ten horſes eaſily have executed his enterpriſe. But the King deteſting the continuall treaſons againſt his Maſter, eſpecially this laſt being attempted in time of truce; and further not knowing throughly to what purpoſe he made theſe offers: determined of a noble courage to diſcover them to the Duke of *Burgundy*; and accordingly advertiſed him at large of them all by the Lord of *Contay* (ſo often before named) my ſelf being preſent, when he declared them to the ſaid *Contay*, who, I am ſure, like a faithfull ſervant, revealed them to his Maſter. But the Duke taking all in ill part, ſaid, that if it were ſo, the King would never have advertiſed him thereof. This was long afore he laid his ſiege before *Nancy*; yet I think, that he never ſpake word therof to the ſaid Earl: for he loved him ever after, rather better then worſe.

CHAP. VII. *How the Duke of* Lorrain *being accompanied with good force of Almains, came to the Town of Saint* Nicholas *during the ſiege of* Nancy, *and how the King of* Portugal, *who was in* France, *came to ſee the Duke of* Burgundy *during the ſaid ſiege.*

LEt us now return to our principall matter, I mean the ſiege the Duke held before *Nancy*, which he began in the middeſt of Winter, with ſmall force, ill armed, ill paid, and the moſt part ſick. The mightieſt in his camp practiſed againſt him, as you have heard, and generally they murmured all, and deſpiſed all his doings, as in adverſity commonly it happeneth: but none attempted ought againſt his perſon or eſtate, ſave this Earl of *Campobache* only: for in his ſubjects no diſloyalty was found. While he lay there in this poor eſtate, the Duke of *Lorrain* treated with the confederated Towns before named, to levy men in their territories to fight with the Duke of *Burgundy* lying before *Nancy*, whereunto all the Towns eaſily agreed, but the Duke of *Lorrain* lacked money; wherefore the King

ſent

ent Ambaſſadors to the Swiſſers in his favour, and lent him alſo 40000. franks towards the paymen of his *Almains*. Further, the Lord of *Cran*, who was then the Kings Lieutenant in *Campaign*, lay in *Barrois*, with ſeven or eight hundred Launces, and certain frank archers, led by very expert Captains. The Duke of *Lorrain*, by means of the Kings favour and money, drew into his ſervice great force of *Almains*, as well horſmen as footmen; beſides the which, the Towns alſo furniſhed a great number at their own charge. Moreover, with the ſaid Duke were many Gentlemen of this Realm, and the Kings army, as I ſaid before, lay in *Barrois*, which made no War, but waited to ſee to whether part the Victory would incline. The Duke of *Lorrain* being accompanied with theſe *Almains* abovementioned, came and lodged at Saint *Nicholas*, two Leagues from *Nancy*.

The King of *Portugal* had been in this Realm at that preſent, the ſpace of nine moneths: for the King our Maſter was entered into League with him againſt the King of *Spain* that now is. Whereupon the ſaid King of *Portugal* came into *France*, hoping that the King would lend him a great army to invade *Caſtile*, by the frontiers of *Biſcay* or *Navarre*. For the ſaid King of *Portugal* held certain places in *Caſtile*, bordering upon *Portugal*, and certain alſo upon the confines of *France*; namely, the Caſtle of *Bourgues*, and divers others: ſo that if the King had aided him, as once he was purpoſed, it is like his enterpriſe had taken effect: but the King altered his mind, and ſoded him forth with fair words the ſpace of a year or more. During the which time, his affairs in *Caſtile* daily impaired: for at his coming into *France*, all the Nobles in a manner of the Realm of *Caſtile* took part with him; But becauſe of his long abſence, by little and little they altered their mindes, and made peace with K *Ferrande* and Queen *Iſabel* now reigning. The King our Maſter excuſed his not aiding him according to his promiſe, by the Warres in *Lorrain*, alledging that he feared that the Duke of *Burgundy*, (if he recovered his loſſes) would forthwith invade him. This poor King of *Portugal*, being a good and juſt Prince [1], reſolved to go to the Duke of *Burgundy* his coſin-German [2], to treat of peace between the King and him, to the end that then the King might aid him: for he was aſhamed to return into *Caſtile* or *Portugal* in this eſtate, having done no good here in *France*; and the rather becauſe he had taken his journey upon him very raſhly, and contrary to the advice of moſt of his Councell. Wherefore he put himſelf upon the way in the midſt of winter, to go to the Duke of *Burgundy* his Coſin lying before *Nancy*: where at his arrival, he began to treat with him according to the Kings inſtructions. But perceiving it an impoſſibility to agree them, becauſe their demands were contrary in all points; after he had remained there two dayes, he took his leave of the Duke of *Burgundy* his Coſin, and returned to *Paris* from whence he came. The Duke deſired him to ſtay a while, and to go to *Pont-à-muſſon* four Leagues from *Nancy* to defend that paſſage: for the Duke was already advertiſed that the *Almains* army lay at Saint *Nicholas*. But the King of *Portugal* excuſed himſelf, ſaying, that he was neither armed nor accompanied for ſuch an enterpriſe; and ſo returned to *Paris* where he remained a long time, till in the end he entred into jealouſie, that the King meant to take him priſoner and deliver him to his enemy the King of *Caſtile*. Whereupon he and two of his ſervants diſguiſed themſelves, purpoſing to go to *Rome* there to enter into Religion. But as he journied in this diſguiſed attire, he was taken by a Norman called *Robinet le Beuf*. Of this his departure the King our Maſter was both ſorry and aſhamed: and thereupon armed divers Ships upon the coaſt of *Normandy*, to convey him into *Portugal*, of the which Fleet *George Leger* was appointed Admirall.

[1] He meaneth a ſimple Prince of wit.

[2] How the K. of *Portugal* & the Duke of *Burgundy* were coſin germans, the Pedegree in the end of the work will declare.

The occaſion of his War upon the King of *Caſtile*, was for his Siſters Daughter. For you ſhall underſtand, that his Siſter had been Wife to Don *Henry* King of *Caſtile* that laſt died; and had iſſue a goodly Daughter which lived yet in *Portugal* unmarried. This Daughter Queen *Iſabell* Siſter to the ſaid King *Henry* [3], held from the Crown of *Caſtile*, ſaying that ſhe was illegitimate; of the which opinion were alſo many others, alledging that King *HENRY* was impotent to Generation, for a certaine impediment that I overpaſſe. But whether it were ſo or no; notwithſtanding that the ſaid Daughter were born under the vaile of marriage: yet remained the Crown of *Caſtile* to Queen *Iſabell* and her Husband, the King of *Arragon* and *Sicily* [4] now reigning.

[3] The Pedegree in the end of the work will make this plain.

[4] Before, he calleth *Rene* King of *Sicily*: but King *Rene* had but the title, not the poſſeſſion.

The King of *Portugal* abovementioned, laboured to make a marriage between the ſaid Daughter his Neece and King *Charles* the eighth now reigning, which was the cauſe of this his Voyage into *France*, that turned ſo greatly to his damage and grief. For ſoon after his return into *Portugal* he died. Wherefore (as I ſaid in the beginning of this

Hiſtory) a Prince ought to beware, what ambaſſadours he ſendeth into a ſtrange Countrey. For, if they had been wiſe that came from the King of *Portugal* into *France* to conclude the League abovementioned (whereat my ſelf was preſent, as one in commiſſion for the King) they would have informed themſelves better of our affairs in theſe parts before they had counſelled their Maſter to enter into this voyage, which turned ſo much to his loſſe and damage.

CHAP. VIII. *How the Duke of* Burgundy *refuſing the good counſell of divers of his men was diſcomfited and ſlain in the battel, fought between him and the Duke of* Lorrain, *near to* Nancy.

I Would have paſſed over this diſcourſe of the King of *Portugal*, had it not been to ſhew that a Prince ought to beware, how he puts himſelf into another Princes hands, or goes in Perſon to demand aid. But now to return to the Principall matter. Within a day after the King of *Portugals* departure from the Duke of *Burgundy*; the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Almains that ſerved him, diſlodged from *Saint Nicholas*, and marched to fight with the ſaid Duke; and the ſelf-ſame day, the Earl of *Campobache* to accompliſh his enterpriſe departed from the Dukes camp [1], and revolted to his enemies with eight ſcore men of Armes, ſorrowing onely that he could do his Maſter no more harm. They within *Nancy* had intelligence of this Earls practiſes, which encouraged them to endure the ſiege. Further, one that leaped down the ditches entered the town, and aſſured them of ſuccours, otherwiſe they were upon the point to have yielded it. And to ſay the truth, had it not been for the ſaid Earls treaſons, they could never have held it ſo long; but God was fully determined to bring the Duke to his end.

[1] He departed upon Wenſday with 180. *Meyer* ſaith almoſt 200 men of arms, that is 100 horſe, and on *Saturday* departed the Lord of *Dauge* or *Augy*, as *Meyer* nameth him, and *Montfort* with 120 men of armes that is 480 horſe, and upon *Sunday* was the battel. *Annal. Aquit. Meyer. Annal. Burgund.*

The Duke of *Burgundy*, being advertiſed of the Duke of *Lorraines* arrivall, aſſembled his Councill contrary to his accuſtomed manner; for he was never wont to ask any mans advice, but in all matters to follow his own ſenſe. Moſt of them counſelled him to retire to *Pont-a-muſſon*, being but four leagues thence, and to man the places well which he held about *Nancy*, alledging that the *Almains* would depart ſo ſoon as they had victualled the town, and the Duke of *Lorrains* mony would fail him, ſo that he ſhould not be able in long time to aſſemble the like force: they ſaid further, that his enemies could not victual the town ſo well, but that before winter were halfe expired it ſhould be in as great diſtreſſe as at that preſent, and in the mean time he might levy men: for I have been enformed by thoſe that perfectly underſtood it, that he had not in all his Army above four thouſand ſouldiers, of the which hardly twelve hundred were able to fight. Money he lacked not, for in the Caſtle of *Luxembourg*, being not far from thence, were at the leaſt 450000 crowns, and men enough he might have recovered, But God would not give him grace to follow this wiſe advice, nor perceive how many enemies lodged round about him on every ſide; ſo that he took the worſe courſe; and by the advice of certain hare-brained fools determined to hazard the battell with theſe few terrifyed and heartleſſe men; notwithſtanding all the reaſons alledged to him, both of the great force of *Almains* the Duke of *Lorrain* had, and alſo the Kings Army, that lay hard by his camp. When the Earl of *Campobache* was come to the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Almains commanded him to depart, ſaying, that they would have no traitor among them. Wherefore he retired to *Conde*, a Caſtle and paſſage near at hand [2], which he fortified with Carts, and other proviſions, the beſt he could, truſting that when the Duke of *Burgundy*, and his men fled, ſome of them would fall into his hands, as indeed a great many did. But this practiſe with the D. of *Lorrain* was not his greateſt treaſon; for a little before his departure he conſpired with divers in the Dukes Army, reſolving with them (becauſe he ſaw no hope of killing or taking his Maſter priſoner) to revolt to the enemies at the very inſtant that the two battels ſhould joyn; but ſooner not to depart, to the end their ſuddain revolt might the more aſtoniſh and terrifie the Dukes whole Army. Further, he promiſed aſſuredly, if the Duke fled that he ſhould never eſcape alive; for he would leave thirteen or fourten truſty fellows behinde him, ſome to begin to fly, at the very inſtant that the Almains ſhould march: and other ſome to have an eye on the Duke to kill him, if he fled, which enterpriſe, he made full account to execute, and two or three, I knew afterwards my ſelf, of thoſe that were left behinde for

[2] The Caſtle of *Conde* was the paſſage upon bridge of the River of *Moſelle Meyer.*

that

that purpose. After he had conspired these abominable treasons, he returned again to the Dukes camp, and then revolted from him (as you have heard) when he saw the Almains march; of whom being refused, he retired, as I said before, to the Castle of *Conde*. The said Almains marched forward, being accompanied with great force of French Horse-men, that had leave giuen them to be at the Battell. Divers also there were, that lay in Ambushes near to the Place, to the end, that if the Duke were discomfited, they might get some good Prisoner or Booty. Thus you see, the miserable estate this poor Duke of *Burgundy* was fallen into, by refusing good advice. When the two Armies joyned, the Dukes having been already twice discomfited, and being but small and in ill order, was incontinent broken and put to flight; a great number escaped, the rest were either slain[3] or taken, and namely the Duke himselfe died upon the place. Of the manner of his death [4], I will not speak, because I was not there present: but I have communed, with some that were there, who told me that they saw him stricken to the ground and could not succour him, because they were Prisoners. Notwithstanding to their judgement he was not then slain, but after these came a great troop, which slew him in the midst of them, stripped him, and left him among the dead bodies not knowing who he was[5]. This battell [6] was fought the fifth of *January*[7], 1476, upon Twelfth evening.

[4] The Duke lost in the battel of *Nancy* 3 Gentlemen *Annal. Burgund.*

[4] He had three wounds, one with a Halbert in the side of his head, which clave his head down to the teeth, another with a Pike through the haunches, and the third a push also with a Pike by the fundament. *Annal. Burg.* He was born the 11. of *November* 1433, and was 34 years old, when he began to govern: he lived 43 years, one moneth, and 26 dayes, he governed nine years, six moneths, and twenty dayes. *Meyer.* [5] The name of him that slue Duke *Charles*, was *Claude* of *Beaumont*, Captain of the Castle of *Saint Dier* in *Lorrain*. The Duke was mounted upon a Black Courser, and seeing his battels overthrown took a little River, supposing to have saved himself, but in the River his horse fell and overthrew him: and then this Gentleman, not knowing him; and by reason he was deaf, not hearing the Duke, who cried to him for the safety of his life, ran upon him, slue him, stripped him and left him lying stark naked in the ditch. Where the next day after the battell, his body was found so fast frozen in the ice, that when it was drawn forth a piece of his cheek tarried there behinde. The Duke of *Lorrain* to his great honour solemnly buried him, himself and all his Nobles accompanied the Corpes in mourning attire. The place, where the Duke was slain, was hard by Saint *Johns* Church without *Nancy*, where the Duke of *Lorrain* erected a Crosse for a memoriall thereof. The Gentleman that killed him died soon after of melancholly, when he understood he had slain so worthy and couragious a Prince. *Champier. Annal. Burgund.* [6] The Battel at *Nancy*, *Meyer* nameth the battel of *Jarvilla*. [7] Being Sunday, and as others write *Anno* 1477. but the variance both in this place, and divers others between *Commines* and them is, because they end the year at New years tide, after the Italian and Dutch computation, and he not before Easter, according to the French and Flemish account, as by the course of this History is most plain. [*] 1477 *Beginning the year at New years tide.*

CHAP. IX. *A Discourse upon certain vertues of the Duke of* Burgundy, *and of the time his House flourished in prosperity.*

I Saw at *Milan* since his death a signet, that I have often seen him wear at his breast, which was a Ring set with a camee, having very curiously cut int[illegible] iron to strike fire [1], wherein his armes were graven. This ring w[illegible]ld at *Millan* for two ducats, and he that stole it from him was a false knave, that had been a Groom of his Chamber. Many a time have I seen him made ready and unready with great reverence and solemnity, and that by great personages. But now when death came, all these honors fleeted away, and both he and his House were destroyed, as you have heard, in the self-same place, where a little before he had consented for covetousnesse to deliver the Constable to death. I have known him in times past, a Mighty and Honourable Prince; as much, yea more esteemed and sought to of his neighbonrs, than any Prince in Christendome. Further, in my opinion the greatest cause, of Gods indignation against him, was, for that he attributed all his good successe, and all the great victories he obtained in this world to his own wisdome and vertue, and not to God, as he ought to have done. And undoubtedly he was indued with many goodly vertues: for never was Prince more desirous to entertain Noble-men, and keep them in good order than he. His liberality seemed not great [2], because he made all men partakers thereof. Never Prince gave audience more willingly to his Servants and Subjects, than he [3]. While I served him he was not cruel, but grew marvellous cruel to-

[1] Of the device of the Fuzil, read the Chronicles of *Flanders*, pag. 345 *Claude Paradin* in his devices Heroiques pa. 46. and *Annal. Burgund.* lib. 3 pag. 711. who saith, that he gave the striking iron, because it is made in the form of B, which is the first letter of *Burgundy*. Further he giveth the said iron striking against the stone with infinite sparkles flying from them, to signifie that the cruel wars between the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Realm of *France*, had set all their neighbours on fire. [2] His meaning is, that, because he bestowed upon every man, he could not bestow much upon any one, whereby his liberality was the lesse apparent. [3] He meaneth in hearing their sutes, for as touching matters of counsell, he hath said before, in divers places, that he would never use any mans advice.

wards his end, which was a ſign of ſhort life. In his apparrel, and all other kind of furniture, he was wondrous pompous, yea ſomewhat too exceſſive, He received very honorably all ambaſſadours and ſtrangers, feaſting them ſumptuouſly and entertaining them with great ſolemnity. Covetous he was of glory, which was the chief cauſe that made him move ſo many warres: for he deſired to imitate thoſe ancient Princes, whoſe fame continueth till this preſent. Laſtly, hardy he was and valiant, as any man that lived in his time: but all his great enterpriſes and attempts ended with himſelf, and turned to his own loſſe and diſhonour; for the honour goeth ever with the victory. Yet to ſay the truth, I know not well, whether God powred out greater indignation, upon him or upon his Subjects: for he died in battell without any long grief; but they ſince his death never lived in peace, but in continuall war; againſt the which they have not been able to make reſiſtance, becauſe of their own civill troubles and diviſions. Yea, and another thing that moſt grieveth them is, that they, who now defend them, are ſtrangers, who not long ſince were their enemies, namely, the Almains. To conclude, ſince the Dukes death, never man bare them good will, no not they that defend them. Further, if a man conſider well their actions, it ſeemeth that their wits were as much troubled, as their Princes before his death: for they deſpiſed all good counſel, and ſought all means poſſible to hurt themſelves. In the which vale of miſery they are ſtill like to continue; or, if happily they wade out of it for a ſeaſon, like they are to fall into it again.

Wherefore I am of a certain wiſe mans opinion, of my acquaintance, that God giveth to Subjects, Princes, according as he will puniſh or chaſtiſe them; and likewiſe towards the Prince diſpoſeth the Subjects hearts, according as he will advance or abaſe him: and even ſo dealt he with the Subjects of this Houſe of *Burgundy*. For after three great, good, and ſage Princes, who governed them the ſpace of an hundred and twenty years or more with great wiſdome or vertue, he gave them in the end, this Duke *Charles* who held them in continuall wars, travell, and charges, almoſt as much in Winter as Summer; ſo that a great number of rich and wealthy men were either ſlain in theſe wars, or ſtarved in priſon. Their miſeries began before *Nuz*, and continued with the loſſe of three or four battels, till the hour of the Dukes death; who in this laſt battell waſted and conſumed the whole force of his Country, and loſt all his Servants that could or would have defended the Eſtate and Honour of his Houſe. It ſeemeth therefore (as before I have ſaid) that this adverſity hath countervailed all the time of their felicity. For, as I ſay, that I have ſeen him a Great, Mighty, and Honourable Prince: So I may ſay alſo of his Subjects: for I have travelled the beſt part of *Europe*, yet, in my opinion, ſaw I never Country in my life of the like greatneſſe, no nor far greater, abound with ſuch wealth, riches, ſumptuous buildings, large expences, feaſts, banquets and all kind of Prodigality, as theſe Countries of *Burgundy* did, during the time that I was reſident the[illegible]. And if thoſe that knew them not, during the time that I ſpeak of, think my report too [illegible]: I am ſure, others that knew them then as wel as my ſelf, will think it too little. But God with one blow, hath laid flat on the ground this ſumptuous building, I mean this mighty Houſe, that bred and maintained ſo many worthy men; that was ſo greatly eſteemed both farre and near; and obtained greater victories, and lived in greater honour during the time it flouriſhed than any other: which great felicity and grace of God towards them continued the ſpace of an hundred and twenty years. During the which time all their neighbours ſuffered great afflictions; namely, *France*, *England*, and *Spain*, ſo far forth, that all theſe, at one time or other, have come to crave help and ſuccour of this Houſe of *Burgundy*, as you have ſeen by experience, of the King our Maſter, who in his youth, while his father King *Charles* the ſeventh reigned lived in *Burgundy* the ſpace of ſix years, with good Duke *Philip*, who lovingly received him. As touching the Princes of *England*, I have ſeen in the Duke of *Burgundies* Court King *Edwards* two bretheren, the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, who afterward named himſelf King *Richard* the third: and on the contrary ſide, of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* that took part with King *Henry*, I have ſeen in manner all the Noblemen ſuing to this Houſe of *Burgundy* for aid. To be ſhort, as I have known this Houſe honoured of all men: ſo have I alſo ſeen it at one inſtant fall down topſie turvy, and become the moſt deſolate and miſerable Houſe in the world, both in reſpect of the Prince and alſo of the Subjects. Such like works hath God brought to paſs before we were born, and will alſo when we are dead. For this we ought certainly to believe, that the good or evill ſucceſſe of Princes, dependeth wholly upon his divine ordinance.

CHAP.

CHAP. X. *How the King was advertiſed of the Duke of* Burgundies *laſt overthrow, and how he governed his affairs after the ſaid Dukes death.*

BUt to proceed in our Hiſtory: the King, who had now laid Poſts in his Realm (for before were never any) looked hourly for the certain newes of this battel of *Nancy*, becauſe of the occurrents he had already received of the Almains arrivall, and of all the other circumſtances above rehearſed: and was forth with advertiſed of the Dukes overthrow. Divers there were that waited dilligently to bring him the firſt news hereof, for alwayes he gave ſomwhat to him, that firſt brought him tidings of any good newes, withall not forgetting the Meſſengers. Further his delight was to talke of them before they came, and to promiſe reward to him that could bring him ſome good news. Monſieur *de Bouchage* and my ſelf, being together, received the firſt word of the Battel of *Morat*; whereof, both of us joyntly advertiſed the King, who gave to each of us two hundred markes of ſilver. Monſieur *de Lude*, who lodged without *Pleſſis*, was the firſt man, that knew of the Curriers arrival, with the Letters of this battell of *Nancy*, and commanded the ſaid Currier to deliver him his packet, who durſt not deny it him, becauſe of the Kings great favour towards him. The next morning by break of day, the ſaid *de Lude* came rapping at the door next to the Kings chamber, which forth with was opened to him, and delivered theſe Letters ſent from the Lord of *Cran* and divers others, notwithſtanding none of them writ any certainty of the Dukes death: But ſome of them reported that he was ſeen fly, and was eſcaped. This newes at the firſt ſo raviſhed the King with joy, that he wiſt not what countenance to ſhew, notwithſtanding two doubts there were that troubled him; the one, leſt the Almains, if the Duke were taken, for greedineſſe of money (whereof the Duke had plenty) would not onely ranſome him, but alſo conclude ſome treaty with him, and of his foes become his friends. The other, if the Duke were eſcaped thus, thrice diſcomfited, whether he ſhould ſeize into his hands his Seniories of *Burgundy* or no, knowing them eaſie to be taken, becauſe in a manner all the force of the Country was ſlain in theſe three battels. Touching the which point, his reſolution (whereunto few, I think, but my ſelf was privy) was, if the Duke were eſcaped alive, to command his Army that lay in *Champaign* and *Barrois* to enter incontinent into *Burgundy*, during this great fear and aſtoniſhment of the People, and having ſeized all the Country into his hands, he meant to advertiſe the Duke, that he did it only to ſave it for him, and defend it from the Almains: for becauſe the ſaid Dutchy was held of the Crown, he would for no good that it ſhould be a prey for them: but whatſoever he had taken, he would faithfully reſtore; as undoubtedly he would, though many happily will not credit it. And no marvell, for they know not the reaſon, that would have moved him thereunto: but he altered this determination, when he underſtood of the Dukes death. Immediately after the King (being at *Tours*) had received the Letters abovementioned, which reported nothing of the Dukes death; he ſent into the Town for all his Captains and divers Noblemen, to whom he read theſe Letters, whereat they ſeemed in appaerence greatly to rejoyce: bnt thoſe that looked narrowly into their behaviour, perceived that a great many of them forced their mirth, and wiſhed with all their hearts, notwithſtanding their outward ſhew, that the world had gone otherwiſe with the Duke. The reaſon whereof peradventure was, becauſe the King heretofore had lived in great fear; but now they doubted, ſeeing him delivered of ſo many enemies, that he would alter many things eſpecially offices and penſions. For there were a great number in the Company, that had born arms againſt the King, both in the war called THE WEAL PUBLICK (whereof you have heard in the beginning of this Hiſtory) and in divers other broiles between him and the Duke of *Guienne* his Brother. After he had communed a while with theſe Noble-men and Captains, he went to Maſſe, which being ended he cauſed the Table to be covered in his chamber, and made them all dine with him, the Lord Chancellour and certain others of his Councill being all preſent. All dinner while he talked of thoſe affairs: but I, and divers others, marked with what Appetite thoſe that ſate at the Table dined. And undoubtedly, there was not one of them (I know not whether for joy or ſorrow) that eat half a meals meat, yet were they not aſhamed to eat in the Kings preſence, for every one of them had often before dined at his Table. When the King was riſen from

dinner, he withdrew himself, and gave to divers, certain of the Duke of *Burgundies* lands, if he were dead: and soon after dispatched the Admirall of *France*, called the Bastard of *Bourbon*, and my self, giving us commission to receive into his allegiance, as many as would become his subjects: and further, commanding us to depart incontinent, and to open all Curriers packets that we should meet with, to the end we might be certainly informed, whether the Duke were dead or alive. We departed in great haste, though in the extreamest cold weather, that ever I felt: and when we had ridden about halfe a dayes journy, we met with a Post, whom we commanded to deliver us his letters, the contents whereof were, that the Duke was found among the dead bodies [1], and known by an Italian Page, that served him, and by his Physitian, called Master *Louppe*, a Portugal born, who sent word to Monsieur *de Cran* of the Duke his Masters death, who incontinent advertised the King thereof.

[1] By what marks the Dukes body was known read *Annal. Burgund.* pag. 988.

CHAP. XI. *How the King, after the Duke of* Burgundies *death, seized into his hands the Town of* Abbeville, *and of the answer they of* Arras *gave him.*

WHen we understood these newes, we rid forthwith to the suburbs of *Abbeville*, and were the first that brought word of the Dukes death into those parts. At our arrival we found the Towns-men in treaty with Monsieur *de Torcy*, whom they had loved of long time. But the souldiers, and those, that had been the Dukes Officers treated with us about the delivery of the Town by a Messenger, whom we sent thither before us; so far forth, that, upon our promises, they caused four hundred launces to depart the Town, which the Towns-men seeing, immediately opened the Gates to Monsieur *de Torcy*, greatly to the hindrance of the Captains, and other Officers of the Town, to seven or eight of the which, we had promised both mony and pensions (for we had Commission from the King so to do) whereof nothing was performed, because the Town was not yielded by their means. This Town of *Abbeville*, was parcel of those lands that King *Charles* the seventh engaged to Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy* at the treaty of *Arras*, under this condition; that for default of heir Male they should return to the Crown. Wherefore it is not to be marvelled, if so lightly they opened to us their Gates. From *Abbeville* we rid to *Dourlans*, and sent to summon *Arras* the chief Town of *Artois*, the ancient inheritance of the Earls of *Flanders*, which hath alwayes descended as well to the heirs Females as Males. Monsieur *de Ravastain*, and Monsieur *de Cordes*, who were within the Town, condescended to come and treat with us, at an Abbey near the town called Mont Saint *Eloy*, bringing with them certain of the Town. To the which treaty we agreed that I should go, and certain with me, for because we supposed, they would not yield to our requests, it was thought good that the Admiral should not go. Immediately after my arrivall at the place assigned, the Lords of *Ravastain* and *Cordes*, being accompanied with divers Gentlemen, and certain also of the Town, repaired thither. Among those that came to negotiate with us for the Town, was their Recorder, called Master *John de la Vaquery*, since that time chief President in the Court Parliament at *Paris*. We required them at this meeting to open us the Gates, and to receive us into the Town for the King, saying, that he claimed both Town and Country as his by way of Confiscation: adding, that if they refused so to do, they were like to be forced thereunto, seeing both their Prince was slain, and their Country utterly unfurnished of men of war, because of these three battels they had lost. The Lords abovenamed made us answer by the said Master *John de la Vaquery*, that this Country of *Artois* appertained of right to the Lady of *Burgundy*, daughter and heir to D. *Charles*, and discended to her by inheritance from the Lady *Margaret* sometime Countesse of *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Burgundy*, *Nevers*, and *Retel*; the which married with *Philip* the first, Duke of *Burgundy*, Sonne to King *John* of *France*, and youngest Brother to King *Charles* the fifth: wherefore they humbly besought the King to keep the truce concluded between him and the late Duke *Charles*. Our communication was but short; for we supposed before our meeting, that this should be our answer. But the chief cause of my going into those parts, was to commune with certain of my acquaintance there, and to draw them to the Kings service: with some of the which I spake, who soon after became his faithfull servants accordingly. These Countries were in marvellous fear and astonishment, and not without cause; for, I think, that in eight days they could

[1] The Pedegree in the end of this work will shew, how all these titles discended to this Lady *Margaret*

could not have levied eight men of Arms. Further, in all those quartters were not above 1500 soldiers horsemen and footmen, which lay towards *Namur* and in *Henault*, and were of those that escaped out of the battel, where the Duke was slain. Their wonted terms, and manner of speech were now clean altered; for they spake lowly and humbly: which I write not to accuse them, as though, in times past, their words had been more arrogant, than became them; but the truth is, when I was there, they thought so well of themselves, that they used not such reverend language, neither to the King, nor of the King, as they have done since. Wherefore if men were wise, they would use such fair speech in time of prosperity, that, in time of adversity, they should not need to change their terms. I returned to the Admirall, to make report of my negotiation: immediately whereupon, we were advertised that the King was at hand; for he set forth soon after us, and commanded letters to be written both in his own name and divers of his servants names, to cause certain to repair to him; by whose meanes he trusted to bring these Seignories under his obedience.

CHAP. XII.

A Discourse, not appertaining to the principall matter, of the great joy the King was in, to see himself delivered of so many enemies; and of the error he committed touching the reducing of these Countries of Burgundy *to his obedience.*

THe King rejoyced not a little to see himself thus delivered of all those whom he hated and were his principall enemies: of some of the which, he had taken revenge himself; namely, the Constable of *France*, the Duke of *Neymours*, and divers others, his Brother the Duke of *Guienne* was dead, whose inheritance was fallen to him. In like manner all they of the House of *Anjou* were dead, namely King *Rene* of *Sicily*, the Dukes of *Calabria John* and *Nicholas*, and their cosin the Earl of *Main*, and afterward of *Province*: the Earl of *Armignac* was slain at *Lestore*, and all their Lands and Goods fallen to the King. But because this House of *Burgundy* was greater and mightier than the rest, and had made sharp war, with the Englishmens aid, upon his Father King *Charles* the seventh, thirty two years without truce, and had their dominions bordering upon his, and their Subjects alwayes desirous to make war upon him, and his Realm: therefore he rejoyced more at this Princes death, than at the death of all the rest. Further, he now fully perswaded himself, that during his life, no man, neither within his Realm nor in the Countries bordering upon it, would once lift up his finger against him. For he was in peace (as you have heard) with the Englishmen, which he travelled to the uttermost of his power to continue. But although he was thus void of all fear, yet did not God permit him to take the wisest course, for the atchievement of this his enterprise being of so great importance: And sure it appeareth, both by that God shewed then, and hath shewed since, that he meant sharply to punish this House of *Burgundy*, as well in the person of the Prince, as of the Subjects, and of those that lived amongst them. For if the King our Master had taken the best course, the wars, that have consumed them since, had never hapned. For if he had done as he ought to have done, he should have sought to joyn to the Crown all those great Seignories, whereunto he could pretend no title, either by marriage or by courteous dealing with the Subjects; which thing he might then easily have accomplished, seeing the great fear misery and distresse these Countries were in at that time, And if he had thus done, he should both have rid them of many troubles, and inlarged and enriched his own Realm through long peace, which by this meanes had been easily obtained. He might also thereby have eased his Realm divers wayes, especially of the charge of men of arms, who continually rid up and down from one corner of the Realm to another, oftentimes upon small occasion. While the Duke of *Burgundy* yet lived, he oftentimes debated with me, what were best to be done, if the said Duke hapned to dy. And then he discoursed marvellous wisely thereof, saying, that he would travel to make a marriage between the King his Son, now reigning, and the Dukes Daughter afterward Dutchess of *Austrich*, which if she refused because of the Daulphin his Sons young age; then he would attempt to win her to marry some young Lord of this Realm, to obtain thereby her friendship and her subjects, and recover without blows, that he claimed to be his: In the which mind he continued til eight dayes before he understood of the Dukes death. But this wise deliberation he began somewhat to alter the selfe-same day he received newes thereof, and the very instant, that he dispatched the Admirall

and

and me. Notwithſtanding he diſcovered not his purpoſe therein, but made promiſe to divers of Lands and Lordſhips that had been in the Dukes poſſeſſion.

CHAP. XIII. *How* Han, Bohain, *Saint* Quintin, *and* Peronne, *were yielded to the King, and how he ſent Maſter* Oliver *his Barber to practiſe with them of* Gaunt.

THe King being on the way coming after us, received good news from all parts; for the Caſtles of *Han* and *Bohain* were yielded unto him, and the Citizens of *Saint Quintin* of their own accord received Mr. *de Movy* their neighbour into the Town for him. Further, he aſſured himſelf of *Peronne*, which *William* of *Biſche* held, and was put in hope both by us and others, that Monſieur *de Cordes* would revolt to him. Further, he had ſent his Barber called Maſter *Oliver* to *Gaunt*, in a Village near to the which he was born, and had diſpatched divers others into other places, being in great hope of them all: but the moſt part of them ſerved him rather with words then deeds. When he drew near to *Peronne*, I went to meet him, and found him in a Village, whither Maſter *William* of *Biſche* and certain others came, and preſented him the Keys of the Town, whereof he was right glad. The King abode there that day, and I dined with him after my accuſtomed manner: for his pleaſure was, that ſeven or eight at the leaſt, and ſometimes more, ſhould ordinarily ſit at his own Table. But after dinner he withdrew himſelf, and ſeemed to be diſcontented with the ſmall exploit the Admirall and I had done: ſaying, that he had ſent Maſter *Oliver* his Barber to *Gaunt*, to bring that Town to his obedience, and *Robinet Dodenſort* to Saint *Omers*, who was well friended there: and theſe he commended as fit men to receive the Keys of a Town, and put his forces into it. Divers others alſo he named, whom he had ſent to other great Towns: and this matter he made Monſieur *de Lude*, and two or three others to debate with me. It became not me, to reaſon againſt him, nor gainſay his pleaſure, but I told him that I feared Maſter *Oliver* and the others whom he named, would not ſo eaſily take theſe great Towns, as they ſuppoſed. The King uſed this communication with me, becauſe he had altered his mind, and hoped by reaſon of his good ſucceſſe in the beginning, that all the country would yield unto him. Moreover, he was counſelled by divers (and was alſo of himſelf inclined thereunto) utterly to deſtroy this houſe of *Burgundy*, and to diſperſe the Seigniories thereof among divers men; ſome of the which he named, upon whom he was purpoſed to beſtow the Earldoms, namely, *Heynault* and *Namur* that border upon *France*: with the greater Seigniories, as *Brabant*, *Holland*, and the reſt, he meant to win certain Princes of *Almain* to his friendſhip, to the end they might aid him in atchieving of his enterpriſe. All the which matters it pleaſed him to acquaint me with, becauſe I had counſelled him before to take the other courſe above rehearſed: wherefore he would that I ſhould underſtand the reaſons, why he followed not my advice. Further, he alledged, that this courſe ſhould be moſt beneficiall for his Realm, the which had ſuſteined infinite troubles, becauſe of the greatneſſe of this houſe of *Burgundy*, and the mighty Seigniories that it poſſeſſed. And ſure, as touching the world, his reaſons carried great ſhew (though in conſcience I thought otherwiſe): notwithſtanding ſuch was his wiſdom, that neither I, nor any of his ſervants, could ſee ſo far into his affairs as himſelf did; for, undoubtedly, he was one of the wiſeſt and ſubtileſt Princes that lived in his time. But, in ſuch weighty affairs, God diſpoſeth the hearts of Kings and great Princes, which he holdeth in his hands, and directeth them into thoſe ways, that beſt ſerve for the executing of his determinations: for undoubtedly, if it had pleaſed him, that the King ſhould ſtill have continued in that courſe, which he of himſelf had deviſed before the Dukes death; the Wars that have been ſince, and yet are, had never hapned. But we were unworthy on both ſides, to enjoy that quiet peace that was then offered us, which ſure was the only cauſe of the Kings error, not want of wit: for as you have heard, in wit no man excelled him. I write of theſe affairs at large, to ſhew that when a man attempteth any great enterpriſe, he ought at the firſt thorowly to debate it, to the end he may chooſe the wiſeſt way: but eſpecially to ſubmit himſelf to God, and humbly to beſeech him, to direct him into the beſt courſe: which is the principall point, as appeareth both by the Scriptures and by experience. I minde not here to blame the King, nor ſay that he erred in this behalf: for peradventure divers which knew and underſtood more then my ſelf, were then, and

yet

yet are of his opinion; notwithſtanding the matter was not debated there nor elſewhere. Further, thoſe that write Chronicles, frame their ſtyle commonly to their commendation of whom they ſpeak, omitting divers points, ſometimes becauſe they know not the truth of them. But as touching my ſelf, I mind to write nothing but that is true, and which my ſelf either have ſeen, or learned of ſuch parties, as are worthy of credit, not regarding any mans commendation. For no Prince is to be thought ſo wiſe, but that he erreth ſometime, yea oftentimes if he live long; as ſhould well appear by their actions, if they were alwayes truly reported. The greateſt Senates or Councils that be, or ever have been, have erred and do erre, as we may read and daily ſee.

When the King had repoſed himſelf one day in this Village near to *Peronne*, he determined the next morning to make his entry into the Town; for it was yielded him, as you have heard. And at his departure he drew me aſide, and commanded me to go into the countrey of *Poictou* and the frontiers of *Brittain*, telling me in my ear, that if neither Maſter *Olivers* enterpriſe took effect, nor Monſieur *de Cordes* revolted to him, he would cauſe all the country of *Artois*, called *La Leuée* lying upon the River of *Lis*, to be burned; and, that done, return again into *Tourain*. I deſired him to be good to certain who by my means were become his ſervants, and to whom I had promiſed in his name, penſions and great rewards: whereupon he took their names of me in writing, and performed all that I had promiſed. Thus I took my leave of him for that time. But even as I was taking horſe, Monſieur *de Lude* came to me, whom the King for certain conſiderations favoured greatly. He was a man much given to his own private gain, and as he cared not to deceive and abuſe any man: ſo was he alſo very light of belief, and often beguiled himſelf. He had been brought up with the King from his child-hood, and knew which way to feed his humour, and had a very pleaſant head. He came and ſaid thus to me (wiſely after a jeſting manner) what depart you now when you ſhould be made or never; ſeeing the great things that fall daily into the Kings hands, wherewith he may enrich thoſe that he loveth? For my part, I look to be Governour of *Flanders*, and to make my ſelf all of Gold; in uttering the which words, he brake forth into great laughter: but I had no luſt to laugh, becauſe I feared that this proceeded of the King. My anſwer was, that I would be right glad if his fortune might be ſuch, and that I truſted the King would not forget me.

A certain Knight of *Heynault* was come to me, not paſt half an hour before my departure, who brought me news of divers with whom I perſwaded by Letters, to put themſelves into the Kings ſervice. The ſaid Knight and I are kinſmen, and he is yet living, wherefore neither will I name him, nor thoſe of whom he brought me this advertiſement. His offer in few words was, to yield unto the King the chief places and towns in *Heynault*. Whereof I advertiſed the K. even as I was taking my leave: who after he had talked with the ſaid Knight, told me, that neither he nor thoſe others whom I named, were ſuch as he ſtood in need of. He miſliked one for this point, and another for that; and their offer ſeemed unto him nothing: for he thought to obtain all that he deſired without them. Again, after my departure, the King made Monſieur *de Lude* to commune with the ſame Knight, who was much diſcontented with the ſaid *de Ludes* words, and departed incontinent without entring into further treaty, becauſe the ſaid *de Lude* and he would never have agreed in any point. For whereas this Knight was come out of *Heynault* to get ſomewhat at the Kings hands, whereby to enrich himſelf: the ſaid *de Lude* at the firſt meeting, asked him, what the Towns would give him to commend their cauſe to the King. I think verily that this refuſal the King made to theſe Knights, proceeded alſo of God; for ſince that time, he would have made good account of them, if he could have drawn them to his ſervice. But peradventure God would not accompliſh his deſire in all points, either becauſe of the reaſons above alledged, or for that he would not ſuffer him to uſurp this country of *Heynault* (which is held of the Empire) both becauſe he had no title thereunto, and alſo becauſe of the ancient League between the Emperours and the Kings of *France*, whereof the King himſelf alſo ſeemed afterward to take notice. For he held *Cambray*, *le Queſnoy*, and *Boſſi*[1] in *Heynault*, whereof *Boſſi* he yielded again, and reſtored *Cambray* being an Imperiall Town to neutrality as it was before. Although my ſelf were not preſent at theſe actions, yet was I enformed how they paſſed: for I had good means to underſtand of them, becauſe I was acquainted, and had been brought up in both theſe Princes dominions, and have ſince alſo communed with divers, that were the principall managers of theſe affairs on both ſides.

[1] This *Boſſi*, *lib. 6. cap. 3.* he calleth *Boſchain*: and ſo out of doubt it ſhould be read here.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV. *How Maſter* Oliver *the Kings Barber, failing to execute his enterpriſe at* Gaunt, *found means to put the Kings forces into* Tournay.

MAſter *Oliver* (as you have heard) was gone to *Gaunt*, and carried Letters of credit to the Lady of *Burgundy* Duke *Charles* his Daughter, having alſo commiſſion to perſwade with her apart, to put her ſelf into the Kings Government [1]. But this was not his principall charge: for he doubted that he ſhould not obtain leave to commune with her apart; and though he did, yet ſuppoſed he that he ſhould not frame her to his requeſt. But his hope was to raiſe ſome great tumult in this Town of *Gaunt*, which hath ever been inclined to rebellion, and was the eaſier to be moved thereunto at this preſent, becauſe under Duke *Philip* and Duke *Charles* they had lived in great awe, and loſt divers priviledges by the treaty made with the ſaid Duke *Philip*, after their Wars with him ended. Duke *Charles* alſo had taken one priviledge from them, concerning the election of their Senat, for an offence made the firſt day he entred into the Town as Duke: whereof becauſe I have made mention before, I will here write no further. All theſe reaſons, encouraged Maſter *Oliver* the Kings Barber to proceed in his enterpriſe, ſo far forth that he diſcovered his purpoſe to ſome ſuch of the Citizens, as he thought would give ear unto him, offering (beſides divers other promiſes) to cauſe the King to reſtore them their priviledges that they had loſt. But notwithſtanding that he were not in their Town-houſe, to ſpeak publickly to their Senate, becauſe he meant firſt to aſſay if he could do any good with this young Princeſſe; yet was his enterpriſe ſmelt out: wherefore after he had ſojourned a few dayes in *Gaunt*, he was ſent for to declare his meſſage; whereupon he repaired to the Princeſſe preſence, being apparelled much more ſumptuouſly then became one of his calling, and delivered his Letters. The ſaid Lady ſate in her chair of eſtate, having about her the Duke of *Cleves*, and the Biſhop of *Liege*, with divers other Noblemen, and a great number of her ſubjects. When ſhe had read his Letters, ſhe commanded him to declare his meſſage. But he anſwered that he had nothing to ſay but to her ſelf alone. Whereupon it was told him, that this was not the manner of their country, eſpecially to commune in ſecret with this young Lady being unmarried. But he ſtill continued his former anſwer, that he had nothing to ſay but to her ſelf apart. Whereupon they threatned to make him ſay ſomewhat elſe: which words put him in fear. And I think verily that when he came to deliver his Letter, he had not bethought him what to ſay: for this was not his principall charge, as you have heard. Thus Maſter *Oliver* departed for this time without further ſpeech. Some of the Councell began to ſcorn him, as well becauſe of his baſe eſtate, as of his fooliſh ſpeech and behaviour, but eſpecially they of *Gaunt* (in a little Village near whereunto he was born) ſcoffed and derided him, ſo far forth that ſuddenly he fled thence, being advertiſed if he ſtayed there any longer, that he ſhould be thrown into the River; which I think would have proved true. The ſaid Maſter *Oliver* named himſelf Earl of *Melun*, a little Town near to *Paris*, whereof he was Captain. From *Gaunt* he fled to *Tournay*, a Town in that country ſubject to neither Prince, but marvellouſly affected to the King: for it is his after a ſort, and payeth him yearly ſix thouſand franks; but in all other reſpects liveth at liberty, and receiveth all ſorts of men: it is a goodly Town and a ſtrong, as all the inhabitants thereabout can teſtifie. The Churchmen and Citizens, have all their poſſeſſions and revenues in *Heynault* and *Flanders*, in both the which countries it is ſcituate. Wherefore they uſed alwayes during the long Warres between King *Charles* the ſeventh, and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, to pay yearly unto the ſaid Duke ten thouſand franks; the which ſum I have ſeen them pay alſo to Duke *Charles*: but at the time that Maſter *Oliver* came thither, they were quit of all payments, and lived in great wealth and quietneſſe. Although Maſter *Olivers* charge abovementioned were too weighty for him to deal in, yet was he not ſo much to be blamed as they that committed it to him: for notwithſtanding that his enterpriſe had ſuch ſucceſſe, as it was ever like to have; yet ſhewed he himſelf wiſe in that he afterward did. For perceiving the ſaid Town of *Tournay* to be ſcituate upon the frontiers of both the countries above named, and very commodious to endamage them both, if he could put the Kings forces that lay in thoſe parts into it; and knowing further, that the Townſmen would never conſent thereunto, becauſe they never took part with either Prince, but ſhewed themſelves friends indifferently

[1] The King claimed this Lady as his Ward, becauſe divers of her Dominions, namely *Flanders*, *Artois*, &c. were held of the crown of *France*: beſides that, he was her Godfather, which was the cauſe why he commanded this *Oliver* to move this requeſt.

indifferently to both: he ſent word ſecretly to Monſieur *de Movey* (whoſe ſon was Bailiff of the Town, but not reſident there) that he ſhould bring his company which he had within Saint *Quintins*, and certain other bands that lay in thoſe quarters, to the Town of *Tournay*; who at the hour appointed came to the Gate, where he found Maſter *Oliver*, accompanied with thirty or forty perſons, who partly by favour, partly by force, cauſed the Gate to be opened, and received the Kings men; wherewith the people of the Town were well enough contented, but not the Governours; of whom Maſter *Oliver* ſent ſeven or eight to *Paris*, whence they departed not, during the Kings life. After theſe men of arms, entred alſo divers other ſouldiers, who did great harm aſtreward in the two countries abovenamed: for they ſpoiled and burned many goodly Villages and fair Farms, more to the damage of the inhabitants of *Tournay* then of any other, for the reaſons above alledged. To be ſhort, ſo long they ſpoiled that the Flemmings aroſe, and took out of priſon the Duke of *Guelderland* (whom Duke *Charles* had held priſoner) and made him their Captain; and in this eſtate came before the Town of *Tournay*, where they lay not long, but fled in great diſorder, and loſt many of their men: and amongſt the reſt, the Duke of *Guelders*, who had put himſelf behind to maintain the skirmiſh (being ill followed) was there ſlain, as hereafter you ſhall hear more at large. Wherefore this honour and good ſucceſſe that hapned to the King, and the great loſſe his enemies received, proceeded of the ſaid Maſter *Oliviers* wiſdom and judgement: ſo that peradventure a wiſer man, and a greater perſonage then he, might have failed to atchieve the like enterpriſe. I have ſpoken enough of the great charge this ſage Prince committed to this mean perſon, unfit to manage ſo weighty a cauſe; onely adding, that it ſeemed that God had troubled the Kings wits in this behalf. For, as I ſaid before, if he had not thought this enterpriſe far eaſier then indeed it was; but had appeaſed his wrath, and laid down his greedy deſire of revenge, upon this houſe of *Burgundy*, undoubtedly he had held at this day all thoſe Seigniories under his ſubjection.

CHAP. XV. *Of the Ambaſſadors the Lady of* Burgundy, *Daughter to the late Duke* Charles, *ſent to the King; and how by means of Monſieur* de Cordes *the City of* Arras, *the Towns of* Hedin *and* Bollein, *and the Town of* Arras *it ſelf, were yielded to the King.*

YOU have heard how Maſter *William Biſche* yielded *Peronne* to the King. The ſaid *Biſche* was a man of baſe parentage, born at *Molins-Engibers* in *Nivernois*, but inriched and greatly advanced by Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy*, who made him Captain of *Peronne*, becauſe his houſe called *Clery* (being a ſtrong and goodly Caſtle that the ſaid *Biſche* had purchaſed) was near unto it. But to proceed; after the King had made his entry into the Town, certain Ambaſſadors came to him from the Lady of *Burgundy*, being all the greateſt and nobleſt perſonages that were able to do her any ſervice: which was unadviſedly done to ſend ſo many together; but ſuch was their deſolation and fear, that they knew not well what to ſay or do. The abovenamed Ambaſſadors were theſe; the Chancellor of *Burgundy* called Maſter *William Hugonet*, a notable wiſe man, who had been in great credit with Duke *Charles*, and was highly advanced by him. The Lord of *Himbercourt* (ſo often before mentioned in this Hiſtory) was there alſo, (who was as wiſe a Gentleman, and as able to manage a weighty cauſe as ever I knew any) together with the Lord of *La Vere*, a great Lord in *Zeland*, and the Lord of *Grutuſe*, and divers others as well Noblemen as Churchmen, and Burgeſſes of good Towns. The King before he gave them audience, laboured both generally with them all, and apart with every one of them, to draw them to his ſervice. They all gave him humble and lowly words, as men in great fear. Notwithſtanding, thoſe that had their poſſeſſions far from his Dominions, in ſuch countries as they thought to be out of his reach, would not bind themſelves to him in any reſpect, unleſſe the marriage between his ſon the Daulphin, and the ſaid Lady their Miſtreſſe took effect. But the Chancellor and the Lord of *Himbercourt*, who had lived long in great authority, wherein they ſtilld deſired to continue, and had their Lands lying near to the Kings Dominions, the one in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the other in *Picardy* near to *Amiens*, gave ear to his offers, and promiſed both to ſerve him in furthering this marriage, and alſo wholly to become his, the marriage being accompliſhed: which courſe he liked

liked not (though it were ſimply the beſt) but was diſpleaſed with them, for that they would not then abſolutely enter into his ſervice. Notwithſtanding he ſhewed them no countenance of diſpleaſure, becauſe he would uſe their help as he might. Moreover, the King having now good intelligence with Monſieur *de Cordes*, Captain and Governor of *Arras*, by his Counſell and advice, required theſe Ambaſſadors, to cauſe the ſaid *de Cordes*, to receive his men into the City of *Arras*[1]: for at that time there were Walls and trenches between the Town and the City, but the Town was then fortified againſt the City [2]; and now contrariwiſe the City is fortified againſt the Town. And divers perſwaſions being uſed to the ſaid Ambaſſadors, that this ſhould be the beſt and readieſt way to obtain peace in ſhewing ſuch obedience to the King, they agreed to his demand, eſpecially the Chancellor and *Himbercourt*, and ſent a Letter of diſcharge to the ſaid *de Cordes*, wherein they advertiſed him of their conſent to the delivery of the City of *Arras*. Into the which ſo ſoon as the King was entered, he raiſed bulwarks of earth againſt the Gates of the Town, and in divers other places near to the Town. Further, becauſe of this diſcharge, Monſieur *de Cordes* and the men of War that were with him, departed out of the Town[3], and went whither they liſted, and ſerved where they beſt liked. And as touching the ſaid *de Cordes*, he now accounting himſelf diſcharged of his Miſtreſſes ſervice, by the Ambaſſadors Letters abovementioned; determined to do Homage to the King, and to enter into his ſervice: both becauſe his houſe, name, and arms, were on this ſide the River of *Somme* (for he was called Maſter *Philip* of *Crevecœur*, ſecond Brother to the Lord of *Crevecœur*); and alſo becauſe the territories ſo often abovementioned, which the houſe of *Burgundy* had poſſeſſed upon the ſaid River of *Somme*, during the lives of Duke *Philip* and Duke *Charles*, returned now without all controverſie to the Crown. For by the conditions of the treaty of *Arras*, they were given to Duke *Philip*, and his heirs male only. Wherefore ſeeing Duke *Charles* left no iſſue but his Daughter, the ſaid Maſter *Philip* of *Crevecœur* became without all doubt the Kings ſubject: ſo that he could commit no fault by entering into the Kings ſervice, and reſtoring to him that which he held of him, unleſs he had done Homage anew to the Lady of *Burgundy*. Notwithſtanding, men have reported, and will report, diverſly of him for this fact: wherefore I leave the matter to other mens judgments. True it is that he had been brought up, enriched, and advanced to great honour by Duke *Charles*, and that his mother for a certain ſpace, was Governeſſe of the Lady of *Burgundy* in her Child-hood: and further, when the Duke of *Burgundy* died, he was Governour of *Picardy*, Seneſcall of *Ponthieu*, Captain of *Courtray*, Governour of *Peronne*, *Montdidier* and *Roye*, and Captain of *Bolloin* and *Hedin*. All the which offices he holde h yet at this preſent of the King; in ſuch manner and form, as after the Dukes death, the King our Maſter confirmed them unto him.

After the King had fortified the City of *Arras* (as you have heard) he departed thence to beſiege *Hedin*, leading thither with him the ſaid *de Cordes*, who had been Captain of the place, not paſt three dayes before, and his men were yet within it, and made ſhew as though they would defend it for the Lady of *Burgundy*, ſaying that they had ſworn to be true unto her: but after the artillery [4] had beaten it two or three deyes, they fell to parley with the ſaid *de Cordes* their late Captain, and yielded the Town to the King. But this was indeed a compact matter between the King and them. From thence the King went before *Bolloin*, where the like was alſo done: but they held, as I remember, a day longer then the others. This was a very dangerous enterpriſe, if there had been ſouldiers in the country; and that the King knew well enough, as he afterward told me: for divers in *Bolloin*, perceiving this to be a meer colluſion between the ſouldiers and him, laboured to have put men into the Town, if they could have levied them in time, and to have defended it in good earneſt. During the ſpace of five or ſix dayes, that the King lay before *Bolloin*, they of *Arras* perceiving how they had been abuſed, and conſidering in what danger they ſtood, being environed on every ſide with a great number of Souldiers, and great force of artillery; laboured to levy men to put into the Town, and writ thereabout to their neighbours of *Liſle* and *Douay*. At the ſaid Town of *Douay* was Monſieur *de Vergy*, and divers others whoſe names I remember not, who with a few horſmen eſcaped out of the Battell of *Nancy*. Theſe determined to enter the Town of *Arras*, and levied all the force they could, being to the number of two or three hundred horſe good and bad, and five or ſix hundred footmen. But they of *Douay* (whoſe Peacocks feathers

[1] This requeſt the King made as Tutor and God-father to the young Lady, in which reſpect alſo the ſaid Ambaſſadors did as he required.

[2] *Arras* was cut in two, to wit, into the Town and the City; the Town under the Dukes of *Burgundy* was fortified & the draw-bridg was drawn into the Town: but the King beat down the fortification of the Town, and fortified the City, and altered alſo the draw-bridge, and drew it up into the City, whereas before it was drawn up into the Town.

[3] If the King had demanded the Town of *Arras*, the Ambaſſadours would never have granted it, becauſe it was the whole ſtrength of the countrey: but by obtaining the City (at that time not greatly accounted of, becauſe it was utterly unfortified) he got the ſaid *de Cordes* diſcharge, who ſoon after procured him both the Town of *Arras*, and the greateſt part of the country of *Artois*.

[4] For they were willing to yield it: but becauſe they would depart like Souldiers, and without ſuſpition of Treaſon, they deſired to have the Cannon brought before it.

were

were not yet all pulled) constrained them in spight of their teeths to depart the Town at Noon-day, which was great folly, and so came of it. For the country beyond *Arras* is as plain as a mans hand, and between *Douay* and *Arras*, are about five Leagues. If they had tarried till night (as they would, if they might have been suffered) they had sure accomplished their enterprise. But when they were upon the way, they whom the King left in the City of *Arras*, namely Monsieur *de Lude*, *John de Fou*, and the Marshall of *Loheacs* company being advertised of their coming, determined with all speed to issue forth and encounter them, and to put all in hazard rather then to suffer them to enter the Town: for they well perceived that if they entered the Town, the City could not be defended. Their enterprise was very dangerous, yet they executed it valiantly, and put to flight this band issuing out of *Douay*; the which also they so speedily pursued, that they were all in a manner either slain or taken, and amongst the prisoners was Monsieur *de Vergy* himself. The next day the King arrived there in person, rejoycing much because of this discomfiture, and caused all the prisoners to be brought before him, and of the footmen commanded a great number to be slain, to put thereby those few men of War, yet remaining in those quarters, into the greater fear. Moreover, Monsieur *de Vergy* he kept long in prison, because he would by no means be brought to do him Homage; notwithstanding that he lay in close prison and in Irons: but in the end, having been prisoner a year or more, by his Mothers perswasion, he yielded to the Kings pleasure; wherein he did wisely. For the King restored him to all his Land, and all those he was in suite for. He gave him further, ten thousand franks of yearly revenues, and divers other goodly offices. They which escaped out of this discomfiture, being very few in number, entred the Town, before the which, the King brought his artillery, and laid his battery. The artillery was goodly and great, and the battery terrible; but the Town-Wall and the Ditch nothing strong; wherefore they within were in great fear, the rather because the Town was utterly unfurnished of Souldiers. Further, Monsieur *de Cordes* had good intelligence within it; and to say the truth, the City being in the Kings hands, the Town could not be defended: wherefore they fell to parley, and yielded it by composition, which notwithstand was ill observed; whereof M. *de Lude* was partly to blame. For divers Burgesses and honest men were slain in the presence, of him and M. *William de Cerisay*, who marvellously enriched themselves there: for the said *de Lude* told me, that he got, during the time of his being there, twenty thousand crowns, and two timbers of Marterns. Moreover they of the Town lent the King 60000 crowns, which summe was much too great for their ability; but I think it was repaied them, for they of *Cambray*, lent forty thousand, which I am sure were restored, as I think were these also.

CHAP. XVI. *How the citizens of* Gaunt *usurped authority over their Princess after her Fathers death; came in Ambassage to the King, as from the three estates of their country.*

THE same time the siege lay before *Arras*, the Lady of *Burgundy* was at *Gaunt*, in the hands of her mutinous subjects, greatly to her loss, but the Kings profit: for alwayes ones losse is anothers gain. These Citizens of *Gaunt*, so soon as they understood of Duke *Charles* his death, thinking themselves thereby clearly delivered out of captivity, apprehended their Senators, being to the number of six and twenty, and put them all or the greatest part to death; pretending that they did it, because the said Senators the day before, had commanded one to be beheaded, though not without desert, yet without authority (as they said); their commission being determined with the Dukes death, by whom they were chosen into that office. They slew also divers honest men of the Town, that had been the Dukes friends; amongst whom were some, that when I served him, disswaded him in my presence, from destroying a great part of the Town of *Gaunt*, which he was fully resolved to have done. Further, they constrained their Princesse, to confirm all their ancient priviledges, both those they lost in the time of Duke *Philip*, by the treaty of *Gaures*, and those also that Duke *Charles* took from them. The said priviledges, served them onely for firebrands of rebellion against their Princes, whom above all things they desire to see weak and feeble Moreover, during their Princes minority, and before they begin to Govern, they are marvellous tender over them; but when they are come to the Government, they cannot away with them, as appeareth by this Lady

whom they loved dearly and much tendered before her coming to the State. Further, you ſhall underſtand, that if after the Dukes death, theſe men of *Gaunt* had raiſed no troubles, but had ſought to defend the country, they might eaſily have put men into *Arras*, and peradventure into *Peronne*; but they minded onely theſe domeſticall broils. Notwithſtanding while the King lay before the Town of *Arras*, certain Ambaſſadors came to him, from the three Eſtates of the ſaid Ladies countries. For at *Gaunt* were certain Deputies for the three Eſtates; but they of the Town, ordered all at their pleaſure, becauſe they held their Princeſſe in their hands. The King gave theſe Ambaſſadors audience, who among other things, ſaid; that they made no overture of peace, but with conſent of their Princeſſe; who was determined in all matters, to follow the advice and counſell of the three Eſtates of her country. Further, they required the King to end his War in *Burgundy* and *Artois*, and to appoint a day, when they might meet to treat friendly together of peace; and in the mean time, that he would cauſe a ſurceaſe of arms. The King had now in a manner, obtained all he deſired, and ſuppoſed the ſucceſſe of the reſt, would have anſwered his expectation, otherwiſe than it did; becauſe he was certainly enformed, that moſt of the men of War in the country, were dead and ſlain, and knew well, that a great many others had forſaken the ſaid Ladies ſervice, eſpecially Monſieur *de Cordes*, of whom he made great reckoning, and not without cauſe; for he could not have taken by force in long time, that which by his intelligence he obtained in few dayes, as before you have heard: wherefore he made ſmall account of theſe Ambaſſadors demands. Further, he perceived theſe men of *Gaunt* to be ſuch ſeditious perſons, and ſo inclined to trouble the ſtate of their country, that his enemies by means thereof ſhould not be able to adviſe nor give order how to reſiſt him. For of thoſe that were wiſe, and had been in credit with their former Princes, none were called to the debating of any matter of ſtate, but perſecuted, and in danger of death: eſpecially the Burgundians, whom they hated extreamly, becauſe of their great authority in times paſt. Moreover, the King, (who ſaw further into theſe affairs, then any man in his Realm) knew well what affection the Citizens of *Gaunt* had ever born to their Princes, and how much they deſired to ſee them enfeebled; ſo that they in their country felt no ſmart thereof. Wherefore, he thought it beſt, to nouriſh their domeſticall contentions, and to ſet them further by the ears together; which was ſoon done: for theſe whom he had to do with, were but beaſts; moſt part of them Towns-men, unacquainted with thoſe ſubtil practiſes, wherein he had been trained up, and could uſe for his purpoſe, better then any man living.

The King laid hold on theſe words of the Ambaſſadors, that their Princeſſe would do nothing without the conſent and advice of the three ſtates of her country, and anſwered that they were ill informed of her pleaſure, and of certain particular men about her: for he knew very perfectly, that ſhe meant to govern all her affairs, by the advice of certain particular perſons, who deſired nothing leſſe then peace: and as touching them and their actions, he was well aſſured they ſhould be diſavowed. Whereunto the Ambaſſadors (being not a little moved, as men unacquainted with great affairs) made a hot anſwer, they were well aſſured of what they ſaid, and would ſhew their Inſtructions, if need ſo required. Whereunto anſwer was made, that they ſhould ſee a Letter, if it ſo pleaſed the King, written by parties worthy of credit, wherein the King was advertiſed, that the ſaid Lady would govern her affairs by four Perſons onely. Whereunto the others replied, that they were ſure of the contrary. Then the King commanded a Letter to be brought forth, which the Chancellor of *Burgundy*, and the Lord of *Himbercourt*, delivered him, at their laſt being with him at *Peronne*. The ſaid Letter was written, partly with the young Ladies own hand; partly by the Dowager of *Burgundy*, Duke *Charles* his Widow, and Siſter to King *Edward* of *England*; and partly by the Lord of *Ravaſtin* Brother to the Duke of *Cleves*, and the ſaid young Ladies neareſt Kinſman: ſo that it was written with three ſeveral hands, but ſigned with the name of the young Lady alone; for the other twain ſet to their hands only to give it the greater credit. The contents of the Letter were, to deſire the King to give credit to thoſe things, whereof the Chancellor and *Himbercourt* ſhould advertiſe him. And further, it was therein ſignified unto him, that ſhe was reſolved to govern all her affairs by four perſons; namely, the Dowager her mother in Law, the Lord of *Ravaſtin*, and the abovenamed Chancellor and *Himbercourt*, by whom onely and none others, ſhe humbly beſought him to negotiate with her; becauſe upon them ſhe would repoſe the whole Government of her affairs.

When theſe Citizens of *Gaunt*, and the other Ambaſſadors had ſeen this Letter, it heated them

them throughly; and I warrant you thoſe that negotiated with them, failed not to blow the fire. In the end, the Letter was delivered them, and no other diſpatch of importance had they, neither paſſed they greatly for any other: but thought onely upon their domeſticall diviſions, and how to make a new world, never looking further into this buſineſs; notwithſtanding, that the loſſe of *Arras* ought to have grieved them much more than this Letter: but they were Towns-men (as I ſaid before) unacquainted with theſe affairs. They returned ſtraight to *Gaunt*, where they found their Princeſſe accompanied with the Duke of *Cleves*, her neareſt kinſman, and of her blood by his mother[1]: he was an ancient man, brought up continually in this houſe of *Burgundy*, where he received an yearly penſion of ſix-thouſand Guildons; wherefore beſides that he was their kinſman, he reſorted thither oftimes as a penſioner to do his duty. The Biſhop of *Liege* and divers Noblemen were there alſo, partly to wait upon this young Lady, and partly for their own particular affairs. For the ſaid Biſhop entertained a ſute there, to diſcharge his country of a payment of thirty thouſand Guildons, or thereabout, which they gave yearly to Duke *Charles*, by the treaty they made with him, when the Wars abovementioned ended. All the which Wars began for the ſaid Biſhops quarrell, ſo that there was no cauſe why he ſhould move this ſute; but rather ſeek to keep them ſtill in poverty: for he received no benefit there, more then of his ſpirituall juriſdiction and of his demains (which alſo were but ſmall[2] in reſpect of the wealth of his country, and the greatneſſe of his dioceſſe.) The ſaid Biſhop (Brother to the Dukes of *Bourbon*, *John* and *Peter*, now living) being a man wholly given to pleaſures and good cheer, and little knowing what was profitable, or unprofitable for himſelf; received into his ſervice Maſter *William de la Marche*[3], a goodly valiant Knight, but cruell, and of naughty conditions; who had been enemy of long time, both to the ſaid Biſhop, and alſo to the houſe of *Burgundy*, for the Liegeois cauſe. To this *de la Marche*, the Lady of *Burgundy*, gave fifteen thouſand Guildons, partly in favour of the Biſhop, and partly to have him her friend: but he ſoon after revolted both from her, and from the ſaid Biſhop his Maſter, and attempted by force through the Kings favour, to make his own Son Biſhop. Afterward alſo, he diſcomfited the ſaid Biſhop in Battell, ſlew him with his own hands, and threw him into the River, where his dead Corps floated up and down three dayes. But the Duke of *Cleves* was come thither, in hope to make a marriage between his eldeſt ſon, and the ſaid Lady, which ſeemed to him a very fit match, for divers reſpects; and ſure, I think it had taken effect, if his Sons conditions had liked the young Lady and her ſervants: for he was deſcended of this houſe of *Burgundy*, and held his Dutchy of it, and had been brought up in it; but peradventure it did him harm that his behaviour was ſo well known there.

[1] This Duke of *Cleves* was called *John*, whoſe Father *Adolph* had married *Mary* Siſter to Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy* Meyer *lib.* 17. *p.* 257 but *Annal. Burgund.* ſay, that *Adolph* was ſon to one of Duke *Philips* Siſters, but corruptly, as the pedegree in the end of this work will declare.

[2] The Biſhop of *Liege* revenues are nine thouſand poſid ſterling, *Guicchiar.*

[3] This *de la Marche* was named *Aremberg*: how he died after this murther, read *Berlandus*, fol. 77.

CHAP. XVII. *How they of* Gaunt *after their Ambaſſadors return, put to death the Chancellor* Hugonet, *and the Lord of* Himbercourt, *againſt their Princeſſes will, and how they and other Flemings were diſcomfited before* Tournay, *and their Generall the Duke of* Guilders *ſlain.*

NOW to proceed in the Hiſtory. After theſe Ambaſſadors were returned to *Gaunt*, the Councill was aſſembled, and the Princeſſe ſate in her Chair of State, accompanied with all her Nobility to give them audience. Then the Ambaſſadors made rehearſall of the commiſſion ſhe gave them, touching principally that point, that ſerved for their purpoſe, and ſaying, that when they advertiſed the King, that ſhe was determined to follow in all points, the advice and Council of the three Eſtates of her country, he forthwith anſwered, that he was ſure of the contrary; and becauſe they avowed their ſaying, offered to ſhew the ſaid Ladies Letters in that behalf. The Princeſſe being therewith moved, ſuddenly anſwered in the preſence of them all, that it was not ſo, aſſuring her ſelf that the King had not ſhewed her Letter. Then he that ſpake, being Recorder of *Gaunt* or *Brucels*, drew the Letter out of his boſome before the whole aſſembly, and delivered it her. Wherein he ſhewed himſelf a lewd fellow and an uncivill, in diſhonouring openly after ſuch a ſort this young Lady, who ought not ſo rudely to have been dealt with: for though ſhe had committed an error, yet was it not

publickly to be reformed. It is no marvell if she were greatly ashamed thereof, for she had protested the contrary to the whole world. The Dowager of *Burgundy*, the Lord of *Ravastain*, the Chancellour, and the Lord of *Himbercourt*, were all four there present also.

The Duke of *Cleves*, and divers others, who had been put in hope of this young Ladies marriage, stormed marvellously at this Letter, and then began their factions to break forth. The said Duke was ever perswaded heretofore, that *Himbercourt* would further his suit for his Son: but now perceiving by this Letter his hope to be frustrate, he became his mortall foe[1]. The Bishop of *Liege*, and his minion Master *William de la Marche*, who was there with him, loved him not for the things done at *Liege*, whereof the said *Himbercourt* had been the chief instrument. The Earl of Saint *Paul* Son to the Constable of *France*, hated both him and the Chancellor; because they two delivered his Father at *Peronne* to the Kings servants, as before you have heard at large. They of *Gaunt* also hated them both, not for any offence made, but because of the great authority they had born: whereof undoubtedly they were as worthy, as any men that lived in their time, either here or there; for they were ever true and faithfull servants to their Master.

[1] With the letter, the King had also uttered the Message that the Chancellor and *Himbercourt* brought, which was to treat of a marriage between the Daulphin and this Lady, which also they offered the K. to further; and this was the cause why the Duke of *Cleves* became *Himbercourts* enemy.

To be short, the same day at night that this Letter was shewed, the abovenamed Chancellor and *Himbercourt*, through the furtherance (as I am perswaded) of their enemies abovenamed, were apprehended by the Citizens of *Gaunt*: which danger notwithstanding that they were forwarned of by their friends, yet had they not power to avoid, as it hath often hapned to divers others. With them was also apprehended Master *William* of *Clugny*, then Bishop of *Theroenne*, and since of *Poictiers*; and all three imprisoned in one place. They of *Gaunt* proceeded against them by colour of processe (contrary to their accustomed manner in their revenge) and appointed certain of their Senate to hear their cause: with whom they joyned in Commission one of this house of *La Marche*, deadly enemy to the said *Himbercourt*. First they demanded of them, why they caused Monsieur *de Cordes* to deliver the City of *Arras* to the King, but thereupon they stood not long: notwithstanding that they had nothing else justly to charge them with. But this was not it that grieved them: for neither cared they to see their Prince enfeebled by the loss of such a Town; neither had they the wit to consider what great damage might ensue thereof to themselves in tract of time. Wherefore they rested chiefly upon two points[2]; the first, they charged them that they had received bribes of the Town of *Gaunt*, namely for a suit in Law, which of late the said Town had obtained by their sentence pronounced by the said Chancellor, against a particular man whom they had in suit. But of all this matter of bribery, they acquitted themselves very honourably; and as concerning that particular point wherewith they of *Gaunt* charged them, that they had sold justice, and taken money of them to pronounce sentence on their behalf: they answered, that the Town of *Gaunt* obtained their suit, because their cause was good; and as touching the money they took, they never demanded it, nor caused it to be demanded, but received it being offered. The second point was, that during the time they were with the late Duke *Charles* their Master, and also being his Lievtenants in his absence, they had done divers things against the priviledges and State of their Town, and that whosoever doth against the priviledges of *Gaunt*, ought to die. But this point touched them no whit: for they were neither their subjects nor citizens, neither able to infringe their priviledges; and if the Duke or his Father took any of their priviledges from them, they did it by the treaty made between them, after their long Wars and divisions: but the other priviledge that were left them (being in truth more then were convenient for their profit) were never broken, but kept and observed. Well, notwithstanding the answers these two notable men made to these two points (for of the principall matter first objected against them, no word was spoken) yet the Senat of the Town condemned them to die, as they stood at the Bar, because (as they said) they had broken their priviledges, and received bribes after judgement given upon the matter in Law abovementioned. These two worthy personages hearing this cruell sentence, were not a little astonished: and no marvell, for they saw no way how to escape, being in their enemies hands: notwithstanding they appealed to the King and his Court of Parliament, trusting by this means to delay their death, to the end their friends in the mean time might devise some way to save them. Before their arraignment, they racked them extreamly against all order of Law. Their processe endured but six dayes, and (notwithstanding their appeal) after sentence pronounced, they

[2] The causes of the Chancellours and *Himbercourts* death, read in *Bertandus*, fol. 69.

they gave them but three hours reſoite to confeſſe them, and bethink them of their ſouls health. Which time expired, they led them into their market-place, and ſet them upon a ſcaffold. The Lady of *Burgundy* (afterward Dutcheſſe of *Auſtrich*) being advertiſed of their condemnation, went to the Town-houſe, to make requeſt and ſupplication for their lives: but perceiving that ſhe could do no good there, ſhe went to the market-place, where all the people were aſſembled together in arms, and there ſaw the two Noblemen abovenamed, ſtanding upon the ſcaffold. The ſaid Lady was in her mourning apparell, having nothing on her head but a kerchief, which was a humble and ſimple attire, and ought of right to have moved them to pity. There ſhe deſired the people with weeping eyes, and her hair looſe about her ſhoulders, to have pity upon theſe her two ſervants, and to reſtore them unto her. A great part of the people were willing that her pleaſure ſhould be done, and that they ſhould not die; but others would in no wiſe give ear unto her: whereupon, they bent their pikes the one againſt the other. But thoſe that deſired their death, were the ſtronger, and cried to them that ſtood upon the ſcaffold to diſpatch them; immediately whereupon, both their heads were ſtricken off: and in this eſtate returned this poor Lady to her Court, ſorrowfull and comfortleſſe: for theſe two were the principall perſons, in whom ſhe had repoſed her whole confidence. After they of *Gaunt* had done this exploit, they removed from about the ſaid Lady, the Lord of *Ravaſtin*, and the Dowager Duke *Charles*'s Widow her mother in Law, becauſe they had alſo written part of the Letter abovementioned, which *Himbercourt* and the Cancellor delivered to the King, and they of *Gaunt* re-delivered to their Princeſſe, after their return, as before you have heard. Further, they uſurped all power and authority over this poor young Lady: for ſo might ſhe now well be called, both becauſe of the great damage ſhe had already received, by the loſſe of ſo many notable Towns, irrecoverable by force, conſidering his power in whoſe hands they were, although by favour, friendſhip, or compoſition, ſome hope yet remained; and alſo becauſe ſhe was in the hands of the ancient enemies and perſecuters of her houſe, which was a great misfortune to her. Notwithſtanding theſe Citizens of *Gaunt* in all their publick actions, have ever ſhewed more groſſe folly then cunning: and no marvell, for they that carry credit and authority among them, are for the moſt part, wealthy men of occupation, unacquainted with weighty affairs, and little underſtanding what belongeth to the Government of a State. Their cunning conſiſteth but in two points; the one, that they ſtudy by all means poſſible, how to weaken and impoveriſh their Prince: the other, that when they have made a fault, and find the party offended too ſtrong for them, they crave pardon with great humility, and buy peace with larger gifts then any people in the world; yea, and know what inſtruments to work by, and what perſons to labour for obtaining of peace, better then any Town that ever I knew.

After they of *Gaunt* had taken by force the Government of their Princeſſe, put the two abovementioned to death, and removed from about her thoſe that miſliked them; they began every where to place and diſplace officers at their pleaſure, and to baniſh and ſpoil all thoſe that had beſt ſerved this houſe of *Burgundy*, not regarding their good or ill deſert; but above all other men, they hated the Burgundians eſpecially, ſo far forth that they baniſhed them all, and laboured to make them the Kings ſervants and ſubjects, as much as the King himſelf did, who ſollicited them thereunto by fair words, wiſe perſwaſions, large gifts and promiſes, and ſought alſo to conſtrain them by great force, which he had in their country. Moreover, theſe men of *Gaunt* meaning to begin their Govenment with ſome caſe of novelty, took out of priſon (as already is mentioned) the Duke of *Gueldres*, who of long time, by Duke *Charles* his commandment, had been held priſoner for the cauſes above rehearſed, and him they made Generall of an army, which they among themſelves, namely the Towns of of *Bruges*, *Gaunt*, and *Ypre*, levied and ſent to *Tournay*, to ſet fire on the ſuburbs thereof, which was little for their Princeſſes profit. For two hundred ſouldiers, ſent in time to *Arras*, or ten thouſand franks to have entertained men to put into it, when the ſiege came before it; would have done both her and them much more ſervice, then ten ſuch armies as this. For this army could do no good, but fire a few houſes in a place, whereof the King made ſmall account: for he levied neither taſks nor ſubſidies there, but their wit was not able to reach thus far. After the Duke of *Gueldres* was come before *Tournay* with this army, being to the number of twelve or fifteen thouſand men, very well paid by the Towns abovementioned,

he ſet fire on the ſuburbs. But within the Town, were three or four hundred men of arms, which ſallied out, and charged his men on the back, as they retired, and incontinently put them to flight. But the Duke himſelf, being a valiant Prince, turned againſt his enemies meaning to maintain the skirmiſh, to the end his men might have leiſure to retire: but being ill followed, he was overthrown and ſlain, and a good number alſo of his people; yet was the Kings force that did this exploit very ſmall. The Flemmings army retired with this loſs, for there was but one band of men defeated. The Lady of *Burgundy* (as I have heard) and her friends, rejoyced much at this news; for the bruit ran for a certainty, that they of *Gaunt* were determined to compell her by force to marry this Duke of *Guelàres*, which willingly ſhe would never have done, for divers reaſons above rehearſed.

CHAP. XVIII. *A diſcourſe upon this point, that Wars and diviſions are permitted of God, for the chaſtiſment of Princes and evil people; with divers good reaſons and examples for the inſtruction of Princes, which happened in the Authors time.*

I Cannot imagin for what cauſe God hath ſo long preſerved this Town of *Gaunt*, the fountain of ſo many miſchiefs, and of ſo ſmall importance for the benefit of the country where it is ſcituate. For it yieldeth no commodity to the common wealth, much leſſe to the Prince; neither is it comparable to *Bruges*, which is a place, where is greater traffick of merchandiſe and reſort of ſtrangers in my opinion, then in any Town in *Europe*; ſo that the deſtruction thereof, ſhould be an irrecoverable loſſe. But it ſeemeth that God hath created nothing in this World neither Man nor Beaſt, without an enemy to hold it in fear and humility; and for that purpoſe, ſerveth this Town of *Gaunt* very well [1]. For there is no country in Chriſtendome more inclined to all wanton pleaſures, pomps, and delicates, then this country of *Flaunders*, notwithſtanding they are good Chriſtians there, and ſerve and honour God well. But it is not this nation onely, to whom God hath given as it were a continuall prick, to put them in mind of their duty: For, to *France* he hath given the Engliſhmen for enemies; to the Engliſhmen, the Scots; to the Realm of *Spain*, *Portugal*, I will not ſay *Granado*: for they are enemies of the faith; notwithſtanding hitherto the ſaid country of *Granado*, hath much troubled and endamaged the Realm of *Caſtile*. Againſt the Princes of *Italy*, the greateſt part of the which, hold their Lands by no title, unleſſe it be given them in heaven (whereof we can but divine) and who rule cruelly and violently over their Subjects by extream exactions and levies of money; God hath raiſed up the free States of the ſaid country, namely, *Venice*, *Florence*, *Genua*, and ſometime *Bononia*, *Senes*, *Piſa*, *Luques*, and others; which in divers points are contrary to the Princes, and the Princes to them, each of them having an eye upon other, that none grow too great. But to ſpeak more particularly of the State of *Italy*: againſt the houſe of *Arragon*, God hath raiſed the houſe of *Anjou*; againſt the *Sforces* (which uſurp the place of the Vicounts in the Dutchy of *Milan*) the houſe of *Orleans*: againſt the Venetians, the Princes of *Italy*, as before I have ſaid, and beſides them the Florentines; againſt the Florentines, their neighbours of *Senes*, *Piſa*, and the Genuois; and againſt the ſaid Genuois, their own ill Government, and want of faith each to other, which is ſo univerſally known, that every man can tell thereof: for their factions are in League the one againſt the other, as appeareth by the *Fregouze* [2], *Adorni*, *d'Orie*, and others. Now to ſpeak of *Almain*; you have alwaies the houſe of *Auſtrich* and *Baviere* at variance, and particularly them of *Baviere* divided among themſelves. In like manner the houſe of *Auſtrich* hath particularly oppoſite to it, the Swiſſers; the beginning of which their variance, aroſe but about a little Village called Swiſſe [3]; unable to arm ſix hundred men, whereof the other Swiſſers bare their name; who are now ſo increaſed, that two of the Duke of *Auſtriches* beſt Towns, namely *Zurich* and *Fribourg* be of their cantons. Moreover, they have obtained great Victories, and ſlain of the Dukes of *Auſtrich* in the field [4]. Divers other quarrels alſo there are in *Almain*, as the Duke of *Cleves* againſt the Duke of *Guelàres*; the Dukes of *Gueldres* againſt the Dukes of *Julliers*: the Eaſterlings who inhabite ſo far northward, againſt the Kings of *Denmark*. And to ſpeak generally of *Almain*, there are ſo many

[1] He meaneth that this Town of *Gaunt* is ſcituate where it is for a plague to the whole country of *Flaunders*; which otherwiſe becauſe of the great abundance thereof, would ſoon forget God.

[2] *Fregoſe* and *Fregoſins* in other Hiſtories.

[3] This diviſion began *Anno* 1309. between the Abbot of *Einſidlen* and the Village of *Suitz*; and the ſaid Abbot demanded aid of *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtrich*.

[4] As for example, *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtrich*, brothers ſon to the former that began this diviſion, whom they ſlew at the battel of *Sempache* 9. *July anno* 1386.

many ſtrong places there, ſo many men inclined to miſchief, to ſpoil, to rob, and that uſe force and violence one againſt another upon ſmall occaſions, that it is a wonder to ſee: for a man that is able to maintain but himſelf and his ſervant, will proclaim Warre againſt a great City or a Duke, that under colour thereof, he may the better rob and ſpoil: for he will have ſome ſmall Caſtle, ſcituate upon a Rock to retire into, where he entertaineth twenty or thirty horſmen, which run down to rob and ſpoil the country at his commandment. Theſe men are very ſeldome puniſhed by the Princes of *Almain*, becauſe they uſe their help when they need their ſervice: but the Towns, if they take any of them, puniſh them cruelly, and often beſiege and deſtroy their Caſtles. Further, the ſaid Towns have ſouldiers alwayes in pay for their defence. Wherefore it ſeemeth, that theſe Princes and Towns of *Almain*, are preſerved, the one to force the other to do that is right and good. And it is neceſſary that ſuch diviſions ſhould be, not onely there, but through the whole world. I have hitherto ſpoken but of *Europe*; for I am not well informed of *Aſia* and *Africa*: yet we hear that they are divided, and make War one upon another as we do, yea after a much beaſtlier ſort. For I know in this part of *Africa* bordering upon us, divers places where they ſell one another to the Chriſtians, as alſo well appeareth by the Portugals, who have bought and daily do buy of them many ſlaves. But I doubt how well we may upbraid this to the Sarracens, ſince in ſome part of Chriſtendom they do the like: notwithſtanding thoſe countries are either under the Turks Dominion, or next neighbours to him; as for example ſome part of *Greece*.

It ſeemeth then, that ſuch diviſions are requiſite through the whole World; and that theſe pricks and ſtings before ſpoken of, which God hath given every State, and in a manner every particular perſon, are neceſſary. And ſurely for my own opinion (ſpeaking as a man unlearned, and one that will maintain no opinion not to be maintained) I think they are neceſſary indeed, eſpecially becauſe of the Beaſtlineſs of ſome Princes, and the wickedneſſe of other ſome, who having wit and experience ſufficient, do notwithſtanding abuſe it. For a Prince or any other man, of what eſtate or condition ſoever he be having power and authority where he dwelleth over others, if he be learned, and have ſeen and read much, is thereby either much amended or empaired, for much learning maketh the evill worſe, and bettereth the good [5]: Notwithſtanding, it is to be preſumed that learning rather amendeth a man then empaireth him: for if men be but aſhamed of themſelves when they know they do evil, it ſufficeth either to keep them altogether from doing evill [6], or at the leſt from doing ſo much evill as otherwiſe they would. For although they be not good indeed, yet ſhame will cauſe them to make a ſhew of goodneſs: whereof I have ſeen divers examples of great perſonages, whom learning oftentimes hath withdrawn from doing evill, joyned with the fear of Gods puniſhments, whereof they have more underſtanding then ignorant men, which never ſaw nor read any thing. Wherefore thoſe Princes that know not themſelves, but lack wit, either becauſe they have been ill brought up, or becauſe Nature hath graffed folly in them, can never underſtand, how far the power and authority extendeth that God hath given them over their ſubjects. For they never read it themſelves, neither are informed of them that know it; nay few that underſtand it are admitted to their preſence; and if ſome one be, yet dare he not inſtruct them in it, for fear of diſpleaſure; or if happily at any time he put them in mind thereof, no man will abide him; at the leaſt, he ſhall be accounted but a fool, peradventure alſo it may be taken in ill part, and ſo turn to his diſpleaſure. But to proceed; It is manifeſt that neither naturall reaſon, neither knowledge, neither fear of God, neither love towards our neighbour, is ſufficient to keep us from uſing violence againſt others, from withholding other mens goods, nor from raviſhing by all means poſſible that which appertaineth to others. For if great Princes withhold Towns and Caſtles from their kinſfolks or neighbours, none of theſe reaſons can move them to reſtore them: and after they have given forth ſome colour, or forged ſome pretence to withhold them, all their ſubjects commend their proceedings, at the leſt ſuch as are near about them, and hunt after their favour. Of mean perſons that be at variance, I ſpeak not, for they have a ſuperiour, who ſometimes doth juſtice to the parties; at the leſt he that hath a good cauſe, and followeth it diligently, and defendeth it ſtoutly, and ſpendeth frankly, ſhall in proceſſe of time have right, unleſſe the Court, that is to ſay, the Princes authority under whom he liveth, be againſt him. Wherefore it appeareth moſt manifeſtly, that God is conſtrained and forced as it were of neceſſity to ſhew many examples among us, and to beat us with many rods, becauſe of our negligence, or rather wicked-

[5] The reaſon hereof read in *Ariſtot. Politic. lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. & *Problem. Anthonij Zimarae* 12.

[6] Shame cometh of knowledge, ſo that if a man do a fault, and for lack of learning know not that it is a fault, he can never be aſhamed of it, nor ſeek to amend it.

wickednesse: but in Princes especially negligence and ignorance is very dangerous, and much to be lamented, because the good or evill government of their Seigniories dependeth wholly upon them. For if a Prince, being Mighty, and having a number of Souldiers in ordinary, by whose means he levieth great summes of money at his pleasure, as well to pay them, as to spend in all kind of wantonnesse not necessary, will diminish none of this foolish and excessive expences; further if all men seek to flatter him, and no man dare shew him what is good, either for fear of displeasure, or because he knoweth it will not prevail: who can redresse this inconvenience but God alone? True it is, that God talketh not to men now as in times past, neither are there Prophets now adayes by whose mouth he speaketh: but his word is dispersed through the whole world, and well enough known to all those that will understand and know it; so that no man can excuse himself by ignorance, at the least none, that have had space and time to live, and are indued with naturall wit. How shall those Princes then escape that govern their Seigniories after such a sort, that by force they levy what they list, and by tyranny maintain their Authority, and hold their subjects in so great thraldome, that the least commandment they give toucheth life: Some punish under colour of justice, and have Lawyers ever at hand ready in all points to execute their commandments, and to make a deadly sinne of a veniall. If they have not matter enough against a man, they find means to delay the hearing of the cause, or the taking of the depositions to hold the party still in prison, or to undo him by charges, waiting continually, if any man will come to accuse him, that is thus held in prison, and to whom they wish ill. If this way be not collourable enough, nor speedy enough for their purpose, they devise other readier waies; alledging, that it was necessary to do thus and thus for examples sake, and make the case as hainous as pleaseth them: with others that hold of them, and be of some power, they go more plainly to work; saying, thou dost against thine allegiance, thou owest me, thou disobeyest me, and so proceed by force, to take from him, that is his, if they can, (if they do not, it is no thank to them) causing him to live in great trouble and unquietnes. Their Neighbours that be strong and mighty, they meddle not with; but if any be weak, he can rest no where for them: for either they say that he hath aided their enemies, or they make their men of Arms to live in his countrys, or buy quarrels to have colour to assault him, or find some occasion to destroy him by aiding his Neighbour against him, and lending him forces to invade him. Such of their Subjects as have been in authority, and served well their Predecessors, they put out of Office because they live too long, and place new men in their rooms. The Churchmen they encomber and trouble about their Benefices, to the end, they may thereby wring something from them, to enrich some one of their Darlings, at the suit oftentimes of those that have not deserved it, and at the request of such men and women, as at times can prevail much with them. The Nobility they hold in continuall travell and charge under colour of their wilfull wars, which they take in hand without the counsell or advice of their Estates, and of such as they ought to make privy thereunto before they attempt them: for these be they that spend both goods and lives in the wars; wherefore it is reason they should understand the cause of them before they begin. Their subjects they pole in such sort that they leave them nothing; for notwithstanding that they pay them taxes and subsidies above their ability, yet seek they not to redress the disorder of their men of Arms, which live continually upon the people without payment, doing besides infinite mischieves and injuries, as all the world knoweth. For they are not contented with such chear as they finde in the husbandmans house and is set before them; but beat also the poor men, and constrain them to go forth to buy them wine, bread, and victuals: and if the goodman have a fair Wife or a Daughter, he shall do wisely to keep her out of their sight. Notwithstanding, seeing these men of armes are duly paid, this inconvenience might easily be redressed, and order given, that their pay should be made at every two moneths end at the furthest; so should they not be able to alledge any pretence of their mischievous doings under colour that they want pay; for the money is levied, and at the years end there is not one penny owing them. I speak this for our realm, which is more afflicted and plagued of these men with arms, then any other Country that I know. But none can redress this inconvenience but a wise Prince, other Realms bordering upon us, have other scourges. Wherefore to conclude this discourse, is there any King or Prince, that hath power to levy one peny upon their Subjects besides his demaines without leave and consent of those that must pay it unlesse, it be by tyranny and violence? A man will say, that sometime the Prince cannot tarry to assemble his E-

states

ſtates, becauſe it would rrquire too long time. Whereunto I anſwer, that if he move a war offenſive, there needeth no ſuch haſte: for he may have leaſure enough at his own pleaſure to make preparation. And further, he ſhall be much ſtronger and much more feared of his enemies, when he moveth war with the conſent of his Subjects, than otherwiſe. Now as touching a war defenſive, that cloud is ſeen long before the tempeſt fall, eſpecially, when it is forraign war; and in this caſe, good ſubjects ought not to complain, nor to refuſe any thing that is laid upon them. Notwithſtanding ſuch invaſion cannot happen ſo ſuddenly, but that the Prince may have leaſure at the leaſt to call to gether certain wiſe Perſonages to whom he may open the cauſes of the war, uſing no colluſion therein, neither ſeeking to maintain a trifling war upon no neceſſity, thereby to have ſome colour to levy money. Money is alſo neceſſary, in time of peace, to fortifie the frontiers for defence of thoſe that dwell upon them, leaſt they be taken unprovided; but this muſt be taken meaſureably. In all theſe matters, the wiſdome of a ſage King ſufficeth; for if he be a juſt Prince he knows what he may do, and not do both by Gods law and mans. To be ſhort, in my opinion of all Seigniories in the world that I know, the Realm of *England* is the Country where the Commonwealth is beſt governed, the people leaſt oppreſſed and the feweſt buildings and houſes deſtroyed in civil war, and alwayes the lot of misfortune falleth upon them that be authors of the war.

Our King, is a Prince in the whole world that hath leaſt cauſe to alledge, that he hath priviledges to levy what he liſteth upon his Subjects, conſidering that neither he, nor any other Prince hath power ſo to do. And thoſe that ſay he hath, do him no honour, neither make him to be eſteemed any whit the mightier Prince thereby; but cauſe him to be hated and feared of his neighbours, who for nothing would live under ſuch a government. But if our King or thoſe that ſeek to magnifie or extoll him, ſhould ſay, I have ſo faithfull and obedient Subjects, that they deny me nothing I demand; and I am more feared, better obeyed, and better ſerved of my Subjects than any other Prince living, they endure patiently, whatſoever I lay upon them, and ſooneſt forget all charges paſt: this, I think, (yea I am ſure) were greater honour to the King, than to ſay; I levy what me liſteth, and have priviledges ſo to do, which I will ſtoutly maintain. King *Charles* the fifth uſed no ſuch termes, neither did I ever hear ſuch language proceed from any King, but from divers of their ſervants, who thought they did their Maſters great ſervice in uttering ſuch ſpeeches: but in my opinion they misbehaved themſelves towards their Prince, and uſed ſuch language, partly becauſe they would ſeem to be good ſervants, and partly becauſe, they knew not what they ſaid. But for a manifeſt proof of the French-mens loyalty and obedience to their Prince, we need alledge no other example than that we our ſelves have ſeen of late by experience; when the three Eſtates were aſſembled at *Tours*, after the death of our Maſter King *Lewis* the eleventh, which was in the year of our Lord 1483. A man might then have thought this good aſſembly to be dangerous for the Kings Eſtate; yea, and divers there were of mean calling, and leſſe honeſty, that ſaid then, and have often ſaid ſince, that it is treaſon to make mention of aſſembling the Eſtates, and a thing tending to the diminiſhing of the Kings authority: but themſelves are thoſe that work treaſon againſt God, the King, and the Common wealth: neither do any uſe theſe ſpeeches; but either ſuch as are in authority without deſert and unworthy thereof, or ſuch as are common tale-carriers, and accuſtomed to talke of trifling matters; or ſuch as fear great Aſſemblies, leſt their doings ſhould there be ripped up and reprehended. At this Aſſembly I now ſpeak of, all men, of what eſtate ſoever they were, thought the Realm much weakened and impoveriſhed, becauſe it had payed by the ſpace of twenty years or more great and exceſſive ſubſidies, yea ſo great, that they ſurmounted yearly by the ſum almoſt of three millions of Franks all ſubſidies that ever were levied in *France*, For King *Charles* the ſeventh levied yearly but eighteen hundred thouſand franks[7]: But King *Lewis* his Son levied at his death ſeven and forty hundred thouſand[8] beſides the charges of the Artillery and ſuch like expences. And ſure, it was a pittiful thing to behold the miſerable eſtate of the poor people. But one good property had the King our Maſter, that he hoarded up no treaſure, he took all, and ſpent all, and beſtowed more upon fortification of Towns and Places for the defence of his Realm, than all his Predeceſſors joyned together. He gave alſo much to Churches, but in ſome reſpect he had done better to have given leſſe: for he took from the poor to give to them that had no need. But there is no man perfect in the whole world.

Well, to proceed. Notwithſtanding that this Realm was ſo impoveriſhed and oppreſſed

[7] 1800000 franks are 225000 pound ſterling after eight ſouſe to the Engliſh ſhilling, and the French liver at two ſhillings ſix pence ſterling.

[8] 4700000 franks are 587500 pound ſterling.

sed divers wayes: did the people yet after the King our Masters death raise any sedition against the King that now is? the Nobility and Commons took they arms against their young King? went they about to choose another? sought they to diminish his authority, or to bridle him that he should not use the authority of a King? I think, No; and to say the truth, how could they? though divers glorious fools said, they might. But his Subjects did clean contrary; for they all repaired to him, as well Princes, as Gentlemen and Burgesses of good townes: they all acknowledged him for their King, and did him homage and fealty, and the Princes and Nobility presented their requests in writing, humbly kneeling upon their knees. Further, they chose among themselves a Council of twelve men, and the King, being but thirteen years of age, commanded upon report of the said Council. Moreover at this assembly certain supplications were made, and bills exhibited in the presence of the King and his Council, in great humility, for the Commonwealth of the Realm, referring all to the King and his Councils pleasure. They granted the King without any deniall all that was demanded, and all that was shewed in writing to be necessary for the maintenance of his estate. The sum the King demanded was two millions and a halfe of Frankes [9], which was enough and enough again, yea rather too much then too little, without some extraordinary accident. Further the said Estates humbly required, that at two years end they might assemble again; saying, that if the King had not money enough, they would give him more at his pleasure. They promised moreover, if he had wars, or that any enemy should invade him, to adventure their Bodies, to spend their Goods, and not to refuse any thing for his service. Are Subjects, that give thus liberally, to be choaked with privildges? whereby the Prince may take what him listeth; shall not the King do justlier, both before God and the World, to levy after this sort, rather then by extraordinary Will? seeing, no Prince, as I have said before, hath authority to command money but by grant; unlesse he will use tyranny, and incurre the danger of excommunication. But a number of Princes are ignorant not knowing, what is lawfull or unlawful for them to do in this behalfe Subjects there are also that offend their Prince and refuse to obey him, and succour him in time of need: yea, instead of aiding him, when he hath great affairs in hand contemn him and stir up rebellion and sedition against him, contrary to the allegeance that they owe him. When I say Kings or Princes, I mean, either themselves or such as govern under them: and when I say Subjects, I mean, such Subjects as have preheminence and bear Sway in the Commonwealth. The greatest mischiefes are wrought commonly by those that are mighty, for the weak desire peace and quietnesse. When I say mighty, I mean, as well women as men, sometime and in some places, where they have Rule and Authority, either because of their Husbands affection towards them, or because they govern their affairs, or for that their Seigniories are their Wives inheritance.

[9] That is 2500000 franks, which amounteth to 312500 pound sterling.

If I should write of men of mean calling in this World, my discourse would be too tedious. Wherefore it shall suffice to speak of great Estates, because in them the power and justice of God is most apparent. For although two hundred thousand mishaps chance to a poor man, no man regardeth them: but attributeth them, either to poverty or evill looking to; as for example if he be drowned, or break his neck, they say this chanced, because he was alone, so that hardly men will give ear to it. But if some misfortune fall upon a great City, it is otherwise talked of, yet not so much, as when it chanceth to a Prince, What is the reason then that God sheweth his justice rather upon Princes and great men, then upon men of low degree? because mean and poor men find enough in this world to punish them when they offend; yea oftentimes they are punished without desert; either for examples sake, or for their goods, or peradventure through the Judges fault: sometime also they deserve punishment, and then it is reason that justice be done. But as touching great Princes or Princesses, and their Governours and Counsellours: again as touching Provinces and Towns, rebellious and disobedient to their Princes and Governonrs, Who will search out their lives? Who will enform the Justice of their actions? What Justice will take notice thereof? or who will punish their Faults? I speak of the evill not of the good; but few there are of those. What is the cause then that moveth both them and all others to commit these faults above rehearsed, and many more (which for brevity I overpasse) not regarding the power and justice of God? I answer, that it is lack of Faith, and in those that are ignorant lack of Wit and Faith together, but especially of Faith, which in my opinion is the only Fountain of all mischiefs. I mean, of such mischiefs, as fall upon those that complain, that they are troden under foot, and oppressed by those that are mightier then they. For if men were fully perswaded, the pains

of

of Hell to be such as indeed they are, and believed firmly (as we ought all to believe) that he who so hath taken ought by violence, or possesseth ought that his Father or Grandfather took wrongfully, shall never enter into the joyes of Paradise, unlesse he make full satisfaction and restitution of all that he withholdeth from his neighbour; (whether it be Dutchies, Earldoms, Towns, Castles, Moveables, Medows, Ponds, or Mills, every man according to his Estate) there is no man living, be he Poor or Rich, or of what Estate or Condition so ever he be, that would withold ought that is not his own. No, if all men believed this firmly, it is not to be thought, that there is either Prince or Princesse, or any other man through the whole World, what estate or condition so ever he be of, be he High or low, Spiritual or temporall, Man or woman, that would wittingly withhold any thing from his Subject or Neighbour, wrongfully put any man to death, hold him in Prison, take from one to give to enrich another, or seek to procure dishonestly to his Kinsfolks, and Servants, for his wanton pleasures; as for women, and such like, which is the filthiest attempt that may be made. No, undoubtedly, we would never do as we do, if we had a stedfast Faith, and believed that which God and his Church commandeth us to believe, under pain of damnation: knowing our dayes to be short, and the pains of Hell horrible and endlesse. Wherefore we may conclude, that all mischiefs proceed from want of Faith. For example whereof, when a King or Prince is taken prisoner, and feareth to dye in prison, is there any thing in the world be it never so dear unto him, that he will refuse to give for his deliverance? as appeareth by King *John*, who being taken Prisoner by the Prince of *Wales*, at the battel of *Poictiers*, paid for his ransome three millions of franks, and yielded to the Englishmen all *Aquitain* (at the least all that he held in his hands) with a number of other Cities, Towns, and Places; yea in a manner the third foot of his Realm: whereby he brought his Realm into such poverty, that many years after they used leather mony, with a little stud or nail of silver in the middest thereof. And all this gave he and his Son King *Charles* sirnamed the *Wise*, for his ransome. And if they would have given nothing, yet would not the Englishmen have put him to death, but his greatest pain had been imprisonment. But admit they had put him to death, yet had not that pain bin so great by the hundred thousandth part, as the least pain in Hel. Why gave he then all this great ransome above rehearsed, destroying his Children and Subjects? but only because he believed that which he saw, and perceived well, that he could not otherwise be delivered. But peradventure when he committed the fault, for the which his punishment fel upon him, his Children, and Subjects; he beleived not firmly, that the Offence he made against God and his Commandments, should be punished. Now to conclude, there is no Prince, or very few, that will restore one Town they withhold from their Neighbour, for the love of God, or to eschew the pains of Hell; and yet King *John* gave all this to deliver his Body out of prison.

I asked a question before, who will search out great men's faults, who will inform the Justice of them, and who will be the Justice to punish them? Whereunto I now answer, that the information shall be the lamentable cry and complaint of their Subjects, whom they tyrannize and oppresse so many wayes without any compassion, the sorrowfull lamentation of Widowes and Orphans, whose Husbands and Fathers they have wrongfully put to death; by means whereof their Wives and Children have ever after lived in affliction and misery; and generally the complaints of all those, whom they have persecuted either in their Persons or Goods. These, I say, shall give information against them by their great mourning, wailing, and pitious teares, and shall accuse them before the Lord God, who will be the just Judge thereof, and peradventure will not delay the punishment till the world to come, but will also punish them in this world: which punishment proceedeth of lack of Faith, because they had not a firm and stedfast belief in Gods commandments.

We must therefore of necessity confesse, that God is forced to shew such tokens and examples, to the end both Princes themselves and all the world may believe, that these punishments fall upon them, for their misbelief and sins, and that God sheweth his mighty power and justice upon them, because none other in this world but he, hath power over them. At the first happily, they amend not their lives for Gods scourges, be they never so great and long. But no mis-fortune falleth upon a Prince, upon those that govern his affairs, or upon those that rule great commonalties, but the issue is hurtfull and dangerous to the subjects. When I say misfortunes, I mean none but such as cause the Subjects to smart; for to fall from a horse, to break a leg, to be punished with a sharp ague, are no misfortunes

misfortunes to a Prince, becauſe he may be cured of them, and peradventure, they may do him good, and teach him wit but: I call theſe misfortunes, when God is ſo diſpleaſed with a Prince, that he will no longer ſuffer him to reign, but will ſhew his power and juſtice upon him. For then firſt he weakeneth his wits, which is a ſhrew'd blow for all thoſe that have to do with him: he troubleth his Houſe and ſuffers it to fall into diviſion and diſquietneſſe; and the Prince himſelf is ſo far in Gods diſgrace, that he flieth the counſel and company of the wiſe, and advanceth none but young Fools, void of wit, Oppreſſors, Flatterers, and ſuch as ſooth him in all his ſayings. If he take one penny, they bid him take two; if he threaten a man, they bid hang him, and after that ſort in all other actions. Further, they give him counſell in any wiſe to cauſe himſelf to be feared, and they alſo behave themſelves cruelly and proudly, truſting by this means to hold men in awe of them, as though authority were their inheritance. Thoſe whom ſuch Princes, by the advice of theſe new Counſellours, have baniſhed and diſplaced, having ſerved many years, and being well acquainted and friended in their Country, will ſtorm at this uſage, and for their ſakes, their friends, and well willers alſo: and peradventure ſuch injury ſhall be offered them, that they ſhall be forced either to defend themſelves, or to fly to ſome Prince their neighbour, who perchance is enemy to him that baniſheth and chaſeth them, and ſo by inward diviſion ſtrangers ſhall enter into the land. Is any plague or miſery ſo great, as wars betwixt Friends and Acquaintance? Is any malice ſo ranke and deadly? As touching forreign enemies, when the Subjects are linked together, they may eaſily make reſiſtance, becauſe their enemies have no intelligence nor acquaintance in the Realm: think you that an unwiſe Prince being accompanied with Fools, can ſmel afar off how great a miſchief diviſion among his ſubjects is, or believe that it can hurt him? or proceedeth of God? he eateth and ſleepeth no wit the worſe for it, he hath neither fewer Horſes in his Stable, nor fewer Robes in his Wardrobe, but many more Companions. For he allureth men unto him by promiſes, and by parting among them the Spoils and Offices of thoſe whom he hath baniſhed; he giveth alſo of his own to win thereby fame and renown: but when he ſhall leaſt think of it, God will raiſe up an Enemy againſt him, whom peradventure, he never miſtruſted. Then will he wax penſive and ſuſpect thoſe whom he hath injured; yea, he will fear ſuch, as indeed bear him no ill will: yet notwithſtanding, he will not have his Refuge to God in this extremity, but ſeek to redreſſe this inconvenience by force. Have we not ſeen in our dayes examples hereof even among our next neighbours? Have we not ſeen the late King of *England*, *Edward* the fourth of that name, Heir to the Houſe of *Yorke*, utterly deſtroy the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, under the which, both his Father and he had lived many years; Further, the ſaid King *Edward*, having done homage to King *Henry* the ſixth, being of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, did he not afterward hold him priſoner many years in the Tower of *London*, the chief City of the Realm, where in the end he was put to death.

Have we not alſo ſeen the Earl of *Warwick* principall Governour of all the ſaid King *Edwards* affairs, (after he had put to death all his enemies, eſpecially the Duke of *Somerſet*) in the end become deadly enemy to the King his Maſter, give his Daughter in marriage to the Prince of *Wales* Son to King *Henry*, attempt to ſet up again the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, paſſe with the ſaid Prince into *England*, diſcomfited in the field, and ſlain, both he, his Brethren, and Kinſfolks, and divers other Noblemen of *England*, who, in times paſt, had done the like to their enemies? After all this the Children of theſe, when the world turned, revenged themſelves and cauſed in like manner the others to dy, which plagues we may be aſſured happened not, but by the wrath of God. But (as before I ſaid) the Realm of *England* hath this eſpeciall grace above all other Realms and Dominions, that in civil wars the people is not deſtroyed, the Towns be not burned nor razed, but the lot of fortune falleth upon the Souldiers, eſpecially the Gentlemen, whom the people envy too too beyond reaſon: for nothing is perfect in this World. After King *Edward* was quiet in his Realm, and received yearly out of *France* fifty thouſand crowns paid him in the Tower of *London*, and was grown ſo rich, that richer he could not be, he died ſuddenly, as it were of Melancholly, becauſe of our Kings marriage that now reigneth, with the Lady *Margaret* the Duke of *Auſtriches* Daughter. For ſo ſoon as he was adverti ſed thereof he fell ſick, and began then to perceive how he had been abuſed touching the marriage of his Daughter, whom he had cauſed to be named the Lady *Daulphinneſſe*. Then alſo was the penſion, which he received out of *France* taken from him, which he called tribute, although indeed it were neither the one or the other, as before I have declared

declared [10]. King *Edward* left by his wife two goodly Sons, the one Prince of *Wales*, the other Duke of *York*; and two Daughters. The Duke of *Glocester* his Brother, took upon him the government of his Nephew the Prince of *Wales*, being about ten years of age, and did homage to him as to his Sovereign Lord, and led him to *London*, pretending that he would there Crown him King, hoping by that means, to get the other Brother out of the Sanctuary at *London*, where he was with his Mother, who began already to be jealous of his proceedings. To be short: by means of the Bishop of *Bathe* (who, having been sometime of King *Edwards* Councill, fell afterward into his disgrace, and was put in prison, and made to fine for his deliverance,) the Duke of *Glocester* executed this exploit, which you shall now hear. This Bishop advertised the Duke, that King *Edward* being in love with a certain Lady, promised her marriage, upon condition that he might lie with her, whereunto she consented, so far forth that the said Bishop married them together, none being present but they two and himself. Which matter this Bishop, being a jolly courtier, never disclosed during King *Edwards* life, but caused also the said Lady to conceal it, so that it was kept secret. After this, the said King falling again in love, married the Daughter of an English Knight, called the Lord *Rivers*, being a widow, and Mother of two Sons. But after King *Edwards* death, this Bishop of *Bathe* revealed this matter to the Duke of *Glocester*, whereby he egged him forward not a little, to the executing of his mischievous pretended enterprise. For the said Duke murthered his two Nephews, crowned himself King by the name of *Richard* the third, proclaimed his Brothers two Daughters Bastards in open Parliament, took from them their arms, and put to death all the faithfull servants of the late King his Brother, at the least as many as he could lay hands on. But this cruelty remained not long unpunished: for when the said King *Richard* thought himself safest, and lived in greater pride then any King of *England* did these hundred years (having put to death the Duke of *Buckingham*, and having a great army in a readiness) God raised up an enemy against him of no force, I mean the Earl of *Richmond*, then prisoner in *Britannie*, but now King of *England*, of the House of *Lancaster*, though not the nearest to the Crown [11], whatsoever men say, at the least so far as I can learn. The said Earl told me, a little before his departure out of this Realm, that from the fifth year of his age, he had lived continually like a prisoner and a banished man. And indeed, he had been fifteen years or thereabout prisoner in *Brittain*, to the Duke *Francis* that last died, into whose hands he fell by tempest of the Sea, as he fled into *France*, accompanied with the Earl of *Pembrook* his Unkle. My self saw them when they arrived, for I was come of a message to the Duke at the same time. The Duke entreated them courteously for prisoners, and after King *Edwards* death, lent the said Earl great force of men, and a great Navy; with the which he sent him, having intelligence with the Duke of *Buckingham*, (who for this cause was afterward put to death) to land in *England*: but the winde was against him, and the Seas so rough, that he was forced to return to *Diepe*, and from thence by Land into *Brittain*. From whence, soon after he departed with his band into *France*, without taking leave of the Duke, partly because he feared to overcharge the Duke; (for he had with him five hundred Englishmen,) and partly because he doubted least the Duke would agree with King *Richard* to his prejudice: for he knew that King *Richard* practised with him to that end. Soon after, the King that now is, appointed three or four thousand men to waft him over onely, and delivered those that accompanied him a good summe of money, and certain peeces of Artillery: and thus passed he over in a Ship of *Normandy*, to Land in *Wales* where he was born. King *Richard* forthwith marched against him; but a Knight of *England*, called the Lord *Stanley*, who was married to the Earls Mother, joyned himself with the Earl, and brought unto him at the least 26000. men [12]. The Battell was given, King *Richard* slain, and the Earl crowned King in the field with the said *Richards* Crown. Will you say that this was fortune? No, no; it was the judgement of God: and for further proof thereof mark this also. Immediately after the King had murthered his two Nephews, he lost his Wife, whom some say he murthered also. Further, he had but one onely Son, who died in like manner incontinently after this murther. This example would have served better hereafter, when I shall speak of King *Edwards* death; for he was yet living at the time my former Chapter treateth of: but I have rehearsed it here, to continue my discourse which I am fallen into. In like manner we have seen of late the Crown of *Spain* altered, after the death of Dom *Henry* that last died. For the said Dom *Henry* had to Wife the King of *Portugals* Sister last deceased, by whom he had issue a goodly Daughter, which notwith-

[10] For it was due by the conditions of the treaty.

[11] How King *Henry* the 7th. was next heir of the house of Lancaster, the pedegree in the end of the work will declare, where also *Philip de Commines* error is controlled.

[12] Our Chronicles say but 3000. and some 5000.

 standing

ſtanding ſucceeded not her father, but was put from the Crown under colour of adultery committed by her Mother. But the matter ended not without great contention and War: for the King of *Portugal* took part with his Neece, and divers great Lords of *Caſtile* joyned with him: yet notwithſtanding the ſaid Dom *Henries* Siſter, Wife to the Son of Dom *John* King of *Arragon*, obtained the Crown and poſſeſſeth it yet at this day: and thus this partage was made in heaven, as divers others are. Further, you have ſeen of late days, the King of *Scotland* and his Son being thirteen years of age, in Battell the one againſt the other: the Son and his faction prevailed, and the King was ſlain upon the place [13]. This King murthered his own Brother, and was charged with divers other crimes, namely the death of his Siſter and ſuch like. You ſee alſo the Dutchy of *Gueldres* out of the right line, and have heard what impiety the Duke laſt deceaſed uſed againſt his Father. Divers other examples I could rehearſe, which ſhould manifeſtly appear to be puniſhments and ſcourges of God, which ſcourges are the principall cauſe of Wars, whereof inſue mortality and famine, all the which evils proceed from lack of faith. Wherefore I conclude, conſidering the wickedneſs of men, eſpecially of great men, who know not themſelves, neither believe that there is a God; that it is neceſſary for every Prince and Governor, to have an adverſary to keep him in fear and humility; otherwiſe no man ſhould be able to live under them or near them.

[13] This King that ſlew his Father in battell was *James* the 4th. who married *Margaret* Siſter to King *Henry* the eighth.

THE

THE SIXTH BOOK.

CHAP. I. *How the Dutchy of* Burgundy *was yielded to the King.*

NOw to return to the principal matter, and to proceed in this Hiſtory, written at your requeſt, my Lord of *Vienna*: while the K. brought under his ſubjection the places and Towns above-named in the marches of *Picardy*, his army lay in *Burgundy*, the Generall whereof in appearance, was the Prince of *Orenge* [1] that now is, who was born in the County of *Burgundy*, and a ſubject thereof; but lately revolted the ſecond time, from Duke *Charles*: wherefore the King uſed his help; for he was a great Lord, well friended, and well beloved both in the ſaid country, and alſo in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. But the Lord of *Cran* was the Kings Lievtenant, and he it was indeed that had the charge of the whole army, and in whom the King repoſed his principall truſt, and ſure he was a wiſe man and faithfull to his Maſter, but ſomewhat too greedy of his own gain. The ſaid Lord of *Cran*, when he drew near the country of *Burgundy*, ſent the Prince of *Orenge* before him with certain others to *Digeon*, to perſwade with the Citizens to become the Kings ſubjects: which enterpriſe ſo well they atchieved, by the ſaid Princes means, that the Town of *Digeon*, and all other places of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, yielded to the King; *Auſſonne* and certain Caſtles excepted, which held yet for the Lady of *Burgundy*. The King had promiſed the Prince of *Orenge*, many goodly eſtates, and to reſtore him to all his Grandfathers inheritance in the county of *Burgundy*: for the which he was in ſuit with the Lords of *Chauverguion* his Unkles [2], whom (as he ſaid) Duke *Charles* had favoured to his prejudice. For, this cauſe had been often pleaded before him with great ſolemnity, and once the Duke being accompanied with a number of Lawyers, gave judgment againſt the Prince, at the leaſt thus he reported: wherefore he forſook the Dukes ſervice, and went to the King. But Monſieur *de Cran*, after he was entred into all theſe Towns abovementioned, and had gotten into his hands all the beſt places, that ſhould deſcend to the ſaid Prince by right of inheritance, refuſed to yield them to him, notwithſtanding both the Kings promiſe, and the ſaid Princes requeſt. The King alſo wrote often to him about this matter, without all colluſion; knowing that he much miſuſed the Prince: notwithſtanding he feared to diſpleaſe the ſaid *de Cran*, becauſe he had the charge of the whole country, neither thought he that the Prince either would, or could have cauſed the country of *Burgundy* to rebell, as afterward he did, at the leaſt the greateſt part thereof. But I will here leave theſe Burgundiſh affairs, till another convenient place ſhall ſerve to ſpeak thereof.

[1] This Prince of *Orenge* was *John de Chaſſons*: the Prince of *Orenge* that now is, is of the houſe of *Naſſaw*. Look in the Epitome of *Guicciardins* deſcription of the Low countries, compiled by me, & there you ſhall ſee the Prince of *Orenges* pedegree.

[2] The old copy hath *Chaſteauguion*. *Annal. Burgund. Chaumergnon*. *Annal. Franc. Chauverguion*, and ſo undoubtedly it is to be read: for *Chaſteauguion* was brother to this Prince of *Orenge*. *Gaguin*.

CHAP. II. *How the King entertained the Engliſhmen, after the death of* Charles *Duke of* Burgundy, *to the end they ſhould not hinder his conqueſt of the ſaid Dukes Dominions.*

THoſe that hereafter ſhall read this Hiſtory, and happily underſtand the affairs both of this Realm, and the countries bordering upon it, better then my ſelf, will marvell, that ſince the death of Duke *Charles*, I have hitherto, by the ſpace almoſt of one whole year, made no mention of the Engliſhmen; and will wonder, that they ſuffered the King to take the Towns bordering ſo near upon them, namely, *Arras*, *Bolloin*, *Ardres*, and *Hedin*, with divers other Caſtles, and to lie ſo long with his Camp before Saint *Omer* [1]. But you ſhall underſtand, that the reaſon thereof was, for that our King in wiſdom and ſenſe, ſurmounted far *Edward* King of *England* then reigning: for notwithſtanding that the ſaid King *Edward* were a moſt valiant Prince, and had won in *England* eight or nine Battels; wherein he fought alwayes himſelf on foot, greatly to his renown; yet were theſe troubles but by fits, ſo that his head was not continually buſied in matters of State: for immediately after the Victory obtained, he returned to his former

[1] The King could not take Saint *Omer*, for the Lord of *Chanterain* valiantly defended it. Read *de la Marche lib. 2. cap. 9. pag.* 410.

ſports and pleaſures, till another ſtorm aroſe. For you ſhall underſtand, that when War beginneth in *England*, in ten dayes or leſs, the one or the other getteth the garland. But our affairs in *France* paſſed not after that ſort: for beſides the War it ſelf, the King was forced to have an eye continually upon divers places, as well of his own Realm, as of his neighbours; but eſpecially by all means poſſible to content the King of *England*, and to entertain him by Ambaſſadors, preſents, and ſmooth words, to the end he ſhould not entermeddle with our affairs. For the King knew well the Engliſhmen, as well Nobles and Commons as the Clergy, to be naturally inclined to make War upon this Realm, as well under colour of the title they pretend thereunto, as alſo in hope of gain. For they truſt to have ever ſuch ſucceſſe here as their predeceſſors have had, whom God permitted to obtain in this Realm many great Victories, and large Dominion, both in *Normandy*, and in *Guienne*, the which they had poſſeſſed by the ſpace of three hundred and fifty years [a], when King *Charles* the ſeventh firſt recovered it. During the which time they inriched the Realm of *England* with great ſpoils and much treaſure, that they got: as well of the Princes and Noble men of *France*, a great number of whom they took priſoners; as alſo of the Towns and places which they ſubdued. Notwithſtanding they ſhould hardly have had ſuch ſucceſſe in the King our Maſters time: for he would never have endangered his eſtate in Battell, as King *Charles* the ſixth did at *Agincourt*, where all the Nobility of *France* lighted on foot to fight with the Engliſhmen; but would have proceeded more warily, if the matter had come to execution, as you may perceive, by the courſe he held in ſending King *Edward* home. Wherefore the King well perceived, that he muſt in any wiſe keep the King of *England* and his principall ſervants his friends, whom he ſaw altogether inclined to quietneſs, and very greedy of his money: for the which cauſe he payed duely at *London*, the penſion of fifty thouſand crowns, which they called tribute. And further, gave yearly ſixteen thouſand crowns, to the ſaid Kings principall ſervants, whoſe names were theſe: the Lord Chancellor, the Maſter of the Rolls, who now is Chancellor, the Lord *Haſtings*, Lord great Chamberlain, a man of ſingular wiſdom and vertue, and in great authority with his Maſter, and not without cauſe, for he ever ſerved him faithfully; Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, the Lord *Howard*, afterward Duke of *Norfolk*, and partaker with the wicked King *Richard*, the Maſter of the Horſe, called Maſter *Cheiny*, Maſter *Challenger*, and the Marqueſſe Dorſet the Queen of *Englands* Son, by her firſt husband. Further, he gave goodly Preſents to all the Ambaſſadors that came to him, were their meſſages never ſo ſharp and bitter, and ſent them home with ſuch goodly words and Princely rewards, that they returned well contented. And notwithſtanding that ſome of them underſtood that he did all this only to win time, the better to atchieve his enterpriſe in the conqueſt of the Duke of *Burgundies* Dominions: yet winked they at it, becauſe of the great riches they received at his hands. To all theſe abovenamed, he gave beſides their penſions many goodly preſents, ſo largely, that the Lord *Howard* over and above his penſion, received of him in leſſe then two years ſpace in money and plate, four and twenty thouſand crowns. To the Lord *Haſtings* alſo, Lord great Chamberlain of *England*, he gave at one time a preſent of plate, to the value of ten thouſand marks. The acquittances of all which great perſonages, are yet to be ſeen in the Chamber of accounts at *Paris*, ſave of the Lord *Haſtings* Lord great Chamberlain of *England*, which is an high office, for there is never but one alone in it. This Lord Chamberlain was long entreated before he would become the Kings penſioner, my ſelf being the onely man that perſwaded him thereunto. For I wan him firſt to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundies* friendſhip, during the time I ſerved him, who gave him yearly a penſion of a thouſand crowns; whereof when I had advertiſed the King, he would in like manner that I ſhould be a means to make him his friend and penſioner: for in times paſt, during Duke *Charles* his life, and after his death alſo, in favour of the Lady of *Burgundy*, he had alwayes been the Kings extream enemy, and laboured once to perſwade the King of *England*, to aid the ſaid Lady againſt the King our Maſter. I began this friendſhip by Letters, and the King gave him a penſion of two thouſand crowns, which was double the ſumme he received of the Duke. Further, the King ſent to him one of the ſtewards of his houſe, called *Peter Cleret*, charging him, to bring with him, the ſaid Lord Chamberlains acquittance, to the end, hereafter it might appear, that the great Chamberlain, Chancellor, Admirall, Maſter of the Horſe of *England*, beſides divers others, had been the French Kings penſioners. The ſaid *Peter Cleret* was a wiſe fellow, and communed privily alone with the Lord Chamberlain at his lodging in *London*; where, after he had declared his meſſage from the King, he

[a] Others write but 295. others 296. and others 299.

he preſented him his two thouſand crowns in gold (for the King never gave but gold to ſtrangers) which money when the Lord Chamberlain had received, *Peter Cleret* humbly beſought him for his diſcharge, to give him an acquittance; wherein the ſaid Lord Chamberlain made difficulty. Then *Cleret* deſired him to give him onely a Letter of three lines to the King, to teſtifie the receit of the money, leaſt the King, being a ſuſpitious Prince, ſhould think that he had converted it to his own uſe. Which reaſonable demand, the Lord Chamberlain hearing, anſwered thus: Sir, you require but reaſon, but this gift proceedeth of the King your Maſters liberality, not of my requeſt; if it pleaſe you that I ſhall receive it, put it here into my ſleeve; and other Letter or teſtimoniall get you none of me. For I will not for my part, that any man ſhall ſay, that the Lord great Chamberlain of *England* hath been penſioner to the French King; nor that my acquittances be found in his Chamber of accounts. Whereunto, the ſaid *Cleret* replied not, but departed, leaving the money behind him; and at his return made report thereof to the King, who was not a little diſpleaſed with him, for that he brought no acquittance: but as touching the ſaid Chamberlain, he commended and eſteemed him more then all the King of *Englands* other ſervants, and his penſion was ever after payed without acquittance.

After this ſort lived the King with the Engliſhmen. Notwithſtanding the King of *England* was oftentimes earneſtly preſſed by this young Princeſſe for aid, and therefore ſent Ambaſſadors often to negotiate with the King our Maſter about theſe affairs, deſiring him to grant her either peace or truce. Now you ſhall underſtand, that thoſe that were at the debating of theſe matters in *England*, eſpecially in their Parliament, (which is an aſſembly of the three Eſtates, where divers wiſe men were preſent, that ſmelt our diſſimulation afar off, and received no penſion of the King as the others did) were very deſirous; and yet the commons of the Realm more deſirous, that the King of *England* ſhould ſend aid, without further delay, to the ſaid Lady: ſaying, that we here did but abuſe them, and that the marriage ſhould never be accompliſhed: alledging, that at the treaty made at *Picquigny*, between the two Kings, we had faithfully ſworn and promiſed, that the King of *Englands* Daughter, whom they already called the Lady Daulphineſſe, ſhould be ſent for into *France* within a year; which term was now long expired. But what reaſons ſoever the ſubjects made, the King would give no ear thereunto, but alledged divers reaſons to the contrary. And to ſay the truth, he was a very corpulent man and much given to pleaſures; neither could his body endure the toyl of the Wars. Further, he had wound himſelf out of great troubles, and was loth to enter into them again. The covetouſneſs alſo of the fifty thouſand crowns, yearly paid him in the Tower of *London*, qualified his mind. Beſides all this, his Ambaſſadors that came hither were ſo courteouſly entertained, and ſo well rewarded, that they departed ever well contented; but they never received any reſolute anſwer: for the King ſought onely to protract the time, ever ſaying, that ere it were long he would ſend to the King their Maſter, certain Noblemen, with ſuch aſſurance of thoſe matters he ſtood in doubt of, as he knew well would content him. According to the which promiſe, within three weeks or a moneth after theſe Ambaſſadors departure, ſometime more, ſometime leſſe, (which was no ſmall delay in ſuch a caſe) he uſed to ſend Ambaſſadors to the King of *England*: but at every voyage ſundry men, to the end, that if the former had made any overture not performed, the latter might plead ignorance therein. They alſo that were ſent, perſwaded ſo well the King of *England* that we meant nothing but good faith, that he lay ſtill, and never ſtirred: for both he and the Queen his wife ſo much deſired this marriage, that partly for this cauſe, and partly for the other reaſons above alledged; he was content to wink at this War, which ſome of his counſell told him plainly to be very prejudiciall to his Realm. But he feared the breach of this marriage, becauſe men began already to ſcoff at it in *England*, eſpecially ſuch as deſired rebellion and civill War. Now to diſcourſe a little upon this point. You ſhall underſtand that the King our Maſter never meant to accompliſh this marriage, becauſe there was no equality between the age of the two parties: for King *Edwards* Daughter, at this preſent Queen of *England*, was much elder then the Daulphin now reigning. But by theſe diſſimulations a moneth or two was gained in running to and fro, by which means, the King foaded forth his enemy one whole Summer, wherein he might have done him harm. For undoubtedly if the King of *England* had not hoped upon this marriage, he would never have ſuffered the King to take the places bordering ſo near upon the Engliſh Dominions, but have ſought to defend them: and if at the beginning he had declared himſelf for the Lady of *Burgundy*, the King who was by nature timerous, and would put nothing in adventure,

had never weakened this Houſe of *Burgundy*, as he hath. Thus much I write, chiefly to ſhew how theſe affairs paſſed; and ſecondarily, to the end, that if hereafter, thoſe that are to manage great affairs happen to read this Hiſtory, they may thereby learn how to help themſelves in the like caſe: for be their wiſdom never ſo great, yet a ſmall advertiſement doth good many times. True it is, that if this Lady of *Burgundy* would have conſented to marry the Lord *Rivers* the Queen of *Englands* Brother, ſhe ſhould have been aided with great force: but this had been an unequall match; for he was but a poor Earl, and ſhe one of the greateſt inheritours in her time. Many practiſes were entertained between the Kings of *France* and *England*; and amongſt others the King offered him, that if he would joyn with him and paſſe over in Perſon into the Lady of *Burgundies* Countries, he would be contented that the King of *England* ſhould hold the Country of *Flanders* without homage, and alſo the Dutchy of *Brabant*: offering further, to conquer for him at his proper coſts and charges four of the greateſt Towns in *Brabant*, and to put them into the King of *Englands* hands; to wage him ten thouſand Engliſhmen for four months; to the end, he might the better ſuſtain the charge of the wars, and to lend him great ſtore of Artillery, and men and carriage to convey it, and attend upon it, with this condition, that the King of *England* ſhould conquer the Country of *Flanders*, during the time the King our Maſter invaded on the other ſide. Whereunto, the King of *England* made anſwer, that the Towns of *Flanders* were ſtrong and great; and both that Country and alſo the Country of *Brabant* hard to be kept, if they were conquered: Adding further, that this war liked not the Engliſhmen, becauſe of their entercourſe with thoſe Countries. But ſeeing it pleaſed the King to make him partaker of his Conqueſt, if he would give him certain Towns he had already conquered in *Picardy*, as *Bolloin* and divers others, which he named, he would then be contented to declare himſelf for him, and ſend men to ſerve him, if he would pay them; which was a very wiſe anſwer.

CHAP. III. *How the Marriage, between the Lady of* Burgundy *and* Maximilian *Duke of* Auſtrich, *afterward Emperour, was concluded, and accompliſhed.*

Divers practiſes were entertained (as before you have heard) between theſe two Kings to delay time; but in the mean while the Lady of *Burgundyes* force ſtill diminiſhed: for of thoſe few men that remained alive after her fathers death, divers revolted from her to the King, eſpecially after Monſieur *de Cordes* was entred into his ſervice; for he led away a great troop with him: others, neceſſity forced to ſhrink from her, becauſe they dwelt either within the Towns the King had already conquered, or near unto them. Some alſo put themſelves into his ſervice to be enriched; for no Prince dealt ſo liberally with his men, as the King our Maſter did. Moreover, civil diſſentions and factions among themſelves increaſed daily in the great Towns, eſpecially in *Gaunt*, which bare the greateſt ſway in the Country, as you have heard. For the Lady of *Burgundy* divers marriages were mentioned; for all men were of opinion, that either ſhe muſt get her a Husband to defend that which ſhe yet held, or marry the Daulphin, thereby quietly to poſſeſſe all. Some deſired greatly that this marriage might take effect, ſhe her ſelfe eſpecially, before the King delivered the Letters abovementioned, ſent unto him by her Chancellor and the Lord of *Himbercourt*: but others diſallowed of this marriage, both becauſe of the ſaid Daulphins young age (for he was but nine years old) and alſo becauſe of the marriage promiſed in *England*: and theſe laboured for the Duke of *Cleves* Son. Others there were, that travelled for the Emperours Son, *Maximilian* now King of *Romans*. The ſaid Lady had conceived extream hatred againſt the King for delivery of the Letters abovementioned, which was the only cauſe of the two Noble mens death, and of the diſhonour ſhe received, when her Letters were openly re-delivered her before the Aſſembly, whereof you have heard. Further, the delivery of the ſaid Letters, ſeemed alſo to be the only occaſion, that moved them of *Gaunt* to baniſh ſo many of her Servants from her, to remove from about her, her Mother in Law, and the L. of *Ravaſtain*, and to put her women in ſuch fear, that they durſt not open a Letter before they of *Gaunt* had ſeen it, nor commune with their Miſtreſs in her ear: wherefore ſhe began now to remove from about her the Biſhop of *Liege*, who was of the houſe of *Bourbon*, and an earneſt Suiter for her mariage with

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the Daulphin, which ſure had been a very honourable match for her, had not the ſaid Daulphin been ſo young, notwithſtandiug the Biſhop had no regard thereof. To be ſhort, the ſaid Biſhop departed to *Liege*, whereupon every man gave over that ſute. It had been hard to deal in this buſineſſe to the contentation of all parties, and, I think, who ſo ſhould have intermeddled in it, ſhould have had but ſmall thank for his labour in the end: wherefore every man forbare to ſpeak therein. Notwithſtanding, before her marriage was fully concluded, there was an Aſſembly held about it, whereat the Lady of *Hallevin*, the Princeſſe of *Burgundies* principall woman, was preſent, who ſaid (as I have heard reported) that they had need of a Man not a Child, and that her Miſtreſſe was a Woman grown and able to bear children, which ſhould be the only ſtay of the Country. This opinion took place, notwithſtanding ſome blamed this Lady for ſpeaking thus frankly; but others commended her, ſaying, that ſhe had ſpoken but of ſuch marriage, as was moſt neceſſary for the eſtate of the Country. There was now no more to do but to find a fit man, And, I think verily, if it had ſo pleaſed the King, ſhe would willingly have married the Lord of *Angouleſme* that now is[1]; ſo much deſired ſhe to continue her alliance with the Houſe of *France*. But God was minded to make another match, whereof peradventure the ſequell is yet unknown. Notwithſtanding this, we are able to ſay, by that is already paſt, that of the ſaid marriage many great wars have riſen both here and there, which perchance had never happened, if ſhe had married the Lord of *Angouleſme*: whereas by reaſon of this other match, both the Countries of *Flanders* and *Brabant* have ſuffered great afflictions. The Duke of *Cleves* was at *Gaunt* with the ſaid Lady, making friends there, in hope to conclude a marriage between her and his Son: But ſhe had no fancy thereunto; for both ſhe and thoſe that were about her, miſliked much his Sons conditions. Wherefore ſome began to motion a marriage between her and the Emperors Son now King of the Romans, the which in times paſt had been ſo far forth treated of between the Emperor and Duke *Charles*, that it was concluded between them two. Further the Emperour had a Letter written with the Ladies own hand by her Fathers commandment, and a ring ſet with a diamond: the contents of the which Letter were, that according to the pleaſure of her Lord and Father, ſhe promiſed to the ſaid Duke of *Auſtrich* the Emperours Son, to accompliſh the marriage concluded between both their Parents in ſuch manner and form as her ſaid Lord and Father ſhould appoint.

From the Emperour came certain Ambaſſadours to the ſaid Lady being at *Gaunt*, who received Letters at *Buxels*, commanding them to ſtay there, becauſe Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent thither to treat with them, which was the Duke of *Cleves* doings, who was loth of their comming and ſought to ſend them home diſcontented, But the ſaid Ambaſſadours paſſed forth that notwithſtanding, for they had good intelligence in the Ladyes Court, eſpecially with the Dowager of *Burgundy*, who was removed from the ſaid Lady, as you have heard, becauſe of the Letter abovementioned. She advertiſed them (as it was reported) that they ſhould not ſtay at *Bruxels*, notwithſtanding theſe Letters inſtructing them further, what they ſhould do at their comming to *Gaunt*; and aſſuring them that the ſaid Lady and divers about her were well diſpoſed to their ſute. The Emperors ambaſſadors followed her advice, and rid ſtraight to *Gaunt*, notwithſtanding the meſſage abovementioned. Wherewith the Duke of *Cleves* was not a little diſcontented, but he was not acquainted with the diſpoſition of the ſaid Lady, and her women. The Councill concluded, that theſe Ambaſſadors ſhould have audience, and their meſſage being heard, the Princeſſe ſhould bid them heartily welcome, and tell them that ſhee would take advice with her Council; which words being being uttered, ſhe ſhould withdraw herſelf without further communication: whereunto ſhe agreed. The Ambaſſadors, when Andience was given them, preſented their Letters and declared their meſſage, which was that her marriage had been concluded between the Emperour and the Duke of *Burgundy* her Father with her conſent; as appeared both by her Letters written with her own hand, which they there ſhewed, and alſo by the Diamond, which they ſaid ſhe had ſent and given in token of marriage. Moreover, the ſaid Ambaſſadors required her on their Maſters behalfe, that it would pleaſe her to accompliſh the ſaid marriage according to the Will and Promiſe both of her ſaid Lord and Father, and alſo of her ſelf. Further, deſiring her to declare before the Aſſembly there preſent, whether ſhe had written the ſaid Letter or not, and whether ſhe meant to perform her promiſe. Whereunto the ſaid Lady, without further deliberation, anſwered, that ſhe had ſent the ſaid diamond, and written the Letter by the commandement of her Lord and Father, and would perform all that was con-

[1] This was *Charls* Duke of *Angouleſme* father to King *Francis* the firſt.

contained therein. Then the Ambaſſadors gave her humble thanks, and returned with joyfull minds to their Lodging. But the Duke of *Cleves* was highly diſpleaſed with this anſwer, being clean contrary to her Councils reſolution, and told her that ſhe had done unadviſedly. Whereunto ſhe anſwered, that ſhe could do no otherwiſe, becauſe her promiſe was paſt, the which ſhe would not break. Which words the Duke hearing, and knowing divers about her to be of the ſame opinion, determined ſoon after to return home into his own Country and relinquiſh his Sute. Thus was this marriage concluded, for the accompliſhment whereof Duke *Maximilian* came to *Colen*, where certain of the Ladies ſervants met him, and brought him money; whereof, I think, they found him bare enough: for his Father was the hardeſt man either Prince or private man, that lived in his time. The ſaid Emperours Son, being accompanied with ſeven or eight hundred horſe, was conveighed to *Gaunt*, where the marriage was accompliſhed; which, at the firſt, was more unprofitable than profitable to the Ladies Subjects; for the Almains inſtead of bringing money with them, had money given them. Their number was not ſufficient to withſtand the Kings forces, and their conditions agreed not with her ſubjects manners; for they lived under rich Princes, which gave goodly Offices, kept honourable and pompous houſes both in furniture and fare, and had ſumptuous apparell both for themſelves and their ſervants: but the Almains are of a clean contrary diſpoſition, for they are rude fellows, and live groſſely.

I doubt not, but by ſage and wiſe advice, and by the ſpeciall grace of God, the Law Salick was ordained in *France*, which barreth Women from the Crown, to the end the Realm fall not into the hands of a ſtrange Prince and Nation. For neither the Frenchmen nor any other people can eaſily digeſt the government of a ſtranger. And to ſay the truth, there is no great Seigniory, but in the end the Dominion thereof remaineth to the naturall Country men, as appeareth by the Realm of *France*, a great part whereof the Engliſhmen poſſeſſed the ſpace of four hundred years; and yet now hold nothing therein, but *Calice* and two little Caſtles, the defence whereof coſteth them yearly a great ſum of money: the reſt they loſt much ſooner than they wan; for they loſt more in one day, than they got in a year. The ſelſe-ſame appeareth alſo by the Realm of *Naples*, the Ile of *Sicily*, and the other Provinces poſſeſſed by the French many years, where now is no memoriall of their being there, ſave onely their Anceſtours graves. For notwithſtanding, that men may away with a ſtrange Prince being wiſe, and accompanied with a ſmall train well diſpoſed; yet can they hardly digeſt a great number of ſtrangers: For if the Prince bring with him a great multitude, or ſend for great forces upon occaſion of wars, quarrels will ariſe between them and the Subjects of the Country, becauſe of the diverſity of their manners and conditions, and becauſe they will not forbear to offer the Subjects wrong, and are not be loved as the naturall Country men be: which inconvenience then hapneth eſpecially, when ſtrangers ſeek to have the higheſt Offices and Eſtates, and the Government of the affairs in the commonwealth. Wherefore a Prince, that goeth into a ſtrange Country, had need to be wiſe and carefull in ſetting all things in good order: for if he lack this vertue of prudence, which proceedeth eſpecially of the Grace of God, whatſoever other good parts be in him, all is but loſt; and if he live a mans age, both he and thoſe that live under him, ſhall taſte of great troubles, eſpecially in his old age, when his Subjects and Servants deſpair of amendment.

After this marriage above rehearſed was accompliſhed, their affairs amended not: for the Princes, were both very young, and Duke *Maximilian* for his part ſimple and of ſmall underſtanding, as well becauſe of his young years [a], as alſo, for that he was in a ſtrange country, and utterly unacquainted in his education with any matter of State. Laſtly, he wanted force ſufficient for any great exploit, ſo that for theſe cauſes theſe Countries fell into great miſeries, wherein they yet remain, and are like to remain. Sure, it is a grievous Plague, when a Province is forced to ſeek a ſtrange Prince to govern it. Wherefore God hath ſhewed great grace to the Realm of *France* by the Law abovementioned, which barreth Women from the Crown: for by ſuch marriages with ſtrangers a private houſe (I confeſſe) may be inriched, but in a great Realm ſuch as this, many inconveniencies ſhould thereof inſue. Soon after this marriage accompliſhed, or while they were treating thereof, the King wan the Country of *Artois*. It ſufficeth me to rehearſe the ſubſtance of theſe affairs, and if I fail otherwhiles in the exact computation of the time a moneth or two, I truſt, the Readers will hold me excuſed. The Kings good ſucceſſe daily increaſed; for no man withſtood him: by means whereof he won eve-

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[a] *Maximilian* was born the 29 of *March* 1459, and this marriage was accompliſhed in *Auguſt* 1477 *Introduct. de la Marche*, ſo that he was eighteen years old and ſix months when he was married.

every day ſome place or other, unleſſe truce or ſome overture of peace were made: which notwithſtanding could never be brought to concluſion, becauſe both the parties were unreaſonable. Wherefore the War continued ſtill. Duke *Maximilian* and the Lady of *Burgundy* had iſſue the firſt year Archduke *Philip*, now living [3]. The ſecond year they had a Daughter called *Margaret*, now our Queen [4]. The third year they had a Son named *Francis*, of *Francis* Duke of *Britain* [5], who Chriſtned him. The fourth year ſhe died [6] with a fall from her horſe [7], or of an Ague: but true it is that ſhe fell, and ſome ſaid ſhe was with child. Her death was a great loſſe to her ſubjects, for ſhe was a vertuous and liberall Lady, wel-beloved of her people, and more reverenced and feared of them then her husband; and no marvell, for ſhe was Lady of the Land. She loved her husband entirely well, and was well reported of all men. She died in the year 1482. The King held in *Hainault*, the Towns of *Quiſnoi-le Counte*, and *Bonchain*, the which he reſtored again, whereat divers wondered, conſidering that he ſeemed not deſirous of peace, but rather to take all, and leave this houſe of *Burgundy* nothing. And ſure, I think, if he could eaſily have diſperſed and given away all the ſeigniories thereof, he would utterly have deſtroyed it indeed. But two cauſes there were, as he afterwards told me, that moved him to render theſe places: the one he ſaid, that a King ought to make more account of places of force and defence within his own Realm, where he is anointed and ſacred, then of thoſe that were out of his Realm, as theſe two were. The other was, becauſe of the ſolemn Oath and League, that is between the Kings of *France* and the Emperours, that they ſhall not incroach the one upon the other, and theſe places abovementioned were ſcituate in the Empire, and were reſtored, the year 1477. The ſame cauſe moved him to leave *Cambray* alſo, and to reſtore it to neutrality; and to ſay the truth, they received him into the Town under that condition.

[3] This is *Philip* Father to the Emperours *Charles* the fifth & *Ferdinand*: he was born the 22. of *June* 1478. and died the 25. of *September* 1506.

[4] This *Margaret* is ſhe whom they of *Gaunt* againſt her Fathers will betrothed to King *Charles* the 8. as *Commines* writeth in this book *cap.* 9. The ſaid King *Charles* never accompliſhed the marriage with her, but being grown to mans eſtate, ſent her home to her Father, as *Commines* writeth *lib.* 7. *cap.* 3. Afterward ſhe married the Prince of *Caſtile*, as is mentioned *lib.* 8. *cap.* 17. and laſtly, *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*. She was born *anno* 1480. *de la Marche*. [5] This *Francis* was born 1481. *Introduct. de la Marche*, he died a Child; and another Son alſo, as other Hiſtoriographers report, named *George*. [6] Or rather the fifth, for ſhe was married *anno* 1477. and died 1482. as our Author in the 7th. chapter of this book reporteth. She was born *anno* 1457. and King *Lewis* chriſtned her, *Meyer Annal. Burgund.* [7] She died the ſecond of *March*, *anno* 1482. by reaſon, that through womanly baſhfulneſs, ſhe would not ſuffer her thigh which was broken with the fall from her horſe to be cured, but choſe rather to die.

CHAP. IV. *How King* Lewis *by the conduct of* Charles *of* Amboiſe *his Lieutenant, recovered divers Towns in* Burgundy, *which the Prince of* Orenge *had cauſed to revolt from him.*

THe Warre endured ſtill in *Burgundy*, where the King could not atchieve his enterpriſe, becauſe the Prince of *Orenge* being revolted from him, was made Lieutenant of the Burgundians, and had ſome aid of the *Almains* for his money, but not in favour of Duke *Maximilian*: for as touching him, there never came man into the Country for his ſervice, at the leaſt, during the time I now write of. But theſe Almains were certain bands of Swiſſers, that ſerved the Prince of *Orenge* as adventurers, not as *Maximilians* waged ſouldiers: for the Swiſſers are not friends, nor well-willers of the houſe of *Auſtrich*: other aid this Country of *Burgundy* had little, notwithſtanding, enough it might have had, if their payment had been good. And as touching aid, no man might better have given it, then Duke *Sigiſmond* of *Auſtrich*, Duke *Maximilians* Unkle [1], whoſe Dominions bordered upon theſe countries of *Burgundy*, eſpecially in the county of *Ferette*, which a few years before [2], he ſold for 100000. guildons, to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, and took it afterwards again without paying back the money, by the which title he yet poſſeſſeth it. He was a man of ſmall wiſdom and little regarded his honour, and in ſuch friends men find but ſmall relief. Further, he was one of thoſe Princes abovementioned, that underſtand nothing of their own affairs, further then it pleaſeth their ſervants to acquaint them with, who are ever plagued for their beaſtlineſſe in their age, as this Duke *Sigiſmond* was. For his ſervants during theſe Wars, made him take part with

1471.

[1] This *Sigiſmond* was not unkle to *Maximilian*, as other Hiſtories report, but coſin-german to his Father: for *Erneſtus* Father to the Emperour *Frederick*, and *Fridericus Senior* this Duke *Sigiſmonds* Father were Brethren, Sons to *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtrich*, ſlain in a batell by the Swiſſers, *anno* 1386.

[2] Others write, that the money was paid to a Merchant of *Baſil* for the Duke of *Burgundies* uſe, and the payment ſignified to the ſaid Duke, who would not accept it, unleſs it were paied at *Bezanzon*.

whom

whom they liſted; ſo that for the moſt part, he joyned with the King our Maſter againſt his Nephew, and would have given his inheritance, being very large, from his own kindred to a ſtrange houſe: for he never had Child, notwithſtanding that he were twice married. But now within theſe three moneths, by the perſwaſion of another Faction of his ſervants, he had conveighed a preſent eſtate of his whole patrimony, to the ſaid *Maximilian* his Nephew King of Romans, reſerving to himſelf a penſion onely amounting to the third part of his revenues, without any further power or authority in the country. But (as I have heard) he hath often repented him thereof; and if I have heard a lie, yet it is like enough to be true. Such is the end of all Princes that live like beaſts, againſt whom I inveigh thus vehemently, becauſe of the great office and charge that God hath given them in this world. Notwithſtanding thoſe that are bereft of their wits, ought to be free from all reproach; but ſure thoſe that have good wits and healthfull bodies, and yet employ their time in nothing but folly and idleneſs, are not to be moaned when any misfortune falleth upon them: as on the other ſide, thoſe that ſpend their time according to their age, ſometime in Wiſdom and Counſell, and ſometime in honeſt Recreation, are greatly to be commended, and happy be the Subjects that live under ſuch a Prince.

This War in *Burgundy* endured long, becauſe of the Swiſſers ſmall aid abovementioned; notwithſtanding the Kings force was much too ſtrong for them: beſides that, the Burgundians lacked money; for the which cauſe, the Garriſons that were in the ſtrong places turned by intelligence. Monſieur *de Cran* the Kings Lievtenant there, laid the ſiege before *Dolle* the chief City of the country of *Burgundy*, the force within it being ſo ſmall, that he deſpiſed it, which turned to his loſſe: for they ſallied forth, and aſſaulted him on a ſudden, and took part of his Artillery, and ſlew certain of his men, which was a great diſhonour to him, and put him alſo into the Kings diſgrace, who being troubled with this accident, determined to ſend a new governor into *Burgundy*, partly becauſe of his misfortune, and partly becauſe of the great pillings & pollings the ſaid *de Cran* had uſed in the country, which were indeed too exceſſive. Notwithſtanding before his departure, he overthrew a band of Almains and Burgundians, and took priſoner Monſieur *de Chaſteauguion* [4], the greateſt Lord in *Burgundy*. Other exploit, none was done, that I have heard of, notwithſtanding the report went, that the ſaid *de Cran* behaved himſelf there very valiantly, as touching his own perſon. The King (as before I ſaid) determined for the reaſons above alledged to place a new governor in *Burgundy*, not diminiſhing any whit of the ſaid *de Crans*, profits, offices, or eſtates, ſave onely that he took from him all his men of arms, except half a doſen, or a doſen archers, left to accompany him home. This Monſieur *de Cran* was a very groſſe man, and willingly departed to his own houſe, where he lived at eaſe. The King placed in his room Maſter *Charles* of *Amboiſe* Lord of *Chaumont*, a valiant, wiſe, and diligent Gentleman. Moreover, he practiſed to win all the Almains that made War againſt him in *Burgundy*, to his ſervice, not ſo much to uſe their help, as thereby to conquer the eaſilier the reſt of the country. The King ſent alſo to the Swiſſers, whom he called the Lords of theſe *Almain* Leagues, making them many goodly offers; for he promiſed a yearly penſion of 20000. franks [5] to their Towns, which be four, *Bern*, *Lucerne*, *Zurich*, and I think *Fribourg* was the fourth. Their Cantons alſo, as I ſuppoſe, received part of this penſion, which be three Villages ſcituate in the mountains, namely Swiſſe, (whereof the whole country is named;) *Soleurre* and *Ondrevall*: other 2000. franks he promiſed yearly to the ſaid Swiſſers governors, and to certain particular men that ſhould further his affairs. Moreover, he enrolled himſelf one of their Burgeſſes, and deſired to be their principall confederate, and to have writings thereof; wherein though they made ſome difficulty at the firſt, becauſe the Duke of *Savoy* had ever been their chief confederate; yet in the end they granted him his demands, and promiſed to ſend continually to his ſervice ſix thouſand men, under this condition, that their entertainment ſhould be monethly four Gildons and a half, which band continued in pay till the Kings death [6]. A poor Prince had not been able to do this, but ſure it turned greatly to the Kings profit, though in the end I think it will be their deſtruction. For now they flow ſo with money, eſpecially with gold (wherewith before they were unacquainted) that they are ready to fall at variance among themſelves, otherwiſe no man ſhould be able to annoy them. For their country is ſo poor, and ſo full of mountains, and themſelves ſo good Souldiers, that few would ſeek to invade them. After theſe treaties were ended, and all the *Almains* in *Burgundy* won to the Kings ſervice, the Burgundians force was clean broken.

[4] This was the Prince of *Orenges* brother, who came to levy the ſiege that Monſieur *de Cran* held before *Gay*, where he had beſieged the ſaid Prince of *Orenge*. With him, were ſlain fourteen or fifteen hundred.

[5] Before *lib.* 9. *cap.* 2. he reporteth theſe 40000. franks to be florens, and ſo in my opinion it ſhould be read here.

[6] When theſe Swiſſers began firſt to be entertained, then were the frank archers caſſed, which was *anno* 1480.

To

To be ſhort, after diverſe new enterpriſes atchieved by the governor, the Lord of *Chaumont*, he beſieged *Rochfort* a Caſtle near to *Dolle*, defended by Maſter *Claude de Vandray*, and yielded by compoſition. Afterward he beſieged the Town of *Dolle*, from the ſiege whereof his predeceſſor in this office was raiſed (as before you have heard) and took it by aſſault. The report was, that ſome of theſe Almains lately received into the Kings ſervice thought to have entred the Town to defend it; but ſo many frank archers thronged in with them, not underſtanding their treaſon, but onely for deſire of gain, that after they were once entred, they fell all to the ſpoil, and burned and deſtroyed the Town. A few dayes after the taking whereof, the governor beſieged *Auſſonne*, a very ſtrong Town, but he had good intelligence within it. And before he brought the ſiege thither, he writ to the King, deſiring that the offices of the Town might be beſtowed upon certain whom he named: which requeſt was forthwith granted. Although I were not preſent at theſe actions, yet underſtood I of them, both by the reports made thereof to the King, and alſo by the Letters written to him; which oftentimes my ſelf peruſed to make anſwer thereunto by his commandment. The force within *Auſſonne* was but ſmall, and the Captains had intelligence with the governor, by means whereof, within five or ſix dayes the place was yielded. Thus was all *Burgundy* conquered, ſave three or four Caſtles ſcituate upon the mountains, namely *Ien*, and certain others, and the Town of *Bezanſon* which is imperiall, not ſubject to the county of *Burgundy*, but environed therewith; and therefore at the commandment of the Prince thereof. The governor entred into it for the King, and came forth again; they of the Town doing unto him all ſuch ſervices, as they were accuſtomed in times paſt to do to the Princes of *Burgundy*. Thus was all *Burgundy* ſubdued by the governors great diligence, whereunto the King earneſtly preſſed him, doubting that he would leave ſome place unconquered, to the end his help might be needed there ſtill, and he not be called from thence to ſerve the King in ſome other place. For *Burgundy* is a fruitfull country, whereof he diſpoſed as of his own; ſo that both the Lord of *Cran* before named, and this governor alſo, filled their bags well there. The country remained quiet a while, under the government of the ſaid Lord of *Chaumont*: notwithſtanding certain places, namely *Beaune*, *Verdun*, and others, rebelled ſoon after: at the which time my ſelf was there, ſent thither by the King, with the penſioners of his houſe, who never had Captain over them before, but ſince continually. The ſaid places above-rehearſed, were ſoon recovered by the wiſdom and conduct of the governor, and by his enemies lack of conduct and good order. Whereby you may perceive, what difference God of his goodneſs hath ſet between man and man: for to that part which he meaneth to protect and defend, he giveth the wiſeſt men, and likewiſe wiſdom to thoſe that are in authority to employ the wiſeſt. Further, he hath alwayes ſhewed, and doth daily ſhew himſelf in all things, a defender and protector of our Kings, not onely of our Maſter that dead is, but of the King likewiſe now reigning, notwithſtanding that ſometime they taſte alſo of his ſcourges. They that loſt again theſe Towns thus revolted, were of force ſufficient to have defended them, if they had with ſpeed put themſelves into them: but through their negligence they gave the governor leiſure to levy men, which was great folly; for they knew well enough his eſtate, conſidering the great favour all the country bare them. Wherefore they ought to have entred with ſpeed into *Beaune*, being a ſtrong Town, and of defence, as the others were not. The ſelf-ſame day that the governor went to beſiege a little beggerly Town called *Verdun*, being well enformed of the ſtate thereof, theſe Burgundians entred there, minding to put themſelves into *Beaune*. They were ſix hundred choiſe men, horſmen and footmen, partly Almains, and partly of the County of *Ferette*, led by certain expert Gentlemen of *Burgundy*, of the which *Simon* of *Quingy* was one. But they ſpent time at *Verdun*, while they might have entred into *Beaune*, which the governor could never have recovered, if they had once been within it. But for lack of good counſell, they ſtayd a night too long in *Verdun*, where they were beſieged and taken by aſſault. Afterward *Beaune* was alſo beſieged, and all that was loſt recovered, ſince the which time our enemies were never of any force in *Burgundy*. I was at this preſent in the country with the Kings penſioners (as you have heard) from whence the King recalled me; becauſe of a certain Letter written to him, wherein he was advertiſed, that I forbare to lodge our men of arms in certain Burgeſſes houſes of *Dyjon*. This with another ſmall ſuſpicion conceived of me, cauſed him ſuddenly to ſend me to *Florence*: to which his commandment I obeyed, as reaſon was, and departed ſo ſoon as I had my diſpatch.

* The old copy raſeth *Verdun*, and hath ſerrure which the Latine call *Sonitor*, ſaying that both this and *Verdun* alſo rebelled.

CHAP. V.

CHAP. V. *How Monſieur* de Argenton, *during theſe Wars of the conqueſt of* Burgundy, *was ſent to* Florence, *and how he received homage of the Duke of* Milan *in the Kings name, for the Dutchy of* Genua.

MY Voyage into *Italy*, was about a quarrell that aroſe between two great Houſes, very famous in thoſe dayes, the one, the Houſe of *Medicis*, the other, the Houſe of *Pacci*, the which *Pacci* by the ſupportation of the Pope, and *Ferrande* King of *Naples*, thought to have ſlain *Laurence* of *Medicis*, and all his adherents: notwithſtanding of him they failed; but his Brother *Julian* they ſlew, in the great Church of *Florence*, and with him one called *Francis Noly*, a ſervant of this Houſe of *Medicis*, who ſtepped forth before the ſaid *Julian* to ſave him. *Laurence de Medicis* being ſore hurt retired into the Veſtry of the Church, the doors whereof are of Copper, and were made by his Fathers commandment. A ſervant whom he delivered out of Priſon but two dayes before, did him good ſervice that day, and received many wounds for him. This murther was committed while high Maſs was ſung: for the time agreed upon for the execution was, when the Prieſt that ſung Maſſe began *Sanctus*. But the ſucceſſe of the enterpriſe anſwered not their expectation. For, ſuppoſing all to have been fully accompliſhed; certain of them went up to the Pallace, minding there to have ſlain all the Lords of the Town, being to the number of nine, which have the whole government of the City, and change at every three moneths end. But they that attempted this enterpriſe, were ill followed by their companions, by means whereof when they came to the top of the Pallace ſtairs, one ſhut a door after them: whereupon, they ſeeing themſelves not paſt four or five, were aſtoniſhed, and wiſt not what to ſay; which the Lords of the Town that were above and their ſervants perceiving, looked out at the Windows, and ſaw all the Town in an uproar, and heard Maſter *James* of *Pacci*, with his companions, cry in the midſt of the Market-place before the Pallace, *Liberta Liberta*, and *Populo Populo*: which were words, whereby they thought to allure the people to take part with them, which notwithſtanding the people did not, but held themſelves quiet. Whereupon Maſter *James de Pacci* and his companions, ſeeing the ill ſucceſſe of their enterpriſe, fled out of the place as men aſtoniſhed. Which when the Lords and governors of the Town, being within the Pallace, perceived; they took immediately thoſe five or ſix that were come up ill accompanied, and ill followed, with intent to have ſlain them, and taken their government into their hands, and commanded them preſently to be hanged at the Bars of the Pallace Windows, the Archbiſhop of *Piſe*[1] being one of them. Further the ſaid governors perceiving all the City to take part with them and the houſe of *Medicis*: gave commandment forthwith, that all men, found flying, ſhould be ſtayed at the paſſages and brought back to the Town; at the which inſtant, Maſter *James* of *Pacci* was taken, and with him one ſent thither by Pope *Sixtus*, being a Captain of certain bands under the Earl *Hieronymo*, which Earl was alſo of the conſpiracy. The ſaid *Pacci* with his companions was in like manner immediately hanged at the Bars of the Pallace Windows: the Popes ſervant was beheaded; and beſides theſe, divers were taken in the Town, who were all handged in this heat, of the which *Francis de Pacci* was one. There was, as I gleſſe, hanged in all, fourteen great Perſonages, beſides certain ſervants ſlain in the Town. A few dayes after this uproar, I arrived at *Florence* from the King, having uſed great diligence after my departure out of *Burgundy*: for I ſtayed no where, but two or three dayes with the Dutcheſſe of *Savoy* the Kings Siſter, who entertained me very honorably. From thence I went to *Milan*, where I ſojourned alſo two or three dayes, and demanded aid of them to ſuccour the Florentines, with whom at that time they were in League, which my requeſt they willingly granted, both becauſe of the Kings demand, and alſo for their Leagues ſake, wherefore they ſent forth at that preſent three hundred men of arms, and ſoon after other bands. But to proceed: the Pope excommunicated the Florentines ſoon after this fact committed, and cauſed forthwith his own forces and the King of *Naples* forces to march. Their army was ſtrong and great, and they had in pay a number of good Souldiers. They beſieged firſt a little fort, near to *Senes*, called the Chaſtellenny, which they took, with divers other places: ſo that the Florentines were in great diſtreſſe: for becauſe they had lived long in peace, they were unacquainted

[1] This Arch-Biſhops name was *Francis Salviat*, and this uprore was the 27. of *April anno* 1478.

quainted with the Wars, neither underſtood the danger they were in. *Laurence de Medicis* their chief governor in the Town was but young, and ruled altogether by young men, yet the whole City reſted upon his opinion. Moreover, they had but few Captains, and their force was very ſmall: but the Generall of the Popes and King *Ferrand* of *Naples* army, was the Duke of *Urbin*, a valiant and wiſe Prince, and a good Captain. In their Camp were alſo the Lord *Robert* of *Arimini*, who ſince hath been a man of great eſtimation, the Lord *Conſtantine* of *Peſaro*, and divers others that accompanied the King of *Naples* two Sons, the Duke of *Calabria*, and the Lord Dom *Frederic*, (who are all yet alive;) beſides a great number of other valiant Souldiers. Thus they took all the places that they beſieged; but not ſo ſpeedily as we would have done in *France*, becauſe they underſtood not what appertained either to the ſiege or defence of a Town ſo well as we: But ſure as touching the leading of an army, and giving order both for Victuals and all other things neceſſary for a Camp, they paſſe us far. The favour the King ſhewed the Florentines ſtood them in ſome ſtead; though not ſo much as I wiſhed, but I had no forces there to aid them with, ſave onely my train. I ſtayed at *Florence* and in their Dominions about a year, altogether upon their charge: they uſed me very honourably, and till the laſt day, my entertainment rather amended then impaired. Then the King called me home, and as I paſſed through *Milan*, I received Homage for the Dutchy of *Genna* of the Duke of *Milan*, called *John Galeas*, at the leaſt of the Dutcheſs his Mother, who did Homage to me as the Kings Deputy, in her Sons name. From thence I returned to the King our Maſter, who received me very graciouſly, and acquainted me with his affairs more then ever before, and appointed we alſo to be his bedfellow, notwithſtanding that I were unworthy of that honour, and that divers others were fitter for that place then my ſelf: but he was ſo wiſe, that no man could fail to pleaſe him, if he executed his commandments, without adding ought thereto of his own brain.

CHAP. VI. *Of Monſieur* d' Argentons *return out of* Italy *into* France, *and of the Battell of* Guinegate.

AT my return, the King our Maſter looked ſomewhat aged, and his body was diſpoſed to ſickneſſe, but his diſeaſe brake not forth as yet. His affairs he governed with great wiſdom, and the War endured ſtill in *Picardy*, wherewith he was not a little diſcontented, as were his enemies alſo in the ſaid country: but they could not remedy it. The Duke of *Auſtrich* now King of Romans, having the Flemmings this year at his devotion, laid the ſiege before *Theroüenne*: but Monſieur *de Cordes* the Kings Lievtenant in *Picardy*, levied all the forces the King had in that country, and the frontiers thereabout, to the number of eight thouſand frank archers, and went to ſuccour the place. Whom when the Duke of *Auſtrich* perceived to approach, he levied his ſiege, and marched againſt him: the two armies met at a place called *Guinegate*. The Duke had of Flemmings the number of twenty thouſand or better and certain Almains together with three hundred Engliſhmen, led by an Engliſh Knight that had ſerved *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, called Sir *Thomas Abrigan*. The Kings horſmen being much ſtronger then their enemies, brake the Dukes horſmen, and purſued them, and Maſter *Philip* of *Ravaſtain* their Captain as far as *Ayre*, whereupon the Duke joyned himſelf with his footmen. The King had in this army at the leaſt eleven hundred men of arms of his ordinary retinue[1]: all the which followed not the chaſe; but Monſieur *de Cordes* who was Generall did, and Monſieur *de Torcy* with him, which was a valiant deed, but againſt the Law of arms: for the Captains of the vaward and rereward ought not to follow the chaſe. Some of the Dukes horſmen retired, under colour of defending the ſtrong places; but others fled in good earneſt. The Dukes footmen fled not, yet were they upon the point ſo to do; but they had with them on foot, two hundred valiant Gentlemen their leaders, among whom were the Lord of *Romont*, of the houſe of *Savoy*, the Earl of *Naſſaw*, and divers others yet living. The courage of theſe Gentlemen ſtayed the footmen, which was a wonder, conſidering they ſaw their horſmen broken. The Kings frank archers fell to ſpoil the Dukes carriage, and the ſtraglers that followed it, as Victuallers, and ſuch like: but certain of the Dukes footmen

[1] The old copy ſaith but 500. men of arms.

set upon them, discomfited them, and slew some of them. The Dukes losse was greater then ours; for more of his men were taken, and more slain[a]: but the honour of the field was his. And I think verily if he had returned to *Theroenne*, he had not found a man neither in it nor in *Arras*; and it was greatly to his losse, that he durst not attempt so to do. But in such cases, men are not alwayes enformed of the best: and to say the truth, great cause he had to fear that enterprise. I speak of this Battell but by hearsay; for I was not present at it: notwithstanding to continue the order of my History, somewhat I was forced to write thereof. I was with the King when this news was brought him, which undoubtedly nipped him at the very heart; for he was not accustomed to lose, but had such successe in all his attempts, that fortune seemed to be at his commandment, which undoubtedly his wisdom greatly furthered. For he would hazard nothing, neither feared any thing more then a Battell; and as touching this now mentioned, it was fought without his knowledge. His armies he made so strong, that few Princes were able to encounter them; he was better furnished of artillery, then any King that ever reigned in *France*; he attempted alwayes to take places upon a sudden, especially such as he perceived to be ill fortified; which after he had once gotten, he furnished so well both of men and artillery, that it was impossible for his enemies to recover them. Further, if the Captain of any strong place, or any other within it would practise to yield it for money, he was sure of a copes mate, neither would he shrink, were the summe demanded never so great, but liberally give it. He was afraid at the first when news was brought him of this Battell, supposing the truth had not been told him, but that his whole force had been overthrown, knowing, if it were so, all to be lost that he had conquered over this House of *Burgundy* in those parts, and the rest in great danger: but when he understood the truth, he took the matter patiently, and was well enough contented with Monsieur *de Cordes*. Notwithstanding he purposed to give order, that no more such enterprises should be attempted without his knowledge. From this day forward he resolved to treat of peace with the Duke of *Austrich*, so that it might be wholly to his own advantage, and that he might thereby so bridle the said Duke, by means of his own proper subjects (whom he knew to be inclined to practise against their Prince) that he should never be able to do him harm. Moreover, he was very desirous to redresse all disorders in his Realm, especially the long delayes of processe's and suits in Law, which thing the better to compasse, he minded to bridle the Court of Parliament, not by diminishing their number or authority, but many things were done there against his mind, for the which he hated it. He was also desirous to reduce his whole Realm to one custom, and one kind of weight and measure: and further, that all the Laws and customs should be written in the French tongue, in a fair Book, to avoid the pillings and pollings of the Counsellors in Law, which are more excessive in this Realm then in any other, as the Nobility hath good cause to know. And undoubtedly if God had spared him life and health five or six years longer, he would have done much good in the Realm, as great cause he had to do; for he had more oppressed it, then ever had any of his predecessors: but neither authority nor perswasions could have won him to unburden his people till it had come of it self, as in his latter dayes sure it would, if God had preserved him from sickness. Wherefore it is requisite to do good while a man hath leisure, health, and understanding. The treaty the King desired to make with the Duke and Dutchesse of *Austrich*, and their Dominions, was this: He meant by means of the Citizens of *Gaunt*, to treat of a marriage between the Daulphin his Son, now our King, and the Daughter of the said Duke and Dutchesse, under these conditions, that if the marriage were accomplished, they should permit him quietly to enjoy the Counties of *Burgundy*, *Auxerrois*, *Masconnois*, and *Charolois*; and he for his part would restore unto them *Artois*, reserving only to himself the City of *Arras*, in such sort as he had fortified it: for the Town was now nothing worth, considering the fortification of the City. For before the King took *Arras*, the Town was fortified with ditch and rampart against the City; but now the City was fortified against the Town, and held for the King by the Bishop: wherein the King did contrary to the Princes of this house of *Burgundy*. For they alwayes, at the least by the space of these hundred years, made Bishop whom they listed, and placed a Captain in the Town besides: but the King to increase his authority did clean contrary, and caused also the Town Walls to be beaten down, and the City to be fortified: so that now the City shutteth upon the Town, a great ditch being between both. Wherefore the King indeed offered nothing; for who so hath the City, hath the Town at commandment.

[a] There were slain at the Battell of *Guinegate* 11000. Burgundians, and 5000. French. *Gaguin.*

Of

Of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the County of *Bollion*, the Towns ſcituate upon the River of *Som*, the Territories of *Peronne*, *Roy*, and *Montdidier* no mention was made. After theſe Overtures were once ſet on foot, they of *Gaunt* furthered them to the uttermoſt of their power and uſed very rudely the Duke and Dutcheſſe his Wife, as did alſo divers other great Towns of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, which were fully bent to follow the proceedings of them of *Gaunt*, eſpecially *Brucels*, which was grown ſo wealthy, becauſe of the continuall reſidence that Duke *Philip*, and Duke *Charles*, had made there: (as did alſo at this preſent the Duke and Dutcheſſe of *Auſtrich*) that the wealth and quietneſſe, wherein they had lived under theſe two Dukes abovenamed, made them forget God, and their duty to their Prince: ſo that they procured to themſelves that misfortune, which afterward, as you have ſeen, fell upon them.

CHAP. VII. *How King* Lewis, *being viſited with ſickneſſe, loſt his wits, and lay ſpeechleſſe; ſometime recovering, and oftentimes falling into his diſeaſe again: and how he behaved himſelf in his Caſtle of* Pleſſis *near to* Tours.

ABout this time, in the year 1479, in the month of *March*, Truce was made between theſe two Princes. The King was very deſirous of Peace eſpecially in thoſe parts, ſo that it might be altogether for his advantage. For he began now to wax old, and ſickly; ſo far forth, that once, being at dinner at *Forges* near to *Chinon*, he was ſuddenly taken in all parts of his body, and loſt his ſpeech: he was lifted up from the Table and held to the fire, and the Windows ſhut; to the which notwithſtanding that he deſired to go, yet ſome of his friends held him, and would not ſuffer him ſo to do, meaning all for the beſt. This diſeaſe took him in the year of our Lord 1480, in the month of *March*: He lay altogether ſpeechleſſe, he knew no man, and his memory was wholly taken away. At the which inſtant you (my Lord of *Vienna*) came thither, and ſerved him at that time inſtead of a Phyſitian: for you gave him a gliſter, and cauſed the windows to be opened, and the air to be let in; whereupon immediately he recovered his ſpeech and his memory after a ſort, and took horſe and returned to *Forges*: for this diſeaſe took him in a Village a quarter of a league thence, whither he went to hear Maſſe. He was diligently tended, and made ſigns what he would have done: among other things he deſired that the Official of *Tours* might be called to ſhrive him, and made ſigns alſo that I ſhould be ſent for; for I was gone to *Argenton*, being ten leagues thence: when I came, I found him at the Table with Maſter *Adam Fumee*, (who ſometime had been King *Charls* the ſevenths Phyſitian, and was at that preſent Maſter of the Requeſts,) and another Phyſitian called Maſter *Claude*: he underſtood little what any man ſaid, notwithſtanding grief he felt none; he ſpake plainly almoſt never a word, but made ſigns that I ſhould be in his chamber. I waited upon him the ſpace of fifteen dayes[1] at his Table, and about his perſon as one of the Grooms of his chamber, which I accounted great honour to me, and thought my ſelf in duty bound ſo to do. After two dayes he recovered his Speech and Memory, after a ſort: and becauſe he thought no man underſtood him ſo well as my ſelf, his pleaſure was that I ſhould alwayes be by him, and he confeſſed himſelf to the Official in my preſence, otherwiſe they would never have underſtood one another. He had not much to ſay, for he was ſhriven not long before, becauſe the Kings of *France* uſe alwayes to confeſſe themſelves, when they touch thoſe that be ſick of the Kings evill, which he never failed to do once a week. If other Princes do not the like they are too blame, for continualy a great number are troubled with that diſeaſe. After he was ſomewhat recovered, he began to enquire, who they were that held him by force from going to the windows; whoſe names when he heard, forthwith he baniſhed them the Court; ſo that they never came afterward to his preſence, and ſome of them alſo he put out of Office. From others, namely the Lord of *Segre* and *Gilbert de Graſſe* Lord of *Champeroux* he took nothing, but commanded them to depart. Many wondred at this toy, blaming him for ſo uſing them, conſidering that all they did was for the beſt, and they ſaid truth: But Princes imaginations are ſtrange, and a number are bold to prattle of them, that underſtand them not. The King feared nothing ſo much as the diminiſhing of his authority being marvellous great, for the which cauſe he would not be diſobeyed in any point. Further he remembred that when King *Charles* his father fell into the diſeaſe whereof he died, he entred into ſuſpition that his ſervants ſought to poiſon him

[1] It was forty dayes, but becauſe the old copy hath fifteen dayes, and that himſelf alſo afterward in this very chapter, ſaith thus; *This ſickneſſe held him about fifteen dayes*, I have been bold to amend it.

at his Sons requeſt: which phanſy ſunk ſo deep into his head, that he refuſed his meat. Wherefore it was concluded, by the advice of his Phyſitiars, and of his chiefeſt and truſtieſt Servants, that he ſhould be forced to eat: the which was executed very orderly and adviſedly by thoſe that ſerved him, for cooliz was poured into his mouth, but ſoon after this force he died. The King our Maſter, who had ever miſliked this ordering of his Father, ſtomached marvellouſly that he had been held thus perforce; but yet made ſhew of much greater diſpleaſure, than indeed he had conceived thereof. The chief cauſe that moved him ſo to do was fear, leſt they ſhould maſter him in all other things, eſpecially in the expedition of his weighty affairs, under colour of the imperfection of his wits.

[a] King *Lewis* was ſuſpected to have poiſoned his Father by *Adam Fumee* his Fathers Phyſitian, who was impriſoned by King *Charles*, but ſoon after advanced to honour by King *Lewis*, who ſo marvellouſly rejoyced at the firſt news of his Fathers death (being the ſelfe ſame day that his Father died) which was ſtrange: King *Lewis*, being then at *Genappe* in *Brabant* that in the ſelfe ſame place he built a chappel to our Lady.

After he had dealt thus roughly with theſe abovenamed, he inquired what his Councill had done, during the time of his ſickneſſe, and what diſpatches they had made, whereof the Biſhop of *Alby*, his Brother the Governour of *Burgundy*, the Marſhall of *Gie*, and the Lord of *Lude*, had the whole Charge: for theſe were preſent, when his ſickneſſe took him, and lodged all in two little chambers underneath him. Further, he would needs ſee the Letters and Packets that had been brought and came hourly. The principal whereof were ſhewed him, and I read them before him: he made a countenance, as though he underſtood them, and took them into his hands, feigning that he read them, notwithſtanding that, indeed he underſtood never a word. Sometime alſo he ſpake a word or two, or made ſigns, what ſhould be the anſwer to theſe Letters; but little or nothing was diſpatched, for we expected an end of his diſeaſe, becauſe he was a Maſter before whom it behoved us not to tread awry. This ſickneſs held him about fifteen dayes, and then his wits and ſpeech he recovered perfectly, but his body was marvellous weak; for the which cauſe we feared greatly a relapſe, the rather becauſe naturally he was inclined to give, but ſmal credit to Phyſitians. Immediately after he was wel recoverd, he reſtored Cardinal *Ballue* (whom he had held in priſon fourteeen years) to liberty. Whereunto, notwithſtanding that he had been required oftentimes before, both by the Sea Apoſtolick and others, and all in vain; yet now he purchaſed the abſolution of that fault himſelf, by a bull ſent from our holy father the Pope by his own procurement. When his diſeaſe firſt took him, they that at that preſent were about him, held him for dead, and ſent forth divers Commandments, for the revoking of an exceſſive and cruell Subſidy lately laid upon his Subjects, by the advice of the Lord of *Cordes* his Lievtenant in *Picardy*, wherewith were waged ten thouſand footmen, to be alwayes in a readineſſe, and twenty five hundred pioneers, the which were called *The Souldiers of the Camp*. Moreover, he appointed fifteen hundred of his ordinary men of Arms to accompany them and to fight on foot, when need ſo required. He cauſed alſo a great number of Carts to be made to encloſe them, and Tents, and Pavilions, imitating therein the Duke of *Burgundies* Camp. The charge of his Army amounted yearly to 1500000 franks [a]. When theſe Souldiers were in a readineſſe, and furniſhed of all things neceſſary, he went to ſee them muſter, in a Valley near to *Pont de l' Archy* in *Normandy*, where the band of the ſix thouſand Switzers abovementioned muſtered alſo, the which never ſaw the King but at this time only. After all was ended, the King removed to *Tours*, where he fell again into his former diſeaſe, and loſt his ſpeech as before, and was by the ſpace of two hours in ſuch caſe, that all men held him for dead: he lay in a Gallery upon a mattreſſe of Straw, divers ſtanding about him. Monſieur *de Bouchage* and I vowed him to Saint *Claude*, and all the reſt that were preſent vowed him alſo. Immediately whereupon he recovered his ſpeech, and ſoon after aroſe and walked up and down the Houſe, but his body was marvellous feeble. This ſecond fit of ſickneſſe took him in the year 1481, notwithſtanding he rod up and down the Countrie as before, and went to *Argenton* to my houſe, where he lay a moneth marvellous ſick. From thence he went to *Tours*, where (notwithſtanding, that he ſtill remained ſick) he took upon him his voiage to Saint *Claude*, to whom as you have heard he was vowed, and, at his departure thence, commanded me to go into *Savoy* againſt the Lords of *Chambre*, *Miolant*, and *Breſſe*; becauſe they had taken priſoner the Lord of *Lins* in *Daulphin*, whom he had appointed Governour of Duke *Philibert* his Nephew; yet notwithſtanding covertly he aided theſe Lords, againſt whom I went. He ſent alſo a great Band of Souldiers after me, whom I led to *Maſcon* againſt the Lord of *Breſſe*, but he and I agreed well enough ſecretly. Further, the Lord of *Chambre* made a compoſition with the Duke of *Savoy* at *Thurin* in *Piedmont* where he lay, whereof he advertiſed me; and immediately thereupon I cauſed my forces to retire. He led the ſaid Duke to *Grenoble* whither

[a] It was 15000 but the old copy had fifteen hundred thouſand, and ſo undoubtedly it is to be read: for 15000 franks will hardly maintain 100 Souldiers a year.

whither the Marſhall of *Burgundy*, the Marqueſſe of *Rothelin*, and my ſelf went to receive him. The King commanded me to return home, and to meet him at *Beavieu* in *Beaviolois*; where, when I arrived, I wondered to ſee him ſo lean and bare, much more to ride up and down the Country, but his noble heart carried him. At *Beavieu* he received letters, that the Dutcheſſe of *Auſtrich* was dead with a fall from her horſe; for ſhe rid a fierce Hobby, that threw her upon a Block; notwithſtanding ſome ſay ſhe died not of the fall, but of an Ague; but howſoever it were, ſhe died ſoon after the fall, to the great damage of her Subjects and Friends, who ſince her death never had quietneſſe nor good ſucceſſe. For this people of *Gaunt*, and the other Towns, bare much more reverence to her, than to her husband, becauſe ſhe was Lady of the Land. She died in the year 1482. The King told me theſe news in great joy, adding that the two children remained in the Citizens of *Gaunts* cuſtody, whom he knew to be inclined to ſedition, and rebellion againſt this Houſe of *Burgundy*. Further, he thought the time now come, when he might do ſome great exploit, ſeeing the Duke of *Auſtrich* was but young, his Father yet living, his Countries troubled on every ſide with wars, and himſelf a Stranger and weakly accompanied. For the Emperour his Father was too extreamly covetous; for the which cauſe his Son found the leſſe favour. The King immediately after the Dutcheſſe death began to practiſe with the Governors of *Gaunt*, by means of Monſieur *de Cordes*, and to treat of a marriage between the Daulphin his Son, and the ſaid Dukes Daughter called *Margaret*, at this preſent our Queen. The ſaid *de Cordes* addreſſed himſelf wholly to two men, the one a Penſioner of the Town called *William Rive*, a ſubtle crafty fellow, the other, the Clark of their Senate, named *Conpe Nole*, who was a Hoſier, but in great credit with the People: for ſuch men of occupation, when they are moſt unruly, are there beſt eſteemed. The King returned to *Tours*, and kept himſelf very cloſe ſo that few ſaw him; for he waxed jealous of all men, fearing that they would take the Government from him, or diminiſh his authority; for the which cauſe he removed all thoſe from him, that he had moſt favoured, and had been neareſt about him, not diminiſhing their Eſtates in any reſpect; but he ſent them away, ſome to their Offices and Charges, and ſome to their houſes, but this endured not long, for ſoon after he died. He did divers ſtrange things, which cauſed as many as ſaw him, to think him out of his wits; but they were not throughly acquainted with his conditions. As touching ſuſpitions all great Princes are ſuſpitious, eſpecially thoſe that be wiſe and have had many enemies, and have offended many, as the King our Maſter had. Further, he knew himſelfe not to be beloved of the Nobility of his Realm, nor of a great number of the Commonalty. Beſides this, he had more charged his people, than ever any of his Predeceſſours: notwithſtanding he was deſirous now in his latter dayes (as before I ſaid) to have eaſed them: but he ſhould have begun ſooner. King *Charles* the ſeventh by the perſwaſion of divers wiſe and valiant Knights, that had ſerved him in the Conqueſt of *Normandy* and *Guienne*, (which the Engliſhmen held) was the firſt that began to levy ſubſidies at his pleaſure without the conſent of the States of his Realm: and to ſay the truth, cauſe there was then ſo to do: for the charges were exceſſive, as well for the manning of the Countries newly conquered, as alſo for the defeating of the companies of Robbers that went about ſpoiling the Realm. For the which cauſe, the Nobility of *France* conſented to the King, and had certain penſions promiſed them in conſideration of the ſums of money, that ſhould be levied upon their Lands. If this King had alwayes lived and thoſe of his Council that were about him, he would ſure greatly have inlarged his Realm. But, conſidering what hath enſued ſince his death, and is like further to enſue, he charged marvellouſly his Soul and the Soul of his ſucceſſors by this fact: For he gave his Realm a cruel wound, which will bleed this many a year, by entertaining in continual pay a terrible band of men of arms, after the manner of the Italian Princes. The ſaid King *Charls* levied in his Realm at the hour of his death, but 1800000 franks all manner of wayes, and had in ordinary about 1700 men of Arms, the which he kept in good order; and ſo placed in divers Provinces for the defence of his Realm, that many years before his death they rid not ſpoiling up and down the Country, to the great quietneſſe, and comfort of his people. But the King our Maſter levied at his death 4700000 franks, he had in pay four or five thouſand men of Arms, and of footmen for the Camp and in Garriſon, above five and twenty thouſand: wherefore it is not to be marvelled, if he had many phanſies and imaginations in his head, and thought himſelfe not welbeloved. But ſure, as theſe matters cauſed him greatly to fear ſome; ſo had he a ſure confidence in many of thoſe, whom he had brought up and highly advanced

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ced; of the which, I think, there were a number, whom death it ſelf could never have withdrawn from doing their duty. There came into *Pleſſis du Parc* (which was the place where he lay) very few beſides his houſhold Servants, and the Archers of his Gaurd being four hundred: of whom a great number, all the day long, kept watch and ward at the Gate, walking up and down the place. No Noble man or great Perſonage lodged within the Caſtle, neither might be ſuffered to enter in, ſave only the Lord of *Beavien* the D. of *Bourbon* his Son in Law. The ſaid Caſtle of *Pleſſis* he made to be invironed with a grate of great Iron bars, and at the entry into the Ditches thereof had cauſed ſharp ſpears of iron, every one of them having many heads, to be manſoned into the Wall; he cauſed alſo four ſtrong watch-houſes of iron to be built, and a place to be made in them, where men might ſtand and ſhoot at eaſe, which was a ſumptuous thing to behold, and coſt above 20000 franks. In the end, he put into theſe houſes forty croſſebow men, which were day and night in the Ditches, and had commiſſion to ſhoot at every man, that approached near the Caſtle after the ſhutting of the gates, til they were opened in the morning. Further, he had an imagination, that his Subjects would be very ready to take the Government into their own hands, when they ſhould ſee convenient time. And ſure ſome there were, that conſulted to enter into *Pleſſis*, and diſpatch the Affairs at their pleaſure, becauſe nothing was diſpatched; but they durſt not attempt it, wherein they did wiſely, for the King had given good order for the matter. He changed often both the grooms of his chamber, and all his other ſervants; ſaying, that nature delighteth in variety; and he had with him to bear him company one or two very mean men and of evil report, who might well have thought, if they had been wiſe, that immediately after his death, they ſhould at the leaſt be put out of Office, and ſpoiled of all they had; as alſo it hapned. Theſe informed him of no meſſage, that was ſent him, nor of any matter that was written to him, were it never ſo important, unleſſe it touched the preſervation of the ſtate, or the defence of his Realm: for that was his only care to be in truce and peace with all men. He gave to his Phyſitian ordinarily every month ten thouſand crowns, and in five months he received of him fifty four thouſand. He gave alſo goodly lands to Churches; but this gift was made void, and not without cauſe, for the Clergy men had too much.

CHAP. VIII *How the King cauſed the holy man of* Calabria *to come to* Tours, *thinking that he could heal him: and what ſtrange things the ſaid King did to maintain his authority during his ſickneſſe.*

AMong men famous for devotion, he ſent into *Calabria* for one Frier *Robert*, whom he called the holy man, becauſe of his holy life; and in whoſe honour the King that now is, cauſed a Church to be built at *Pleſſis du Parc*, in place of the Chappell near to *Pleſſis*, at the bridge foot. This Hermit being twelve years of age entred into a rock, where he remained, till he was forty three years old, or thereabout, to wit, even till this preſent that the King ſent for him, by one of the ſtewards of his Houſe, whom the Prince of *Tarente*, the King of *Naples* Son, accompanied thither. For the ſaid Hermit would not depart thence, without permiſſion both of the Pope and of his Prince; which was great wiſdome, in ſo ſimple a man. He builded in the Place where he lived two Churches; and never ate ſince the time he entred into this ſtraight kind of life, either fiſh, fleſh, eggs, or any kind of white meat or of fat, I never ſaw in my time a man of ſo holy a Life, nor by whoſe mouth the holy Ghoſt ſeemed rather to ſpeak: For he never had been Schollar, but was utterly unlearned: true it is that his Italian tongue cauſed ſomewhat the greater admiration of him. This Hermit paſſed through *Naples*, being honored and received, as if he had been a great Legate ſent from the Sea Apoſtolick, both by the King and by his children; with whom he communed of the affairs of the Court, as if he had been a Courtier all the dayes of his life. From thence he went to *Rome*, where he was viſited by all the Cardinals, and had audience given him thrice of the Pope, communing with him alone, and ſitting each time hard by him in a goodly chair, three or four hours together; which was great honour to ſo ſimple a Perſon. His anſwers were ſo wiſe, that all men wondered at them; ſo far forth that our holy father gave him leave to erect a new Order called the Hermits of Saint *Francis*. From thence he came to the King, who honor'd him as if he had been the Pope himſelf, falling down before him, and deſiring him to

prolong

prolong his life: whereunto he anſwered as a wiſe man ſhould. I have often heard him talke with the King that now is, in preſence of all the Nobility of the Realm, and that within theſe two moneths, and ſure he ſeemed by his words to be inſpired with the Holy Ghoſt, otherwiſe he could never have communed of ſuch matters as he did. He is yet living and may change either to better or worſe; wherefore I will ſpeak no further of him. Some mocked at this Hermi s coming, whom they called the holy man; but they knew not the deep cogitations of this wiſe King, neither had ſeen the occaſions that moved him to ſend for him.

The King lay in his Caſtle of *Pleſſis*, accompanied with few, beſides the Archers of his Guard, and troubled with thoſe ſuſpitions above rehearſed. Notwithſtanding, he had given good order for this inconvenience, for he left none of thoſe whom he ſuſpected, either in the Town or Country, but made his archers to cauſe them to depart, and to conveigh them away. No man debated any matter with him, unleſſe it were of ſome great importance, that concerned himſelf; he ſeemed rather a dead Corps than a living Creature, for he was leaner then a man would believe: he apparelled himſelf ſumptuouſly, yea more ſumptuouſly than in all his life before; for he wore no Gown but of crimſon ſattin furred with good marterns, he gave gifts to whom he pleaſed without any ſute; for no man durſt move any ſute to him, nor debate any matter with him: He puniſhed faults ſharply, to the end he might be feared, and not loſe his authority, as himſelf told me: he changed Officers, caſhed companies of men of Arms, diminiſhed penſions or took them clean away, and told me but a few dayes before his death, that he paſſed away the time in making and marring of men. To be ſhort, he cauſed himſelf to be more ſpoken of within his Realm, then ever was any King, and all for fear leſt men ſhould think him dead. For, as I ſaid, few ſaw him; but when they heard of his doings all men ſtood in fear of him, ſo far forth that they hardly believed him to be ſick. Out of the Realm he had men in all places: as for example, in *England* he had ſome to feed King *Edward* ſtill with hope of his Daughters marriage, and he paid truly both to him and his ſervants, all that was due unto them. Out of *Spain*, he received goodly words and fair promiſes of perfect friendſhip and amity, and great preſents from all places: He made a good Horſe or good Mule to be bought for him whatſoever it coſt; but this h did, not in this Realm but in ſome ſtrange Country, to perſwade men that he was in health. Dogs he ſent for round about: into *Spain* for a Spaniſh Grey-hound called in French *Allans*; into *Britain* for little beagles, Grey-hounds, and Spaniels, which he paid dear for; into *Valence* for little rugged Dogs, which he made to be bought above the owners own price; into *Sicily*, he ſent for good Mules, eſpecially to ſome Officer of the Country, for the which he paid double the value; to *Naples* for Horſes, and for divers ſtrange Beaſts into divers Countries: as into *Barbary* for a kind of little Lions, no greater than little Foxes, which he called *Adites*; into *Denmark* and *Sweden* for two kind of ſtrange Beaſts, one of the which we called *Helles*[1], being of ſhape like a Hart, and of the greatneſſe of a Buffe, with horns ſhort and thick; the other Rengier[2] being of the bigneſſe and colour of a Buck, ſave that their hornes be much greater; for each of the which two Beaſts, he gave to the Marchants that ſold them forty five hundred guildons. But when all theſe ſtrange things were brought him, he made no account of them, nor very ſeldome ſpake with thoſe that brought them. To be ſhort, he did ſo many ſuch like ſtrange things, that he was more feared now both of his Neighbours and Subjects, than ever before, which was his only deſire; for to that end did he all this.

[1] *Geſnerus de Quadrupedibus* lib. 1. fol. 1. and *Munſter* in the third book of his Coſmography, in his treatiſe of *Pruſſia* (where this beaſt is found) name this beaſt in Greek ἄλκη, in Latin *Alces*, in Dutch *Elch*, *Ellend*, *Hellend*, and *Ellent*, which is not far from the name here given. The Muſcovites name it *Lozzos*. [2] This beaſt, ſaith *Munſter*, Coſmography l. 4. is found in *Lapponia* or in *Lappenland*, a Country in *Sweden*. The *Lapponians* call it *Reen*, as he writeth in the ſame place, and *Geſner* alſo *de Quadrup.* l. 1. fol. 950. The Romans, ſaith *Geſner*, name it *Rongiferus*, the Germans *Rein*, and *Reinen* (ſaith *Munſter*) *Reiner*, *Reinger*, *Reinſeheron*, the Frenchmen *Rangier* as is here named, or *Rangler*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX. *How the Marriage between the Daulphin, and the Lady* Margaret *of* Flanders *was concluded, and how she was brought into* France, *whereupon* Edward *King of* England *died for sorrow.*

BUt to return to the principall matter, namely the perfect concluſion of this our Hiſtory of King *Lewis*, and of the affairs of all thoſe great Princes that lived in his time: we muſt ſhew how the treaty of marriage was concluded between the King that now is, then Daulphin, and the Daughter of the Duke and Dutcheſſe of *Auſtrich*, by means of the Citizens of *Gaunt*, to the King of *Englands* great grief, who then well perceived the hope to be fruſtrate, which he had conceived of the marriage between his Daughter and the ſaid Daulphin, now King of *France*: Which he and the Queen his Wife had ſo greatly deſired, that they would never credit any man that advertiſed them to the contrary, were he an Engliſh man or Stranger. For the Councill of *England* had debated this matter with him, at the ſame time that the King conquered that part of *Picardy*, that joyneth to *Calis*, alledging, that after he had ſubdued that, he might eaſily attempt to take *Calis* and *Guiſnes*. The like was alſo told him by the Ambaſſadours reſident in *England*, for the Duke and Dutcheſſe of *Auſtrich*, and by the Britains and divers others: but he believed no whit of all this, which incredulity turned much to his prejudice. Notwithſtanding, I ſuppoſe, it proceeded rather of covetouſneſs, then ignorance: for he feared the loſſe of the fifty thouſand crowns the King paid him: beſides that, he was loath to leave his eaſe and pleaſures, whereunto he was marvellouſly addicted. About the concluſion of this marriage an Aſſembly was held at *Helots* in *Flanders*, whereat the Duke of *Auſtrich*, now King of Romans, was preſent, together with certain Deputies, for the three Eſtates of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and other Countries belonging to the ſaid Duke and his children. The Citizens of *Gaunt* did many things there contrary to the Dukes mind; for ſome they baniſhed, and ſome they removed from about his Son: in the end they told him how great a deſire they had to ſee this marriage accompliſhed, thereby to obtain peace, and forced him to conſent therunto. The Duke was very young and accompanied with few Noblemen: for all the Subjects of this Houſe of *Burgundy* (very few excepted, I mean of great Perſonages, that could have given him counſell or aid in theſe affairs) were, as you have heard, either dead or revolted to the King. As touching himſelf, he was come thither very ſlenderly accompanied, and now, having loſt his Wife, being Lady of the Country, he durſt not give them ſo ſtout language as before he was accuſtomed. To be ſhort, the King, being advertiſed of all theſe actions by Monſieur *de Cordes*, rejoyced much thereat, and a day was appointed, when this Lady ſhould be brought to *Heſdin*.

Not long before the concluſion of this marriage, to wit in the year 1481, the Town of *Ayre* was yielded for a ſumme of money to Monſieur *de Cordes*, by the Lord of *Croy*, of the Country of *Artois*, who held it for the Duke of *Auſtrich*, and the Lord of *Beures* his Captain. The Town is very ſtrong ſcituate in the Country of *Artois*, and the delivery thereof increaſed the Flemmings deſire to further this marriage, becauſe it ſtandeth upon the very entrance into *Flanders*. For, notwithſtanding that they wiſhed the weakning of their Prince yet; were they not willing to have the King ſo near a neighbour to their frontiers. After theſe matters abovementioned were fully concluded, and Ambaſſadours came to the King out of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, but all depended upon them of *Gaunt*; both becauſe of their force, becauſe the Children were in their hands; and for that they were alwayes the ring-leaders of all tumults. There came alſo from the King of Romans, for the pacifying of his dominions, certain Knights, young men like himſelf, and of ſmall experience, whoſe names were M. *John de Bergues*, and M. *Bondozin de Launoy*, and certain Secretaries. The King was brought marvellous low with ſickneſſe ſo that hardly he ſuffered himſelfe to be ſeen, and made great difficulty to ſwear the treaty, becauſe he was loath to come abroad in ſight: notwithſtanding in the end he ſware it. It was very advantagous for him; for in all aſſemblies, that had been held heretofore about this marriage, he never required, but the Countyes of *Artois* or *Burgundy*, one of the two: But now the Lords of *Gaunt* (as he termed them) cauſed them both to be yielded unto him, together with the Counties of *Maſconois*, *Charolois*, and *Auxerrois*

rois; yea, and if it had lain in them to have put into his hands, *Hainault* and *Namur*, and all the Seigniories of this Houſe of *Burgundy*, being of the French language, they would willingly have done it, thereby to enfeeble their Prince. The King our Maſter being a wiſe Prince underſtood well, that no account was to be made of *Flanders*, nor the Earl thereof, without he had the Country of *Artois*; which, lying between the King of *France* and the Flemmings, is as it were a bridle to them, For in the Country of *Artois* are levied very good Souldiers, to ſcourge the Flemmings, when they play the Fools. Wherefore by taking away from the Earl of *Flanders* the Country of *Artois*, he left him the pooreſt Prince in the World, and without all obedience of his Subjects, ſave onely at the pleaſure of them of *Gaunt*. After this ambaſſage was returned home, the ſaid Lady was led to *Hedin*, and delivered into the hands of Monſieur *de Cordes* in the year 1483. She was conveyed thither by the Lady of *Ravaſtain*, baſtard Daughter to Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy*, and was received there by the Duke and Dutcheſſe of *Bourbon* that now are, and by the Lord of *Albert*, and divers others ſent thither by the King; who led her to *Amboiſe* where the Daulphin lay. If the Duke of *Auſtrich* could have reſcued her before ſhe was paſſed out his Dominions from them that conveighed her, he would willingly have done it but they of *Gaunt* had ſent her well accompanied. And as touching the ſaid Duke, all his Subjects began to diſobey him, ſo far forth, that a great number took part with them of *Gaunt*, becauſe they had his Son in their hands, and removed from him, and placed about him, ſuch as pleaſed them: and among the reſt, that were reſident at *Gaunt*, was the Lord of *Ravaſtain* Brother to the Duke of *Cleves*, principall Governour of the ſaid young Infant called Duke *Philip*, who is yet living and like to be a great Prince, if God ſpare him life. Who ſoever rejoyced at this marriage, the King of *England* was highly diſpleaſed therewith; for he accounted it great reproach and diſhonour to be thus deluded, and feared both the loſſe of the penſion the King paid him, which the Engliſhmen called tribute; and alſo that the contempt hereof would ſtirre his Subjects to Rebellion againſt him, becauſe he would give no ear to good advice. Further, he ſaw the King with great force near to his Dominions: for the which cauſes he conceived ſuch inward grief, when he heard theſe news, that ſoon after he ended his life ſome ſay of a Catarrhe, but what ſoever his diſeaſe were, the report goeth, that the ſorrow conceive of this marriage cauſed the diſeaſe, whereof he died ſoon after in the month of *Aprill*, *Anno* 1483. It is a foul fault in a Prince, to truſt more to his own brain, then to the advice of a great number: for it cauſeth oftentimes both great ſorrow, and alſo loſſe irrecoverable. 1483

Immediately after King *Edwards* death, the King our Maſter was advertiſed thereof, and ſeemed nothing joyfull of the Newes: but ſoon after received Letters from the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who had uſurped the Crown of *England* (ſigning his Letters by the name of *Richard*) and cruelly murthered the King his brothers two children. This King *Richard* ſought the Kings friendſhip, and was deſirous, as I ſuppoſe, to have this penſion paid alſo unto him. But the King would make no anſwer to his Letters, neither give his Meſſenger Audience, but eſteemed him a wicked and cruell tyrant. For after King *Edwards* death the ſaid Duke of *Glouceſter* had done homage to his Nephew, as to his Soveraign Lord and King, and yet immediately thereupon committed this murther, and cauſed in open Parliament the ſaid King *Edwards* two Daughters to be degraded and proclaimed baſtards, under colour of a certain matter which he proved by the teſtimony of the Biſhop of *Bath*, who ſometime had been in great credit with King *Edward*, but afterward fell into his diſgrace, and was laid in Priſon, and made to fine for his deliverance. This Biſhop affirmed that King *Edward* being in love with a certain Gentlewoman in *England* (whom he named) promiſed her marriage to have his pleaſure of her, which promiſe he ſaid was made in his preſence, and thereupon the King lay with her, minding only to abuſe her. Such paſſimes are very dangerous, eſpecially when ſuch proof may be brought forth: But I have known many a Courtier, that would not have loſt a good adventure, that liked him in ſuch a caſe for want of promiſe. This wicked Biſhop buried revenge in his heart the ſpace of twenty years. But God plagued him for his wickedneſſe: for he had a Son whom he loved intirely, and whom King *Richard* ſomuch favoured, that he meant to give him to wife, one of theſe two Daughters, degraded from their dignity, at this preſent Queen of *England* and mother of two goodly Children. The ſaid Son being in a ſhip of war by King *Richard* his Maſters commandment, was taken upon the Coaſt of *Normandy*, and becauſe of the contention that fell between thoſe that took him, led to

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the Court-Parliament of *Paris*, and there put in prison in the petit Chastellet, where in the end he starved with hunger and poverty. As touching King *Richard*, he lived not long unpunished: for God raised up an Enemy against him, at that very instant being poor, having no right to the Crown of *England*, as I suppose, and of no estimation, save that as touching his own person he was well conditioned, and had endured many troubles. For the greatest part of his life he had been prisoner in *Brittain* to Duke *Francis*, who entertained him well for a prisoner, from the eighteenth year of his age. This Earl of *Richmond* being furnished by the King with a small summe of money, and three thousand men levied in *Normandy*, of the unthriftiest persons in the country, passed over into *Wales*: where his Father in Law the Lord *Stanley* met him, with six and twenty thousand men at the least, and within three or four dayes after he encountred this cruell King *Richard*, who was slain in the field, and the Earl crowned King, and reigneth yet at this day in *England*. Of this matter I have made mention before, but it was not amiss to rehearse it here again, to shew thereby how God hath plagued in our time such cruelty, almost immediately after the fault committed. Divers other such like punishments hath he shewed also in this our age, if a man would stand to rehearse them all.

This error you are admonished of before.

CHAP. X. *How the King behaved himself towards his neighbours and subjects, during the time of his sickness; and how divers things were sent him from divers places, for the recovery of his health.*

THis marriage of *Flanders* so much desired by the King, was thus accomplished, as you have heard, by means whereof he had the Flemmings at his commandment. *Brittain* which he so much hated was in peace with him, but lived in continuall jealousie, because of the great number of Souldiers he had in Garrison upon their frontiers. *Spain* was quiet, and the King and Queen thereof desired nothing more then his amity and friendship: for he kept them in continuall fear and charge, because of the country of *Rousillon*, which he withheld from the House of *Arragon*, being engaged to him by *John* King of *Arragon*, Father to the King of *Castile* now reigning, under certain conditions yet unperformed. As touching the Princes and Seigniories of *Italy*, they desired to have him their friend, and were in League with him, and sent often their Ambassadors to him. In *Almain* he had the Swissers as obedient to him as his own subjects. The Kings of *Scotland* and *Portugal* were his confederates: part of the Realm of *Navarre* was wholly at his devotion: his subjects trembled before him, and his commandments were executed incontinent without delay or excuse. As touching those things that were thought necessary for his health, they were sent him out of all parts of the World. Pope *Sixtus* that last died, being enformed that the King, of Devotion desired to have the Corporall upon the which Saint *Peter* sung Mass, sent it him incontinent, with divers other relicks, which were conveighed back again to *Rome*. The holy Vial which is at *Reims* and had never been removed thence[1] was brought into his Chamber to *Plessis*, and stood upon his Cupboard at the hour of his death: he was determined to be annointed therewith, as at his Coronation. But many supposed that he would have annointed all his body with it, which is unlikely, for the said holy Vial is very small, and containeth not much Oyl. I saw it both at the time I now speak of, and also when the King was buried at *Nostre-dame de-Clery*. The Turk that now reigneth sent an Ambassador to him, who came as far as *Rhive* in *Provence*: but the King would not hear his message, neither permit him to passe any further. The said Ambassador brought him a great roll of relicks, remaining yet at *Constantinople* in the Turks hands, all the which he offered him, together with a great summe of money, if he would keep in safe custody the said Turks Brother, who was then in this Realm, in the hands of the Knights of the *Rhodes*, and is now at *Rome* in the Popes keeping. By all this above rehearsed, a man may perceive how great the King our Masters wisdom and authority was, how he was esteemed through the world, and how all things, as well spirituall of devotion and religion, as also temporall, were employed for the prolonging of his life. But all would not help there was no remedy, needs must he go the way his predecessors went before him, one great favour God shewed him, that as he created him Wiser, more Liberal, and more Vertuous in all things then the Princes that reigned in his time, being his enemies and neighbours; and as he surmounted them in all good

[1] It was *Remis* in the French, but that undoubtedly was false: the old copy hath *Rhese* or *Rhne*: others *Rins*: the *Italian Rics*.

[2] King *Lewis* drank childrens blood to recover his health *Gaguin*.

good things: ſo did he alſo paſſe them in long life, though not much. For Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy*, the Dutcheſs his Daughter, King *Edward*, Duke *Galeas* of *Milan*, King *John* of *Arragon*, were all dead a few years before him: but between the death of the ſaid Dutcheſſe of *Auſtrich*, of King *Edward*, and of him, there was no ſpace to ſpeak of. In all theſe Princes there was both good and evill, for they were all men; but to ſpeak uprightly, there were in him many moe vertues and ornaments appertaining to the office of a King, then in any of the reſt. I have ſeen them in manner all, and knew what was in them, and therefore ſpeak not at random.

CHAP. XI. *How King* Lewis *the eleventh cauſed* Charles *the Daulphin his Son to come to him a little before his death, and of the commandments and precepts he gave both him and certain others.*

IN this year 1483. the King deſired to ſee the Daulphin his Son, whom he had not ſeen of long time; for he kept him cloſe and permitted no man to come to him, both becauſe of the Childs health, and alſo for fear leſt he ſhould be taken from the place where he remained, and under colour of him ſome rebellion ariſe in the Realm. For ſo had certain Noblemen in times paſt by means of himſelf, made an aſſembly againſt King *Charles* the ſeventh his Father, he being then but eleven years of age[1]; which War was called *la Praguerie*, but it ſoon ended, for it was rather a broil of Court then a War.

Above all things, he recommended unto his ſaid Son the Daulphin certain of his ſervants, and commanded him expreſly, not to change certain officers: rehearſing to him how after King *Charles* his Fathers death, he coming to the State, put out of office all the valiant and worthy Knights of this Realm, that had ſerved his Father in the conqueſt of *Normandy* and *Guienne*, in chaſing the Engliſhmen out of *Fraunce*, and reſtoring the Realm to peace and quietneſs, (for himſelf found it both quiet and rich:) which his hard dealing with the ſaid Knights, turned greatly to his prejudice, for thereof ſprung the War called the WEAL PUBLIKE in this ſtory abovementioned, which had almoſt ſet him beſides his Crown. Soon after his communication with the Daulphin his Son, and the accompliſhment of this marriage abovementioned; he fell upon a Monday into the diſeaſe whereof he died: his ſickneſs endured till the Saturday after, being the 30th. of *Auguſt*, in the year 1483 And becauſe I was preſent at his death, I mind to ſpeak ſomewhat thereof. When this diſeaſe took him, he loſt his ſpeech, as heretofore he had done; which being recovered, he felt his body weaker then ever it was, notwithſtanding that he were ſo low brought before, that he could hardly lift his hand to his mouth, and looked ſo poorely and miſerably, that it pitied ever mans heart that ſaw him; he accounted himſelf now as dead. Wherefore he ſent them incontinently for the Lord of *Beavieu*, now Duke of *Bourbon* his Son in Law, commanding him to go to *Amboiſe* to the King his Son, (for ſo he termed him:) he recommended alſo unto him divers of his ſervants, and gave him the whole charge and government of the young King, and commanded expreſly that certain whom he named ſhould not come near his Son, alledging divers good reaſons on that behalf. And if the ſaid Lord of *Beavieu* had obſerved his commandments, at the leſt part of them (for ſome were unreaſonable and not to be obſerved) I think he ſhould thereby have benefited both the Realm and himſelf, conſidering what hath happened ſince in *France*. Soon after he ſent alſo the Chancellor, and all the officers of the Law to the ſaid King his Son, and in like manner part of the archers of his Guard, and his Captains, and all his hawks and hounds with all that appertained thereunto. Further, as many as came to viſit him, he commanded to go to *Amboiſe* to the King (for ſo he termed him) deſiring them to ſerve him faithfully, and by every one of them he ſent him ſome meſſage or other; but eſpecially by *Steven de Vers*, who brought up the ſaid young King, and was the firſt groom of his Chamber, and already advanced to the bailiwick of *Meaux*, by the King our Maſter. His ſpeech never failed him after he recovered it, neither were his wits ſo freſh at any time as then: for he purged continually, by means whereof all fumes voided that troubled his head. In all the time of his ſickneſs he never complained as other men do when they feel pain: at the leaſt my ſelf am of that nature, and ſo have I known divers others, and men ſay, that complaining aſſwageth grief.

[1] Others write that he was 16. years old: this War was *anno* 1439. and K. *Lewis* was born *anno* 1423. ſo that he was 16. years old when the *Praguerie* began, and ſo undoubtedly it ſhould be read here.

CHAP. XII.

CHAP. XII. *A compariſon between the ſorrows and troubles that King* Lewis *ſuffered, and thoſe he cauſed divers others to ſuffer: with a rehearſall of all that he did, and all that was done to him, till his death.*

HE diſcourſed continually of ſome matter or other, and that very gravely, and his diſeaſe endured from *Monday* till *Saturday* night. Wherefore I will now make compariſon between the troubles and ſorrows he cauſed others to ſuffer, and thoſe he ſuffered himſelf before his death, becauſe I truſt they have carried him into Paradiſe, and been part of his purgatory. For notwithſtanding that they were not ſo grievous, neither endured ſo long, as thoſe which he cauſed divers others to ſuffer: yet becauſe his vocation in this world was higher then theirs, by means whereof he had never been contraried, but ſo well obeyed, that he ſeemed a Prince able to have governed all *Europe*: this little trouble that he endured contrary to his accuſtomed nature, was to him a great torment. He hoped ever in this good Heremite that was at *Pleſſis*, whom he cauſed to come to him out of *Calabria*, and continually ſent to him: ſaying, that if it pleaſed him he could prolong his life. For notwithſtanding all theſe commandments given to thoſe whom he ſent to the Daulphin his Son, yet came his ſpirits again to him, in ſuch ſort that he was in hope to recover: and if it had ſo happened, he would eaſily have diſparkled the aſſembly ſent to this new King. But becauſe of the vain hope he had in this Heremite, a Doctor of Divinity and certain others, thought good to advertiſe him, that his onely hope muſt be in the mercy of God: and they deviſed that Maſter *James Cothier* his Phyſitian, in whom he had repoſed his whole confidence, and to whom he gave monethly ten thouſand crowns in hope he would prolong his life, ſhould be preſent when this ſpeech ſhould be uſed to him. This was Maſter *Oliver* his Barbers device, to the end he might wholly think upon his conſcience, and leave all his other imaginations conceived of this holy man, and of the ſaid Maſter *James* his Phyſitian. But even like as he had advanced the ſaid Maſter *Oliver* and others too ſuddenly, without any deſert, to a higher eſtate then was fit for them: even ſo they took upon them boldly to do ſuch a meſſage to ſo great a Prince, otherwiſe then became them, not uſing that reverence and humility that was to be uſed in ſuch a caſe, and ſuch as they ſhould have uſed, whom he had brought up of a long time, and lately commanded out of his preſence for the ſuſpicions conceived of them. And again, like as unto two great Perſonages whom he had put to death in his time; (to wit, the Duke of *Nemours*, and the Earl of Saint *Paul*: for one of the which he repented him at his death, and for he other not;) he had ſent a ſharp meſſage of death by Commiſſioners appointed thereunto; who briefly pronounced their Sentence unto them, and forwith gave them Confeſſors, and but a very ſhort ſpace to diſpoſe of their conſciences: even ſo the above named ſignified his death unto him rudely, and in few words: ſaying, Sir it is reaſon we do our duties, hope no more in this holy man, nor any other thing, for ſure you are but dead: therefore think upon your conſcience, for your hour is come, and every one of them ſaid ſomewhat briefly to him to that effect. But he anſwered, I truſt God will help me, and peradventure I am not ſo ſick as you ſuppoſe. What a ſharp corroſive was it to him to hear this news and this cruell ſentence? for never man feared death more then he, nor ſought ſo many wayes to avoid it as he did. Moreover, in all his life time, he had given commandment to all his ſervants, as well my ſelf as others, that when we ſhould ſee him in danger of death, we ſhould onely move him to confeſſe himſelf and diſpoſe of his conſcience, not ſounding in his ear this dreadfull word *Death*, knowing that he ſhould not be able patiently to hear that cruell ſentence: nowithſtanding he endured both that, and divers other puniſhments, till the very hour of death, more patiently then ever I ſaw any man. To his Son, whom he called King, he ſent many meſſages and confeſſed himſelf very devoutly, and ſaid divers prayers anſwerable to the Sacraments he received, which alſo himſelf demanded. He ſpake as heartily as if he had not been ſick, and talked of all matters touching the King his Sons eſtate; and among other things gave commandment that the Lord of *Cordes* ſhould not depart from his Son, by the ſpace of half a year after his death: and further, that he ſhould be intreated to attempt nothing againſt *Calais*, nor elſewhere; ſaying, that notwithſtanding he had deviſed theſe enterpriſes for the Kings profit, and the benefit of the Realm: yet were they very dangerous,

eſpecially

especially that of *Calais*, for fear of moving the Englishmen thereby to War. Further, he willed especially that after his death, the Realm should rest in peace the space of five or six years, a matter which he would never yield unto during his life, though very needfull: for, notwithstanding it were great and large, yet was it in poor and miserable estate, especially because of the passing to and fro of the men of arms, who continually removed from one country to another. He gave order also that no quarrell should be picked in *Brittain*, but that Duke *Francis* should be suffered to live in quiet, and not be put in any doubt or fear of War, neither yet any other neighbour bordering upon the Realm, to the end the King and the Realm might rest in peace, till the King were of years to dispose thereof at his own pleasure.

Thus you see how undiscreetly his death was signified to him: which I have rehearsed, because I began to make a comparison between those evils which he had caused divers of his subjects to suffer, and those himself suffered before his death; to the end you may perceive that notwithstanding they were not so grievous, nor so long (as I have said), yet were they grievous to him, considering his nature, which demanded obedience, and had been better obeyed then any Prince in his time; so that one half word contrarying his mind, was to him a grievous punishment. Five or six dayes before his death he had all men in suspition, especially all that were worthy of credit and authority, yea, he grew jealous of his own Son, and caused him to be straightly guarded, neither did any man see him or speak with him but by his commandment: at the length he began to stand in doubt also of his Daughter, and of his Son in Law now Duke of *Bourbon*, and would needs know what men entred into *Plessis* with them, and in the end brake off an assembly that the Duke of *Bourbon* his Son in Law held there by his commandment. Moreover, at the same time that his said Son in Law and the Earl of *Dunois* (returning from the convoy of the ambassage that came to *Amboise* to the marriage of the King his Son and the Queen) entred into the Castle of *Plessis*, with a great band of men: the King, who caused the Gates to be straightly kept, being in the Gallery that looketh into the Court of the said Castle; caused one of the Captains of his guard to come to him, whom he commanded to feel as he talked with the said Noblemens servants, whether they wore any Brigandines under their Cloaks, not making shew as though he came purposely for that intent. Hereby you may perceive, if he caused divers others to live in fear and suspicion under him, whether he were paid now with the like himself; for of whom could he be assured mistrusting his Son, his Daughter, and his Son in Law? Wherefore thus much I will say not only of him, but of all other Princes that desire to be feared; that they never feel the revenge thereof till their age, and then their penance is to fear all men. What great grief think you was it to this poor King to be troubled with these passions? He had a Physitian called Master *James Cothier*, to whom he gave in five moneths fifty four thousand crowns after the rate of ten thousand the moneth and four thousand over, besides the Bishoprick of *Amiens* for his Nephew, and other Offices and Lands for him and his friends. The said Physitian used him so roughly, that a man would not give his servant so sharp language as he gave the King; and yet the King so much feared him, that he durst not command him out of his presence: for notwithstanding that he complained to divers of him, yet durst he not change him as he did all his other servants, because this Physitian once said thus boldly to him; I know that one day you will command me away, as you do all your other servants, but you shall not live eight dayes after, binding it with a great oath. Which words put the King in such fear, that ever after he flattered him, and bestowed gifts upon him; which was a marvellous purgatory to him in this world, considering of how many Noblemen and Gentlemen he had been obeyed.

Moreover, he had caused divers cruell prisons to be made; as for example, Cages being eight foot square, and one foot more then a mans height, some of Iron, and some of wood, plated with iron both within and without, with horrible Iron works. He that first devised them was the Bishop of *Verdun*, who incontinent was himself put into the first that was made, where he remained fourteen years. Many have cursed him for his device, and among others my self, for I lay in one of them under the King that now reigneth, the space of eight moneths. He had also caused certain Almains to make terrible heavy Irons to lay men in, among the which there was a fetter to put on their feet very hard to be opened like to a carquan, with a weighty chain, and a great Iron Ball at the end thereof, heavy beyond all measure. These Irons were called the Kings Nets. Notwithstanding I have seen divers Gentlemen lie in them as prisoners, who came forth afterward

with great honour, and were advanced by him to high eſtate: as for example, a Son of the Lord of *Grutuze* in *Flanders*, taken priſoner in the Wars, whom the King afterward richly married, and made one of his Chamber, and Seneſcall of *Anjou*, and gave him charge of an hundred Launces; and in like manner the Lord of *Piennes*, and the Lord of *Vergy* taken priſoners alſo in the Wars, who both had charge of men of arms under the King, and other goodly offices, and were of the privy Chamber either to him or his Son. The like hapned alſo to the Lord of *Richbourg* the Conſtables Brother, and to one *Roquebertin* of the country of *Cathelony*, being likewiſe taken priſoners in the Wars, whom he afterward highly advanced, with divers others of divers countries too long to rehearſe. But now to return to the matter. As in his time theſe divers and ſundry cruell priſons were deviſed: even ſo he before his death lay in the like, yea in much crueller priſon then any of them, and was in greater fear, then they that ſtood in fear of him, which I account as a great grace towards him, and as part of his purgatory, and rehearſe it onely to ſhew that every man of what eſtate or condition ſoever he be, is puniſhed either ſecretly or openly, eſpecially thoſe that puniſh others. Further, the King a little before his death, encloſed his Ca[illegible] of *Pleſſis* with a Grate of Iron Bars, and at the four corners of the ſaid Caſtle cauſed four ſtrong Watch-houſes of Iron to be built. The ſaid Grate was made directly over againſt the Caſtle wall round about the Caſtle on the outerſide of the ditch, which was very ſteep. He cauſed alſo to be maſoned into the Wall a great number of Iron ſpears, each of them having divers heads ſet cloſe together. Moreover, he appointed ten Croſs-bow men to be continually in the ſaid ditches, and to lie in the four Iron houſes, built in the bottom of the ſaid ditches, and gave them commandment to ſhoot at every man that approached near to the Gate, before the Gate opened. He knew well that this fortification was to no purpoſe, againſt a great force or an army; but that he doubted not: his onely fear was, that certain Noblemen of his Realm, having intelligence in the Caſtle, would attempt to enter into it in the night, partly by love, and partly by force, and take the government upon them, and make him live as a man bereft of his wits, and unworthy to rule. The Caſtle Gate never opened before eight of the clock in the morning, neither was the Draw-bridge let down till that hour; and then entred his officers, and the Captains of his Guard placed the ordinary warders, and appointed archers to the watch, both at the Gate and within the Court, as if it had been a frontier Town ſtraightly kept: neither entred any man without the Kings commandment but by the wicket, ſave the Stewards of his Houſe, and ſuch like officers that went not to him. Is it poſſible then to hold a King (I mean, uſing him like a Prince) in a ſtraighter priſon then he held himſelf? The Cages wherein he held others were about eight foot ſquare; and he, being ſo great a Prince, had but a little Court in the Caſtle to walk in, yea and ſeldom came he into that: for uſually he kept himſelf in the Gallery, from whence he never ſtirred but when he went to Maſſe, at which time he paſſed through the Chambers, and not through the Court. Think you that he was not in fear as well as others, ſeeing he locked himſelf in after this ſort, kept himſelf thus cloſe, ſtood in ſuch fear of his Children and neareſt Kinſmen, and changed and removed his ſervants from day to day, whom he had brought up, and whoſe good eſtate depended wholly upon him, in ſuch ſort that he durſt truſt none of them, but bound himſelf in theſe ſtrange Chains and Bands? The place I confeſſe was larger then a common Priſon, ſo was his eſtate greater then a common priſoners. But a man will ſay peradventure, that other Princes have been more ſuſpitious then he, whereunto I agree: but none ſure in our time, neither any ſo wiſe as he, nor that had ſo good ſubjects as he had: and as touching them, peradventure they were cruell Tyrants, but he never puniſhed any without deſert. All this above written I have rehearſed, not ſo much to publiſh the ſuſpitions of the King our Maſter: as partly to prove that the patient enduring of theſe Paſſions, being equall with thoſe he had cauſed others to endure; and of this ſickneſs, being ſharp and troubleſome to him, and the which he feared greatly before he fell into it; is to be accounted as a puniſhment God gave him in this world, to eaſe him in the world to come; and partly to give an example to thoſe that ſhall come after him, to have ſome more compaſſion on their people then he had, and to be leſs rigorous in puniſhing then he was. Notwithſtanding for my part I am not able to accuſe him, neither ſaw I ever a better Prince; for though himſelf preſſed his ſubjects, yet would he ſuffer none other ſo to do, friend or foe.

After all theſe fears, ſorrows, and ſuſpitions, God (according to his accuſtomed goodneſs) wrought a miracle upon him; healing him both in Soul and Body: for he took him out of this miſerable world, being perfect in ſenſe, underſtanding, and memory, having

having received all his Sacraments without all grief to mans judgment, and talking continually within a Pater Noſter while of his death; ſo that he gave order for his Funerall, and named thoſe that ſhould accompany his body to the grave: ſaying ever, that he truſted to dy on no day, but Saturday; and that our Lady, in whom he had ever put his confidence, and alwayes devoutly ſerved, had purchaſed him this Grace, and ſure ſo it happened: for he ended his life upon Saturday the 30 of *Auguſt* in the year 1483 at eight of the clock at night, in the ſaid Caſtle of *Pleſſis*, where he fell ſick the *Monday* before. His Soul, I truſt, is with God, and reſteth in his bleſſed Realm of Paradiſe.

CHAP. XIII. *A diſcourſe upon the miſeries of mans life, by the example of thoſe Princes that lived in the Authors time, and firſt of King* Lewis.

SMall truſt ought mean and poor men to repoſe in worldly wealth and honours, ſeeing this mighty King, after ſo long trouble and travell for the obtaining of them, forſook them all, and could not prolong his life one hour for all that he could do. I knew him and ſerved him in the flowr of his age, and in his great proſperity, yet never ſaw I him free from toil of body and trouble of mind. Above all paſtimes he loved hunting and hawking in their Seaſons; hunting eſpecially, As touching women, he was free from that vice all the time that I ſerved him: for a little before my coming to him, he loſt one of his Sons, whoſe death he took very heavily; and ſoon after made a ſolemn vow to God in my preſence, never to accompany with any Woman, but the Queen his Wife, Whereunto, notwithſtanding that he was bound by the Laws of Marriage; yet was it much, that he had ſuch ſtay of himſelf, eſpecially the Queen being none of thoſe, in whoſe beauty a man could take great delight, but otherwiſe a very vertuous Lady. In this paſtime of hunting he took almoſt as much pain as pleaſure; for the toyl was great, becauſe he run the Hart to death by force. Beſides that, he roſe very early in the morning, and oftentimes went far, neither could any weather make him leave his ſport. Sometimes alſo he returned very weary, and in manner ever diſpleaſed with one or other: for this game is not alwayes made as they wiſh, that have the ordering thereof; notwithſtanding, in all mens opinions, he for his part underſtood it better than any man in his time. In this paſtime he exerciſed himſelfe continually, lodging about in the Villages till wars began. For almoſt every Summer there was ſomewhat to do between Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy* and him: but when the Winter approached, they uſed to make Truce. He had great wars alſo, for the County of *Rouſſilion*, with King *John* of *Arragon*, the King of *Spains* Father that now liveth. For notwithſtanding that they were very poor, and in war with their Subjects namely them of *Barſelonne*, and others, and that the Son were of no force: (for he expected the inheritance of King [1] *Frederick* of *Caſtile* his wives brother, which afterward fell to him) yet becauſe they had the hearts of the Subjects of the ſaid County of *Rouſſilion*, they made great reſiſtance againſt him, which coſt the King and his Realm full dear: for many a good man died and was ſlain there, and infinite treaſure was conſumed in thoſe wars: for they indured long.

Thus you ſee that the pleaſure the King had was but one ſmall time in the year, and that joyned with great toil and travail of his perſon: when his body was at reſt, his mind was occupied, for he had to do in many places, and buſied himſelf as much with his neighbours affairs, as with his own, ſeeking to place men in their houſes [2], and to beſtow the offices therein at his pleaſure. When he was in war he deſired Peace or Truce, which notwithſtanding when he had obtained, he could not long away with. He medled with many trifling matters in his Realm, which he might well have paſſed over: but ſuch was his diſpoſition and life. And to ſay the truth his memory was ſo excellent, that he forgat nothing, but knew all the world, all Countries, and all men of eſtimation round about him; ſo that he ſeemed a Prince worthier to govern the whole World then one Realm alone. Of his youth, I am able to ſay nothing, for I was not with him at that time; notwithſtanding what I have heard, that I will report. Being but eleven years of age he was buſied by certain Princes and other of the Realm, in a war againſt King *Charles* his Father, called *la Praguery*, which endured not long. And when he was grown to mans eſtate he married

[1] For ought I can read in any hiſtory, this *Fredericke* ſhould be *Henry*; and ſo appeareth by our Author himſelf lib. 5. cap. 7. & cap. 18.

[2] As in *Britain*, *Savoy*, and *Provence* under King *Rene*.

married the King of *Scotlands* Daughter [3], and during her life never joyed with her: after her death, becauſe of the factions and troubles that were in the King his Fathers Court, he retired into his own Country of *Daulphin*, whither a great number of Gentlemen accompanied him, yea many more, then he was able to maintain. While he was in *Daulphin*, he married the Duke of *Savoyes* Daughter, and ſoon after fell at variance with his Father in Law, ſo that ſharp war aroſe between them. King *Charles* ſeeing his Son ſo well accompanied with Gentlemen and men of Arms, determined to go againſt him in Perſon with great force, and to chaſe him out of the Country by ſtrong hand: wherefore he put himſelf upon the way, and endeavoured to withdraw his Sons men from him, commanding them, as his Subjects, under pain of his diſpleaſure, to repair unto him. Whereunto divers obeyed, to the King our Maſters great grief; who, ſeeing his Fathers indignation againſt him, determined (notwithſtanding that his force were great) to depart thence and leave the Country to his Fathers diſpoſing. And in this eſtate travelled he through *Burgundy*, with a ſmall train to Duke *Philip*, who received him very honourably, furniſhed him with money to maintain his Eſtate, and gave yearly penſions to his principall Servants, namely to the Earl of *Comminges*, the Lord of *Montauban*, and others; and beſtowed alſo, during his being there, divers large gifts upon his other Servants. Notwithſtanding, becauſe he entertained ſuch a number, his money failed often to his great grief, ſo that he was forced to borrow ſome where or other, other wiſe his men would have forſaken him; which undoubtedly is a great trouble to a Prince unaccuſtomed thereunto. Thus, you ſee, that he was not without vexation and anguiſh of mind, during his abode in this Houſe of *Burgundy*: for he was forced to fawn both upon the Duke and his principall Servants, leſt they ſhould waxe weary of him, for he was there a long time, to wit, the ſpace of ſix years. Beſides that, his Father ſent Ambaſſadors continually to the Duke, requiring him either to put him forth of his Dominions or ſend him back to him. Wherefore it is to be thought, that he was not idle, nor without great vexation of mind. All theſe things conſidered, when may a man ſay, that he lived in joy and pleaſure? Sure, in my opinion, from his Childehood to his death, he was in continuall toil and trouble; ſo that if all his pleaſant and joyful dayes were numbred, I think, they ſhould be found but few: yea, I am fully perſwaded, that for one pleaſant day there ſhould be found twenty diſpleaſant. He lived about ſixty one years notwithſtanding that he had conceived an imagination, that he ſhould never paſſe threeſcore, ſaying that no King of *France* of long time paſſed that age: ſome ſay none ſince *Charls* the Great. Notwithſtanding the King our Maſter, when he died was well forward in the threeſcore and oue year.

Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy*, what reſt or quietneſſe had he more than the King our Maſter? True it is, that in his youth, he was not much troubled, for he attempted nothing till the two and twentieth year of his age, but lived till that time in health and at eaſe. But then he began to buſie himſelf with his Fathers Officers, whom his Father maintained againſt him: for the which cauſe he abſented himſelf, and went into *Holland*, where he was well received and had intelligence with them of *Gaunt*, and ſometime alſo went thither himſelf. He had not one penny of his Father, but the Country of *Holland* was marvellous rich and gave him goodly preſents, as did alſo divers great Towns of his other Seigniories; hoping thereby to win his favour in time to come. For it is a common thing, eſpecially among the vulgar ſort, to love better and ſeek rather to him, whoſe power is growing, than to him, who is already ſo great, that he can be no greater [5]. For the which cauſe Duke *Philip*, when men told him that they of *Gaunt* loved his Son marvellous well, and that he had skill of their humour, was wont to anſwer, that their Prince in expectation they ever loved dearly, but their Prince in poſſeſſion they hated ever extreamly; which ſaying proved true. For after Duke *Charles* began to reign over them, they never loved him, and that they well declared, as before I have rehearſed: he alſo for his part bare them, as little good will; notwithſtanding they did his poſterity more harm, than they could do him. But to proceed: after the time that Duke *Charles* moved war for the Towns in *Picardy*, which the King our Maſter had redeemed of Duke *Philip* his Father and joyned himſelf with the Princes of this Realm, in the War called the THE WEAL PUBLICK: He never was quiet but in continuall travell both of body and mind. For his heart was ſo inflamed with deſire of glory, that he attempted to conquer all that lay about him. All Summer, he kept the field with great danger of his perſon, and took upon himſelf the care and charge of the whole Army; all which trouble ſeemed not yet ſufficient to him. He was the firſt up and the laſt down, as if he had been the pooreſt Souldier in his camp.

[3] Others write that he was but fourteen years old, when he married her, which was in the year 1437 and ſhe died *anno* 1445.

[4] This Ladies name was *Margaret*; ſhe was ſiſter to *James* the ſecond King of *Scotland*: ſhe was of a loathſome complexion, and had an unſavory breath, wherefore the King loved her not.

[5] This is agreable with *Pompeis* ſaying to *Sylla*, that the Romans did *Orientem potius quàm occidentem ſolem venerari*.

Camp. If he reſted from wars any time in Winter, yet was he buſied all day long, from ſix of the clock in the morning, either in levying of money or receiving Ambaſſadours, or giving them audience. In this travell and miſery ended he his dayes, and was ſlain of the Switzers, before *Nancy*, as you have heard; ſo that a man may juſtly ſay, that he never had good day from the time that ambition firſt entred into his mind, till the hour of his death. And what got he by all this travail? What needed he thus to have toiled himſelf, being ſo rich a Prince, and having ſo many goodly Towns and Seigniories under his ſubjection? Where he might have lived in great joy and proſperity, if it had ſo pleaſed him.

I muſt now ſpeak of *Edward* King of *England*, who was ſo great and mighty a Prince. In his youth he ſaw the Duke of *York* his Father diſcomfited and ſlain in battel, and with him the Earl of *Warwicks* Father [6], the which Earl of *Warwick* governed King *Edward* in his youth, and all his affairs; yea to ſay the truth made him King, and was the only man that defeated his enemy King *Henry*, who had reigned many years in *England*, and was lawfull King, both in my opinion, and in the judgement of the whole world. But as touching great Realms and Seigniories, God holdeth them in his hand, and diſpoſeth of them at his pleaſure; for all proceedeth of him. The cauſe that moved the Earl of *Warwick* to ſerve the Houſe of *York* againſt King *Henry*, who was of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, was this. The Earl of *Warwick*, and the Duke of *Sommerſet* fell at variance in King *Henries* Court, who was a very ſimple man: the Queen his Wife being of the Houſe of *Anjou*, daughter to *Rene* King of *Sicily*, took part with the Duke of *Sommerſet* againſt the Earl. But conſidering that they had all acknowledged both King *Henry*, and his Father, and Grandfather, for their lawfull Princes, the ſaid Lady ſhould have done much better to have taken upon her the office of Judge or Mediator between them, than to take part with either of them, as the ſequell well declared. For hereupon aroſe war, which continued nine and twenty years: during the which ſpace many bloody battels were fought, and in the end, all in a manner both of the one party and the other ſlain. Now to ſpeak a word or two of Factions: Surely they are marvellous dangerous, eſpecially among great men, who are naturally inclined to nouriſh and maintain them. But you will ſay peradventure, that by this means the Prince ſhall have intelligence of all things that paſſe, and thereby hold both the parties in the greater fear. In truth, I can well agree that a young Prince uſe this order among Ladies: forby this means he ſhall have pleaſure and ſport enough, and underſtand of all their news: but to nouriſh factions among men, yea, among Princes, and men of vertue and courage, nothing can be more dangerous, becauſe by that means he ſhall kindle an unquenchable fire in his Houſe: for forthwith one of the parties will ſuppoſe the King to be againſt them, and then to fortify themſelves will enter into intelligence with his enemies. The Factions of *Orleance* and *Burgundy* prove this point ſufficiently; for the wars that ſprang thereof continued threeſcore and twelve years, the Engliſhmen, being parties in them, who thought to have conquered the whole Realm. But to return to King *Edward*, he was very young when his Father was ſlain, and the beautifulleſt Prince in the world: but after he had vanquiſhed all his enemies, he gave himſelf wholly to pleaſures, as to Dames, Feaſting, Banquetting, and Hunting, in the which delicacies he continued about ſixteen years [7], to wit, till the Earl of *Warwick* and he fell at variance, in the which wars, notwithſtanding, that the King were chaſed out of this Realm, yet continued he not long in that eſtate; for he ſoon returned and having obtained victory, more abandoned himſelf to all pleaſures, than before. He feared no man, but fed himſelfe marvellous fat, by means whereof, in the flower of his age diſeaſes grew upon him, ſo that he died in a manner ſuddenly, of an Apoplexy, and his heirs males loſt the Crown, as before you have heard.

In this our Age, reigned alſo two valiant and wiſe Princes, namely *Mathias* King of *Hungary*, and *Mahomet Ottoman* Emperor of *Turkey*. This King *Mathias* was Son to a valiant Knight called the white Knight of *Valachy* [8], a Gentleman of great wiſdom and vertue, who governed long the Realm of *Hungary*, and obtained many goodly victories againſt the Turks [9], who border upon the ſaid Realm, by reaſon of the Seigniories they have uſurped in *Greece* and *Slavonia* [10]. Soon after his death King *Lancelot* came

[6] The Earl of *Warwicks* Father was *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Saliſbury*, who was not ſlain at the battel of *Wakefield* with *Richard* Duke of *York*, but taken, & within a day or two after beheaded, and his head ſent to *York*, as the ſaid Dukes had been. By this place, I have amended the other, lib. 1. cap. 7. figur. 3.

[7] *Comines* ſaith here, that King *Edward* had lived ſixteen years in delicacies, when the Earl of *Warwick* chaſed him out of his Realm: yet before, lib. 3. he ſaith twelve or thirteen years, ſomewhat neater to the truth; for indeed he was chaſed the tenth year of his reign.

[8] This white Knight is named *Johannes Huniades Corvinus*, his Fathers name was *Bath*, of the Country of *Valachy* corruptly printed in the French *Vallagny*.

[9] To wit, 20 and fought in one day againſt *Amurathes* and his Baſhaes ſix great battels, and obtained victory in them all.

[10] *Sclavonia* is the Country of *Illyria*.

to mans eſtate [11], who was right Heir not only of the Realm of *Hungary*, but alſo *Bohemia* and *Polonia*. He by counſell of certain cauſed the white Knights two Sons to be apprehended, alledging that their father had uſurped too great rule and authority in the Realm, and that the Sons being Gentlemen of great courage might peradventure attempt the like. Wherefore the ſaid King *Lancelot* reſolved to lay them both in priſon, and incontinent put the Elder to death [12], and ſent the ſaid *Mathias* priſoner to *Bude* the chief Town of *Hungary*, where he remained not long. And, I ſuppoſe, that God took in good part the great ſervices his Father had done. For ſoon after King *Lancelot* was poiſoned at *Prague* in *Bohemia* [13], by a Gentlewoman of a good Houſe (whoſe Brother my ſelf have ſeen) of whom he was enamored, and ſhe likewiſe of him, ſo far forth, that ſhe being diſpleaſed with his marriage with the Daughter of *Charles* the ſeventh King of *France* now called Princeſſe of *Vienna* (againſt his promiſe made to her) poiſoned him in a Bath, as ſhe gave him a peece of Apple to eat, having conveighed the poiſon into the haft of her knife. Immediately after King *Lancelots* death, the Barons and Nobles of the Realm aſſembled to chooſe a new King: for the cuſtome of the Country is, when the King dieth without iſſue that the Nobles may proceed to an election. And while they were there in great diviſion about their choice, the white Knights Widow, Mother to *Mathias*, came into the Town with a goodly train: for becauſe ſhe had great treaſure left her by her Husband, ſhe was ſoon able to levy great forces: and further, I think, ſhe had good intelligence both in the Town and alſo among the Nobility, becauſe of the great ſway her Husband had born in the Realm. She rode ſtraight to the Priſon and took her Son out of it [14]. Whereupon part of the Barons and Prelates there aſſembled for the election, fled for fear, the reſt choſe the ſaid *Mathias* King, who raigned in the Realm, with as great proſperity as any King, theſe many years, and hath been as highly praiſed and commended, yea more in ſome points than any of his Predeceſſours. He was one of the valianteſt men that lived in his time, and obtained great victories againſt the Turks, without all damage to his own Realm, the which he enlarged on all ſides as well towards *Bohemia* (the greateſt Part whereof he held) as alſo towards *Valachy*, where he was born, and towards *Sclavonia*. In like manner upon the frontiers of *Almain* he wan the greateſt part of *Auſtrich* from the Emperor *Frederick* now reigning, and poſſeſſed it till his death, which hapned in the year 1491, in *Vienna* the chief town of *Auſtrich*. This King governed his affairs with great wiſdome, as well in peace as war: but a little before his death, perceiving himſelf to be feared of his enemies, he grew marvellous pompous and ſumptuous in his Court, and amaſſed an infinite quantity of goodly ſtuffe, jewels, and plate, for the furniture of his Houſe. All his affairs were diſpatched by himſelf or by his direction. Before his death his Subjects ſtood in great fear of him, for he waxed cruell, and ſoon after fell into a greivous and incurable diſeaſe, being but young, to wit, eight and twenty years of age [15], or thereabout. He died, having ſpent his life in much more labour and travail than pleaſure.

The Turk abovementioned [16] was a wiſe and Noble Prince, but uſing wiles and ſubtilty more than courage and valour. True it is, that his Father left him great, for he had been a hardy Prince and wan *Adrianople* [17], which is as much as to ſay, the City of *Adrian*. This Turk that I now write of, took in the three and twentieth year of his age the City

[11] Some vvrite that this *Lancelot*, called in Latin Stories *Ladiſlaus*, came to ful years before *Hunades* death, and gave him in recompence of his ſervice the Earldome of *Briſtrich*, and yet afterward ſought to kill him by the perſvvaſion of *Ulrich* Earl of *Cily* the ſaid *Ladiſlaus* uncle: but *Hunades* valiantly defended himſelf, & ſoon after died; but indeed the truth is, that *Ladiſlaus* was born the 21 of *Febr.* 1440, and *Huniades* died the the 10 of *September* 1456, ſo that at *Hunades* death, *Ladiſlaus* was almoſt ſeventeen years of age, and by the perſwaſion of this Earl' *Ulrich*, had taken the government upon himſelf.

[12] The elder Brothers name was *Ladiſlaus*. The cauſe of his death was, for that in defence of himſelf he had ſlain the Earl *Ulrich*, who aſſaulted him as before he had done his Father, and continually ſought both his blood, and his Brothers. Wherefore the King cauſed both the Brethren deceitfully to be taken, and beheaded the elder, being five or ſix and twenty years of age. It is written, that the Hangman gave him three ſtrokes with the Sword, before he could pierce his skin. [13] King *Ladiſlaus* died of poiſon the 21 of *November* 1457. [14] Other Hiſtories vary much in this point from *Commines*: For they make no mention of *Mathias* delivery by his Mothers means, but ſay, that King *Ladiſlaus*, being hated in *Hungary*, for *Hunades* elder Sons death, departed into *Bohemia*, leading *Mathias* with him as Priſoner, vvhere, ſoon after this, *Ladiſlaus* died of poiſon, as here by our Author mention is made. After his death *George Boiebrac* uſurped the Realm of *Bohemia*; this *Mathias* being ſtill Priſoner at *Prague*: But the Nobles of *Hungary* becauſe of his Fathers great ſervices, choſe him their King and ſent to the ſaid *Boiebrac*, requiring his delivery: Who not onely accompliſhed their requeſt on that behalf, but alſo gave the ſaid *Mathias* his Daughter in marriage, and ſent him into *Hungary* nobly accompanied. [15] This place is marvellouſly corrupted; for King *Mathias* vvas born the four and tvventieth of *Febr.* 1443, and died the fifth of *April* at *Vienna* of an Apoplexy, the year 1490, or, as our Author ſaith, 1491: So that by this computation he lived about eight and forty years, and ſo undoubtedly, this eight and tvventy muſt be read eight and forty. [16] This Turk was *Mahomet* the ſecond. [17] Others vvrite that *Amurathes* the third Emperour of *Turkey*, vvan *Adrianople*: and it may be, that the name deceived our Author: for this Turks Fathers name vvas alſo *Amurathes*; but this vvas *Amurathes* the ſecond, and he that vvan *Adrianople*, *Amurathes* the firſt.

of *Conſtantinople* [18]. I have ſeen his Portraiture when he was of thoſe years, the lineaments whereof made ſhew of an excellent wit. It was a ſhame for all Chriſtendome to ſuffer the Town ſo to be loſt: for he took it by aſſault, and the Emperour of the Eaſt, whom we call Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, was ſlain himſelf at the breach [19], with a number of Valiant men, and divers women of great eſtate and Noble Houſes raviſhed: to be ſhort, no cruelty was omitted. This was his firſt exploit, but not his laſt for he continued till his death in atchieving great enterpriſes: ſo that I heard once an Ambaſſador of *Venice*, tell Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy*, that he had conquered two Empires, four Realms, and two hundred Cities. He meant the Empires of *Conſtantinople* and *Trapazond* [20]; the Realms of *Boſne* [21], *Syria*, *Armenia*, and I think *Morea* [22] was the fourth, in the which the Venetians held two places. He conquered alſo divers goodly Iſles in the Sea, called *Archipel* [23], near to the ſaid *Morea*, with the Iſles of *Nigrepont* [24] and *Mytilene*: he ſubdued in like manner the greateſt part of *Albanie* and *Sclavony*. And as his Conqueſts were great againſt the Chriſtians, ſo were they alſo againſt them of his own Law, of whom he deſtroyed many a great Prince, as the Caraman [25], and divers others. The greateſt part of his affairs he governed by his own wiſdom, as did our King, and the King of *Hungary* alſo: who were three of the greateſt Princes that reigned theſe hundred years. But the courteſie and courſe of life of the King our Maſter, and his good uſage both of his own ſervants and ſtrangers, far paſſed both the others; and no marvell, for he was the moſt Chriſtian King. As touching worldly pleaſures, this Turk had his fill; for he ſpent the greateſt part of his life in them, and had he not been ſo much addicted to them, undoubtedly he would have done much more miſchief. There was no fleſhly vice that he was free from, but in gluttony he paſſed, and according to his diet diſeaſes fell upon him: for every ſpring (as I have heard thoſe report that have ſeen him) his Legs ſwelled as big as a mans body, notwithſtanding they brake not, but the ſwelling aſſwaged of it ſelf. No Chirurgeon could tell the cauſe of this diſeaſe, ſave onely that it proceeded of gluttony, and it may be that it was ſome ſpeciall puniſhment of God. This ſaid diſeaſe was the cauſe he came ſo ſeldom abroad, and kept himſelf ſo cloſe in his Chariot, fearing that the miſerable eſtate he was in, would cauſe his ſubjects to deſpiſe him. He died being two and fifty years of age [26], or thereabout, in a manner ſuddenly: notwithſtanding he made his Teſtament, which my ſelf have ſeen, wherein he made conſcience of a ſubſidy lately levied upon his ſubjects, if the ſaid Teſtament be true. Let Chriſtian Princes then weigh well what they ought to do, conſidering that they have no authority in right and reaſon to levy any thing upon their ſubjects, without their permiſſion and conſent.

[18] *Conſtantinople* was taken *anno* 1453. the 29. of *May*.

[19] This Emperor was named *Conſtantinus Paleologus*: but, as others write he was not ſlain at the breach, but thronged to death in the Gate as he would have fled.

[20] How he conquered *Trapezonde*, *Syria*, *Armenia*, appeareth after in the figure [3].

[21] It is corruptly in the French *Breſſanne*. This Realm of *Boſne* he conquered over *Stephen* King of that country, *anno* 1463. but *Mathias* King of *Hungary* ſoon after recovered it again.

[22] *Morea* was in times paſt *Peloponenſus*.

[23] This *Archipell* is *Mare Ægæum*, in the

which the Iſles called *Cyclades* lie. [24] *Nigrepont* in times paſt was *Eubœa*. [25] The French Books have ſome of them the *Carmian*, ſome the *Carmanian*, and ſome (becauſe they will be ſure not to erre) nothing. But undoubtedly it is to be read as I have here tranſlated it. For further declaration whereof we muſt underſtand, that about the year 1250. four Noble-houſes came out of *Perſia*, with their Captains and armies, the *Otthomans*, *Aſſembecs*, *Scandelors* or *Candelors*, and the *Caramans*. All theſe four Houſes ſubdued every one of them ſome Region: the *Otthomans* wan *Bythinia*, *Phrygia*, *Galatia*. The *Aſſembecs* *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*. The *Scandelors* held the greateſt part of *Pontus*: and the *Caramans* *Cicilia*, *Lecia*, *Lycaonia*, *Pamphylia*. But the Houſe of *Otthoman* in the end devoured all the other three. The *Aſſembecs* were vanquiſhed by this *Mahomet*, *anno*. 1459. For you ſhall underſtand, that *uſumcauſanes* King of the *Aſſembecs* fought three great Battels with this *Mahomet*. In the two firſt he overthrew him, but in the third he was utterly overthrown, by reaſon that *Mahomet* had great Artillery in his Camp, which novelty (unknown before to the eaſtern Nations) diſcomfited *Uſumcaſſenes* army, who in this Battell loſt alſo his ſon *Zeinalde*. After this Battell, *Mahomet* wan all *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and took *Trapezonde* the Seat of the *Aſſembecs* Empire, with the greateſt part of *Armenia* and *Syria*, as mention is here made. Further, after this Battell *Mahomet* took from *Pyramitus* Prince of the *Caramans*, the greateſt part of *Cilicia*: and after this *Mahomets* death *Bajazet* his Son ſlew in battell *Abraham* the laſt Prince of the *Caramans*, and utterly deſtroyed that Houſe. As touching the *Scandelors*, after the *Aſſembecs* and *Caramans* were deſtroyed, the Prince of the *Scandelors* yielded his country to *Bajazet*, and, in exchange thereof, had certain revenues given him in *Natolia*. And thus were all the three Houſes ſubdued by the Houſe of *Otthomans*: which diſcourſe, for the better underſtanding of this place, I have been forced to write ſomewhat at large. [26] Others write 58. and others write 56. but ſure our Author reporteth his age trulieſt: for he was born *anno* 1430. the 24th. of *March*, and died of the Collick 1481. the third of *May*, ſo that he was entred into his two and fiftieth year.

THE

The Concluſion of the Author.

YOu ſee here a number of great Perſonages dead in ſhort ſpace, who travelled ſo mightily, and endured ſo many anguiſhes and ſorrows to purchaſe honour and renown, whereby they abridged their lives, yea, and peradventure charged their Souls. I ſpeak not this of the Turk, for I make account he is lodged with his Predeceſſours; but our King and the reſt, I truſt, God hath taken to his mercy. Now to ſpeak of this point, as a man unlearned, but having ſome experience: Had it not been better both for theſe great Princes themſelves, and all their Subjects, that lived under them, and ſhall live under their Succeſſours, to have held a mean in all things, that is to ſay, to have attempted fewer enterpriſes, to have feared more to offend God, and perſecute their Subjects and Neighbours ſo many ſundry wayes above rehearſed, and to have uſed honeſt pleaſures and recreation? Yes ſure: For by that means, their lives ſhould have been prolonged, diſeaſes ſhould not ſo ſoon have aſſailed them, their death ſhould have been more lamented, and leſs deſired; yea, and they ſhould have had leſs cauſe to fear death. What goodlier examples can we finde to teach us that man is but a ſhadow, that our life is miſerable and ſhort, and that we are nothing neither great nor ſmall? For immediately after our death, all men abhorre and loath our bodies, and ſo ſoon as the Soul is ſevered from the Body, it goeth to receive judgement; yea, undoubtedly at the very inſtant that the Soul and Body part, the judgement of God is given according to our merits and deſerts, which is called the particular judgement of God.

THE

A SUPPLY TO THE HISTORY OF *PHILIP DE COMMINES*, FROM THE Death of King *Lewis* the XI. till the beginning of the wars of *Naples*, to wit, from 1483. till 1493. Of all the which time *Commines* writeth nothing.

CHAP. I. *Of King* Charles *his comming to the Crown; of the death of* Oliver *King* Lewis *his Barber, and others; and of the revoking of King* Lewis *his superfluous gifts.*

After the death of *Lewis* the eleventh, *Charles* the eighth his onely Son, being thirteen years of age and two moneths, succeeded to the Crown: notwithstanding his Coronation was deferred till the Moneth of *June* in the next year, to the end he might be full fourteen, when he should be crowned. The King his Father had brought him up at *Amboise*, in such solitarines, that none besides his ordinary Servants could have accesse unto him; neither permitted he him, to learn any more Latin than this one sentence: *He that cannot dissemble, cannot reign.* Which he did, not for that he hated learning, but because he feared that study would hurt the tender and delicate complexion of the Child. Notwithstanding, King *Charles* after he came to the Crown, grew very studious of Learning, and gave himself to the reading of Stories, and Books of Humanity written in the French tongue, and attempted to understand Latin.

Before the Kings Coronation, the Princes of the Blood, and the Nobles of the Realm, who so often had been injured in the late King *Lewis* his time, by *Oliver le Dain* his Barber by *Daniel* a Flemming, the said *Olivers* Servant, and by *John D' Oyac*; (which three had wholly governed the said King *Lewis*,) caused informations secretly to be exhibited against them for divers murthers, rapines, and other heinous crimes, that they had committed in King *Lewis* his time, yea and some of them by his commandement: the which information being seen by the Court of Parliament, they were forthwith apprehended, their Processe made, and in the end all three condemned: and the next year being 1484, the said *Oliver*, and *Daniel* his man, were hanged at *Paris*, and *D' Oyac* had his ears cut off, and his tongue bored through with a hot iron. One of the crimes committed by *Oliver* and *Daniel*, for the which they where executed, was this: A Gentleman was committed to Prison by King *Lewis* his commandement, whose wife being young and beautifull, was contented to abandon her self to the lust of this *Oliver*, upon promise that he should deliver her Husband out of Prison to her; but the next day, he caused *Daniel* his man to put him into a Sack, and to throw him into the River, where he was miserably drowned. This *Oliver* was a Flemming born and had been Barber to King *Lewis*, and of greater credit with him, than any man in all *France*, which his credit grew by vile and slavish Offices, that he did about the King, so far forth that he ordinarily sucked the Kings Hemorrhoides, wherewith he was often troubled; which base service he did, not for good will that he bare the King, but onely for covetousnesse, and to maintain his credit, which ended soon after the King his Masters death, as you have heard; not withstanding the great charge, that the King upon his death-bed had given his Son to love the said *Oliver*, and not to suffer him to be spoiled of that which he had bestowed upon him, because his service had long preserved his life. But howsoever Princes maintain such lewd Ministers in their lives, and how ready soever such servants be to execute their Masters unlawfull and wilfull commandments, supposing that they shall never be called to account therefore: yet in the end, they find that credit in Court is no inheritance, and that God who leaveth nothing unpunished, findeth a time to reward them according to their deserts. Further, soon after King *Lewis* his death, consultation was had of the superfluous and superstitious gifts made by him in his life, all the which were revoked, and all that was given reunited to the Crown.

CHAP.

CHAP. II. *Of the Aſſembly of the States held at* Tours; *of the Duke of* Orleans *purſuit for the regency; of the War called the Mad War, raiſed by him; and of his departure into* Britain.

1484 THE King in the Moneth of *July*, after his Coronation, being the year 1484. held a generall and free aſſembly of the States of his Realm at *Touars*, far otherwiſe then had been uſed in his Fathers dayes: for none came to theſe generall aſſemblies in his time, but ſuch were of his own nomination, neither durſt any man ſpeak his minde freely, but was forced in all matters to yield to the Kings will, which was for the moſt part unreaſonable and violent. But at this aſſembly the preſence was great, the voices free, the complaints lamentable: the Noblility, Commons, and Clergy, every one of them preſented their griefs, complaining of the burdens that the late King (contrary to the Laws of the Realm, and cuſtoms of their Anceſtors) had laid upon them. In this aſſembly it was enacted, that there ſhould be no Regent in *France*; but that *Anne* Lady of *Beavieu*, the Kings eldeſt Siſter, ſhould have the government of his Royal Perſon, according to the Teſtament of King *Lewis* the eleventh, that the privy Councell ſhould conſiſt of twelve choſen out of the body of the Nobility, by whoſe advice, all matters ſhould be governed and diſpatched; but all in the Kings name, and under the ſignature of his hand. Further, *John* Duke of *Bourbon* was created Conſtable. But by little and little the whole government was derived to the ſaid Lady of *Beavieu*, becauſe the King her Brothers Perſon was in her hands.

But *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* being the neareſt Prince of the blood Royall, by the perſwaſion of thoſe that were about him, who gaped for great preferment, if the government were committed to his charge, and eſpecially by the inſtigation of the Earl of *Dunois* named *Francis*, Son to *John*, commonly called the Baſtard of *Orleans* (a man of a ſubtill ſpirit, and of great enterpriſe) abode ſtill at *Paris*, and entred daily into the Councill, (notwithſtanding the decree of the three Eſtates) as one that would underſtand of all that was done there. Wherewith the Lady of *Beavieu* was not a little diſcontented: which when the Prince of *Orenge*, the Marſhall of *Rieux*, and the reſt of the Barons of *Brittain*, that were at that time fugitives in *France* (as hereafter ſhall be declared) underſtood; they came to the ſaid Lady of *Beavieu*, and offered her and the King their ſervice, which the Duke of *Orleans* greatly ſtomached. Further, the ſaid Duke ſought by all means poſſible to diſcredit the womaniſh government of the Lady; but his perſwaſions little prevailed, becauſe the Duke himſelf being not as yet four and twenty years old, was under the government of his mother, and it ſeemed no reaſon to commit the managing of the common wealth to him that was unable to govern his own private eſtate: ſo that the ſame reaſon barred him from the government now, that excluded his Grandfather in times paſt, during the phrenſie of King *Charles* the ſixth. But this reaſon ſatisfied not the Duke nor his friends. Wherefore the Lady of *Beavieu* ſeeing that the Duke of *Orleans* remaining in *Paris*, wan daily thoſe that were in authority to his ſide, ſeeking by that means to obtain the regency of the Realm; ſent by the reſolution of the Kings Councill, certain to *Paris* to arreſt the body of the ſaid Duke. Who being advertiſed thereof as he was at Venice, withdrew himſelf, and (pretending that he went to his lodging) departed in the company of *Guyot Pot*, and *John* of *Louen* (one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber whom he greatly favoured) and lodged that night at *Pontoiſe*. The next day he went to *Vernueil*, and from thence to *Alencon*, where he remained a certain ſpace: during the which, he practiſed to draw to his party the Earl of *Angouleſme*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Lord of *Alebret*, who in the end declared themſelves to be his friends and aſſiſtants in this enterpriſe. But all theſe, becauſe of this their confederacy with him, were forthwith removed from all their offices and eſtates, and loſt all their penſions, and their charge of men of arms: yet notwithſtanding, they levied a great army of the people of their countries, and found means to win to their ſide the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Prince of *Orenge*, and the Earl of *Foix*. Under the aſſurance of all the which Princes, the Duke of *Orleans* aſſembled his army at *Blois*, to march therewith to *Orleans*: but the Citizens of the Town, perceiving that their Duke came thither with a purpoſe to ſurpriſe it, and to make it the

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ſeat of the wars ſhut their gates upon him, and would not ſuffer him to enter. Wherefore with an Army of four hundred launces, and a great number of Footmen, he went to *Bougency*, accompanied with the Earls of *Dunois* and *Foix*, and with *Carquelevant*, and other French Captains, where they remained a certain ſpace, and thither the King ſent to beſiege them. But becauſe they ſaw the place not to be of defence; and further, that the Malecontents of the Realm flocked not to them as they ſuppoſed they would: they made a ſudden Peace with the King, whereby it was agreed, that the Duke of *Orleance* ſhould repair to the King, and ſo he did; and that the Earl of *Dunois*, the Contriver of all this enterpriſe, ſhould depart the Realm, which alſo he did, and retired himſelf to *Aſt*. But this notwithſtanding, the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Earl of *Angouleſme*, who had levied their Armies to ſuccour the Duke of *Orleans*, marched towards *Bourges*, whither the King went with a great Army, accompanied with the ſaid Duke of *Orleans*, who was conſtrained to arm himſelf againſt his late Allies and Confederates. Notwithſtanding by the wiſdome of the Marſhall of *Gie*, and the Lord of *Graville*, (which two had great authority in the Court under the Lady of *Beavieu*) Peace was concluded between the King and his Nobles, wherein the Lord of *Albret* was alſo comprehended; and thus departed all theſe Armies without any bloodſhed; and the King went to *Amboiſe*; the Duke of *Orleans* to *Orleans*, and the Earl of *Foix* and the Cardinall his Brother to *Nantes* to the Duke of *Britain*, who had married their Siſter. This Tumult was called the mad War, and hapned in the year 1485.

After all this, the Earl of *Dunois* returned from *Aſt*, and went to his own Town of *Partenay* in *Poitou*, which was then a ſtrong Town with a double ditch, and a triple wall. Hereof the King being advertiſed, and withall that he fortifyed himſelf in the ſaid Town, and knowing the ſaid Earl of *Dunois* to be full of practiſe, and a man of great Enterpriſe: he ſent to the Duke of *Orleans* (who was at *Orleans* holding ſolemn Juſts and Tourneies) to come to him at *Amboiſe*. And after three or four Meſſengers, the laſt whereof was the Marſhall of *Gie*, the Duke of *Orleans* went to *Blois*, and the next day being Twelfe Evening in the ſaid year 1485, he departed out of *Blois* early in the morning with his Hawks, faining that he went to fly in the field, and without any bait rode that night to *Frontenaulx*, whereof his ſiſter was then Abbeſs: from thence he went to *Cliſſon*, and from *Cliſſon* to *Nantes*, where he was very honorably received of the Duke. This was the Duke of *Orleans* ſecond comming into *Britain*, as by that which followeth hereafter ſhall more plainly appear. The King being advertiſed of his departure, determined to beſiege the Earl of *Dunois* in his Town of *Partenay*, and found means (before any bruite was made thereof) to draw to his ſervice the Marſhall of *Rieux*, and the other Barons of *Britain*, that were then retired to *Chaſteaubrian* to the Lady of *Laval*, who was Lady thereof, becauſe the Duke of *Britain* by aid of the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Earl of *Dunois* ſought to avenge himſelf of the ſaid Barons, for the death of *Peter Landois* Treaſurer of *Britain*, whereof I now will begin to ſpeak.

1485

If you begin the year at New-years day it was 1486.

CHAP. III. *Of the troubles that happened in* Britain *between the Duke and his Nobles, and of* Peter Landois *death.*

ABout the ſame time, or ſomewhat before, that the mad Tumult abovementioned happened in *France*: a like ſtir chanced alſo in *Britain*, though not with the like event; the ſeeds of the which were privily ſown in the life of *Lewis* the eleventh, but ſprung not up, for fear of forrein war (with the which the ſaid King *Lewis* continually threatned the *Britains*) till after his death. But when all forrein fear, which had hitherto preſerved their peace, was removed, the fire flamed out which upon this occaſion was firſt kindled. *Chauvin* Chancellor of *Britain* (a very worthy man) died miſerably in Priſon in the Caſtle of *L'Hermite*, where the Duke had impriſoned him, at the requeſt of his Treaſurer *Peter Landois* a Hoſiers Son of *Tours*, who after the ſaid *Chauvins* death, wholly poſſeſſed the Duke. But the Nobility, namely the Prince of *Orenge*, and the Marſhall of *Rieux* (who were then at *Nantes*, and hated this *Landois* as Author of the others death) conſpired together to his deſtruction: for the executing of which their purpoſe, they watched a time when they thought to ſurpriſe him either in the Caſtle of *Nantes*, with the D. or in a Houſe of his own called *Pabotiere* a mile from the Town. Wherefore they divided their company & part they ſent to beſiege the ſaid houſe, and

and with the reſt entred into the Caſtle: and to the end, he ſhould by no means eſcape, they ſhut up the Caſtle Gates, they ſearched every corner of the Caſtle, yea, they ruſhed into the Dukes Chamber, ſuppoſing that the ſaid *Landois* might happily have retired himſelf thither, in hope to make the Dukes preſence the Buckler of his defence. But he being a mile from *Nantes* in his own houſe abovementioned, eſcaped at a back Gate before the houſe was thorowly beſet, and ſo ſaved himſelf. But preſently a great uproar began in the Town: for one of the Dukes ſervants, at the Noblemens firſt entry into the Caſtle, being let down the Caſtle wall by a rope, made a great outcry in the town, aggravating the heinouſneſſe of the fact, and affirming that the Caſtle was forced, the Duke aſſaulted, and his life in great danger unleſſe he were ſpeedily ſuccoured. The Citizens (ignorant that this attempt was made onely for the ſurpriſing of *Peter Landois*) armed themſelves and ran to the Caſtle, threatning all the Nobility with death, of whom not one durſt ſhew himſelf upon the wall to ſpeak to the furious Multitude, becauſe the People had planted ſhot againſt the Caſtle meaning to ſpare no man, ſo ſoon as he ſhould appear but the Duke alone. The Duke being in the hands of his Nobles, ſhewed himſelf to his people; who preſently kneeled down before him, congratulating with him for his ſafety, and ſo the tumult ceaſed.

But the Nobility for this bold attempt were baniſhed, though their lives were pardoned, who preſently retired themſelves into *France* to King *Charles*, as before you have heard: Then *Peter* recovered his former credit with the Duke, and cauſed him to write to the Duke of *Orleans* his coſin germane, that it would pleaſe him to come to him into *Britain*, which the Duke of *Orleans* did by the perſwaſion of the Earl of *Dunois*, who ſought to divorce him from the Kings ſiſter, and to marry him to *Anne* the Duke of *Britains* Eldeſt daughter and heir, which alſo happened after the ſaid Duke of *Orleans* was King, though it were not now accompliſhed. The Duke of *Orleans*, accompanied with the Duke of *Alencon* arrived at *Nantes*, in the Month of *April* after this tumult, being in the year 1484, where they were honourably received of the Duke of *Britain*, who complained to them of the outrage done unto him by the Prince of *Orenge* and the Marſhall of *Rieux*, for the revenge whereof he deſired their aid; which they promiſed him in generall terms, and then departed to go to *Reimes* to the Coronation of King *Charles*. After the which the Duke of *Orleans* fell at variance with the King, and yet in the end Peace is concluded between them in the year 1485, as before you have heard.

Then *Peter Landois* ſeeing the Duke his Maſter in league with the Duke of *Orleans*, and the ſaid Duke of *Orleance* and his faction in Peace with the King, determined to be revenged of his enemies: wherefore the Duke of *Britain*, by his perſwaſion, made an Edict, that all the Noblemens houſes that had been of the Conſpiracy abovementioned ſhould be razed. For the execution whereof an Army was levied in the Dukes Name, to raze *Ancenix*, where the Prince of *Orenge*, and the Earl of *Comminges* then remained; who being advertiſed thereof, by the aid of their friends & of the baniſhed Barons that were returned out of exile to defend their patrimonies, levied likewiſe an Army to withſtand *Landois* attempts: but when theſe two Armies were come the one in the face of the other, the remembrance and love to their common Country altered their minds in ſuch ſort, that they diſarmed themſelves, and each imbraced other as Friends. Then went the Prince of *Orenge* and the Earl of *Comminges* to the Duke, and recovered his favour and the Government: by means whereof all the ſtorm fell upon *Peter Landois* alone, whom when the Nobles knew to be within the Caſtle, with one conſent they went thither, being fully reſolved to ſeize upon him, though he were in the Dukes Arms. Then one whom both Nobility and Commons had by common conſent choſen their new Chancellour, by their conſtraint ſpake to the Duke, and advertiſed him that without the delivery of *Peter* the tumult could not be appeaſed, againſt whom they would proceed only by order of Law, without executing any thing upon him; before his cauſe were heard and thoroughly examined. Thus was he yielded into their hands, and preſently impriſoned, and for faſhions ſake examined: many heinous crimes where objected againſt him. To conclude, he was condemned and hanged before the Duke knew his cau e to be tryed, who was purpoſed to have granted him his pardon, howſoever Law proceeded againſt him: for the preventing whereof, the execution was haſtened. But this Fact of the Nobility (which the Duke accounted as a moſt heinous injury done to himſelf) made them ten times more odious to the D. then they were before The Duke created a new Chancellour, and, to make head againſt his Nobles, received very courteouſly the Duke of *Orleans*, who about this preſent fled to

him

him out of *France* with a great company of his partakers : which when the ſaid Nobles of *Britain* ſaw, they were greatly aſtoniſhed, and fled for fear, the ſecond time, into *France*; where the King (meaning to make war upon the Duke of *Britain*, for receiving the Duke of *Orleans* being fled from him) welcomed them and entred into a league with them, as in the end of the laſt Chapter you have heard. The report went that the Duke of *Orleans* had a plot in his head to divorce himſelf from the Lady *Jane* the Kings ſiſter, as forced upon him againſt his will by King *Lewis* the eleventh, and to marry with *Anne* the Duke of *Britains* eldeſt Daughter and Heir, the hope whereof was the cauſe of this his voiage into *Britain* : but the ſelf-ſame hope entertained alſo Monſieur *de Alebret*, and drew him to the Duke of *Britains* part; the rather, becauſe he had received aſſurance of the marriage in writing, under the hands of all the Noblemen, that were about the ſaid Duke of *Britain*, ſave of the Duke of *Orleans* alone.

CHAP IV. *Of the War the King made in Britain, and of the Earl of* Dunois *ambaſſage to the King for peace.*

THe onely care of the baniſhed Nobles of *Britain* was to return, and remain in ſafety in their Country, and the Kings only deſire was to be revenged of the Duke of *Britain*, for receiving the Duke of *Orleans*. Wherefore the King, as before is ſaid, entred into league with theſe Nobles, and in their favour levied an Army, and began war upon the Duke of *Britain*, in the year 1486. This Army, invaded *Britain* three ſeverall wayes; for the Lord of Saint *Andre* with four hundred launces, and five or ſix thouſand foot-men entred on one ſide; the Earl of *Montpenſier*, with a great band upon another ſide; and *Lewis* of *Trimoville*, Vicount of *Tours*, (who had married *Gabriel* of *Bourbon*, the ſaid Earl of *Montpenſiers* ſiſter) upon the third; in ſuch ſort, that the Country of *Britain*, was covered with French Souldiers, with whom alſo the Barons of *Brttains* abovementioned, were joyned, who cauſed divers Caſtles in *Britain* to be yielded to the Kings Army, by thoſe that were of their Faction : whereat the Duke of *Britain* was greatly aſtonied. But the Duke of *Orleans*, the Earl of *Dunois*, and the Earl of *Comminges* being with him comforted him, and under colour of a marriage to be made between the Lady *Anne* the Duke of *Britains* eldeſt Daughter, and the Lord of *Alebret*, who had a hundred launces uuder his charge, and was able to levy great forces of Footmen in *Gaſcoine* and *Guienne*, where he was mighty and of goodly revenues, the Earl of *Dunois* wan the ſaid Lord of *Alebret* to joyn with them : who preſently forſook the Kings ſervice, and took part with them accordingly : yet that notwithſtanding, the Duke of *Britain* leaving *Nantes* in the hands of his cozen the Prince of *Orenge*, retired himſelf to the Caſtle of *Maleſtroit* being a ſtrong place, where he levied an Army of ſix hundred launces, and ſixteen thouſand Footmen to ſuccour *Ploermel* (diſtant three or four leagues from *Maleſtroit*) which the Kings Army then beſieged. But as this *Britain* Army marched thitherward, one of the company brake forth into theſe ſpeeches, and asked what this war meant, and what was the end thereof, alledging that their Duke was wholly governed by the French, and that the French made the *Britains* at their pleaſure revenge french quarrels upon the French : wherefore he perſwaded them to return home to their wives and children, and not to ſpend their lives for other mens quarrels. Whereupon all the Army diſparkled, and returned home, by means whereof, *Ploermel*, ſeeing no hope of ſuccours, yielded by compoſition; and yet notwithſtanding was ſpoiled, and the Rich men taken Priſoners, and put to ranſome. The Dukes of *Britain* and *Orleans*, and the other Lords that were with them at *Maleſtroit*, being advertiſed of the departure of their Army, and of the taking of *Ploermel*, went to *Vennes* upon *Whitſun* evening 1487, whither the Kings Army ſo ſpeedily followed them, that hardly they eſcaped by Sea, and went to *Croiſick*, and from thence by the River of *Loire* to *Nantes*, being conſtrained to leave part of their Carriage in the ſaid Town of *Vennes*, which preſently after their departure yielded without any reſiſtance : Further, not long after the taking of this Town, the French in the skirmiſh at a place, called *Jove* between *Chaſteaubrian* and *Nantes*, defeated a great band of *Britains*, led by *Amaulry* of *la Moſſay* towards *Nantes*, at the which time the King in Perſon lay at *Ancenix*. After the taking of *Vennes*, the Kings army marched to *Nantes*, and laid the ſiege before the Town the 19

1486

1487

day of *June* in the ſaid year 1487. Within the Town were the Duke of *Britain* and his two Daughters *Anne* and *Iſabell*, the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Orenge*, the Lady of *Lavall* and of *Chaſteaubrian*, the Biſhop of *Nantes*, called *du Chaffault*, a man of holy life, the Earl of *Commingues*, and divers other Lords: all the which diſlodged out of the Caſtle and lodged in the Town. And becauſe the company had ſome jealouſie of the ſaid Biſhop of *Nantes*, and the Lady of *Lavall*, that they were not thoroughly to be truſted: they were put in guard into certain of the Townſ-mens hands. At this ſiege were ten thouſand French men, and great ſtore of Artillery, wherewith the Walls, Towers, and Vantmures of the Caſtle and Town were throughly battered; but they without were as wel plied by them within, both with ſhot and with ſallies of valiant men, where many a goodly feat of Arms was done, both on the one ſide, and on the other. Further, you ſhall underſtand, that the Earl of *Dunois* being in baſe *Britain*, there to imbarque towards *England* to have aid from thence, and, perceiving that the wind would not ſuffer him ſo to do, brought with him to ſuccour the Town of *Nantes* above fifty thouſand of the Commons of *Britain*, which the French ſuffered to paſſe, ſuppoſing them not to be men of ſervice. But the King ſeeing the extream heat of the weather, and perceiving that he could do no good before the Town, levied his ſiege the ſixth day of *Auguſt*, and departed. Then marched the Kings Army before the Town of *Dolle*, which they took without reſiſtance, and ſpoiled; and all the Britains and Souldiers, that were within it, were taken Priſoners. Further, the Kings Army ſpoiled all the Country, ſlue the people, and drove away their Cattle. But the Marſhal of *Rieux*, and the greateſt part of the baniſhed Nobles of *Britain*, that were in the Kings ſervice, lamenting the miſerable eſtate of their Country; waxed weary of the wars, and alledged that their league with the King was only to this end, that they might recover their Country, and the French that lived in *Britain* be conſtrained to return home into theirs. Wherefore ſeeing the French Nobles, being in *Britain*, proteſted, that they would willingly return home, if the King would pardon their departure to the Duke; and that the Duke on the other ſide, with the conſent of all his Subjects, had offered theſe baniſhed Nobles of *Britain* pardon, and reſtitution to all their Goods and Lands, they ſaw no cauſe why the wars ſhould endure, but that each party ſhould return home in peace: but the French and divers alſo of the Britains themſelves were little moved with theſe allegations. Wherefore the ſaid Marſhall being Lord of *Ancenix*, a Town very commodious for the maintenance of the Kings wars, & the which (notwithſtanding that he held it for the King) he had manned with his own Tenants & Servants; yielded the place to the Duke of *Britain*, and ſware the Townſ-men to be true to him. And further before the fame of his revolt was ſpread abroad, he went with a great Company to *Chaſteaubrian*, which was alſo held for the King, and being received into the Town as a friend, he placed a Garriſon of his own ſouldiers in it, and baniſhed all that refuſed to return to the obedience of the Duke. From thence he went and laid ſiege before *Vennes* the 25 day of *February*, which was held by the French, under the Government of *Gilbert* of *Graſſay*, and *Phillip* of *Moulins*, valiant Captains, who yielded the place by compoſition the third day of *March* following.

If you begin the year at New-years day here beginneth.

1488 On the other ſide the Kings Army ſlept not: for *Ancenix* they took by aſſault, and razed the Walls, Towers, and Houſes by the Kings commandment, ſo that one ſtone was not left upon another, which the King did in ſpite of the Marſhall of *Rieux*, whoſe the Town was, and who was newly revolted from him, as you have heard. *Chaſteaubrian* was alſo recovered by the Kings forces, and the Caſtle razed. From thence, the Kings Army marched to *Fougiers*, being a frontier Town ſtrong and of good reſiſtance, and laid the ſiege before the Place; whereupon the Duke of *Britain*, being ſtrucken with a new fear, determined to ſend the Earl of *Dunois* in ambaſſage to the King, whereof hereafter you ſhall hear.

About this time being in the beginning of the year 1488, the Lord of *Alebret*, who long had been reſident in the Court of *Spain*, came by Sea, and landed in baſe *Britain* with four thouſand men of war: his men went to *Rennes*, but himſelfe to *Nantes* to the Duke of *Britain*, where at his firſt comming he demanded to have the marriage between him and the Lady *Anne*, the Dukes Eldeſt Daughter accompliſhed. But the ſaid Lady would not conſent thereunto, greatly to her Fathers diſcontentation, who knew nothing that ſhe had caſt her fanſie upon the Duke of *Orleans*, by the practiſe and perſwaſion of the Earl of *Dunois*. For the which cauſe the ſaid Earl of *Dunois* (to ſave his honor) endeavoured to withdraw his ſeal given for the accompliſhment of the ſaid marriage; being in

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the hands of the Lady *Lavall* ſiſter to the ſaid *Alebret*, among the Seals of all the other *Britain* Lords, which alſo in the end very cunningly he brought to paſſe. For he gave the ſaid Lady to underſtand that this marriage could never be accompliſhed without the Duke of *Britains* Seal could be obtained, whereunto he (as he ſaid) had moved the Duke, whoſe anſwer was, that he could willingly give his Seal, provided that the inſtrument that he ſhould ſeal were written word for word by that, which the Earl of *Dunois* had already ſealed: wherefore if ſhe would cauſe his writing to be delivered to him, he would make his Secretary to write that which ſhould be preſented to the Duke, word for word by his, and to get the Dukes Seal to it. The Lady of *Lavall*, ſuppoſing that he had meant good faith, delivered him the Writing, which afterward he never reſtored; for preſently after (as you ſhall now hear) he was ſent with certain Lawyers in Ambaſſage to *Angiers* to the King, to underſtand what the King demanded in the Dutchy of *Britain*, and why he deſtroyed the Caſtles and towns thereof.

The Duke of *Britain*, as above is mentioned, being in great fear, when he ſaw the Kings Army before *Fougiers*, ſent the Earl of *Dunois* with the conſent of his Nobles in ambaſſage to *Angiers* to the King. The ſaid Earl in his journey thitherward, ſo preached in all places the great commodities, that Concord and Peace bring with them, that all mens eyes were fixed upon him. When he came to the King, being eighteen years of age, he very eloquently pleaded the cauſe of the Duke of *Britain*, and of the other French Noble-men that were retired to him; alledging, that the Duke, being worn with years, conſumed with diſeaſes, having buried his Wife, being deſtitute of iſſue Male, his eldeſt Daughter being hardly twelve years of age, and his yonger leſſe; and laſtly, being forſaken of his Nobility, for the hatred they bare to *Peter Landois*, and not for any evil deſert of his own; began to languiſh in ſorrow and grief: for the which cauſe, the Noble men of *France*, that were of Kin and Allied to him, being moved with very naturall affection, were retired to him to comfort him in this diſtreſſe. Among whom, none were nearer to him (his own children excepted) then the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orenge*; the one being his Unckles Son, the other his Siſters, and that theſe and other his near Kinſmen, were yet with him onely to this end; adding, that the Duke was not to be accuſed, becauſe he forbad them not his countries, when they came to comfort him in his miſeries, or they for coming to relieve him in his diſtreſſe. But, quoth he, it will be objected, that there arebeſides theſe divers others with him of the Nobility of *France*, that have levied war againſt the King: but what war? Forſooth, as the *Britains* marched with forces to levy the ſiege at *Ploermel*, being advertiſed that they could not ſo do without a Battell with the French: the reverence they bare to the Kings Majeſty was ſuch, that willingly they gave place, and forbare to fight, and rather ſuffered their Towns to be taken and ſpoiled, then they would encounter with the Kings troops. Further, ſo ſoon as the Duke underſtood the Kings deſire to be, that the baniſhed Nobles of *Britain* ſhould return home, he forthwith received them into his favour, and reſtored them to their former Eſtate. What Offence then (ſaid he) hath the Duke made? What cauſe or war againſt him? Truely none. But on the contary ſide many cauſes of commiſeration, and many cauſes, why the King ſhould grant the Duke of *Britain* peace. This was the effect of the ſpeech he was commanded (as he ſaid) to deliver to the King, which charge he would not have taken upon him, but that he knew the Duke of *Britain* to carry a mind ſingularly well affected to the Kings Majeſty; and the French Nobles that were in *Britain* to be the Kings devout Servants and Subjects, and ready to ſhed their blood in the defence of him and his eſtate. This the Earls ſpeech moved the King to encline to peace, whereof the treaty was already begun, when the ſudden report of a battell, whereof you ſhall now hear, as ſuddenly broke it off.

CHAP. V. *Of the battel of Saint* Albin, *wherein the Duke of* Orleans *was taken Priſoner, of the treaty of Peace between the King and the Duke of* Britain, *and of the ſaid Duke of* Britains *death.*



You have heard of the ſiege of *Fougiers*, which endured ſtill, notwithſtanding the Earl of *Dunois* ambaſſage, in ſuch ſort, that the Town began to be greatly diſtreſſed : wherefore the Duke of *Orleans*, and the reſt of the Noblemen of *Britain* fearing the loſſe of the Town departed from *Nantes*, and went to the *Rennes*; where they aſſembled their forces to levy the ſiege. Their men of Arms were four hundred, and their Footmen of their own countries twelve thouſand, as ſome write ; as others, but eight thouſand, beſides three hundred Engliſhmen, and eight hundred Swiſſers, and of Artillery they had great plenty. Then in very good order they encamped abroad in the fields. The names of the Noble men in the Army were theſe : the Duke of *Orleans*, the Lord of *Alebret*, the Marſhall of *Rieux*, the Lord of *Chaſteaubrian*, the Lord *Scales* an Engliſhman, the Lord of *Leon*, the Lord of *Rohans* eldeſt Son, the Lord of *Crenettes*, the Lord of *Pont l' Abbe*, the Lord of *Pleſſis*, the Lord of *Ballynes*, the Lord of *Montigny*, the Lord of *Montuet* : all the which Lords, with their companies and whole forces, encamped at a Village called *Andoville*, the *Wedneſday* being the 23. of *July*, the year 1488 abovementioned, in the night there was an Alarm among the *Gaſcoines*, whereof it was feared ſome quarrel would have grown between the Duke of *Orleans*, and the L. of *Alebret*, but the matter was ſoon pacified. In the mean time came news to theſe Lords, at the ſaid village of *Andoville*, on *Saturday* the 26 of the ſaid month of *July*, that the French had taken *Fougiers* by compoſition, with theſe conditions, that the Souldiers ſhould depart in ſafety with bag and baggage: upon which news, the Britains army determined to march to S. *Albin*, hoping eaſily to take the Town, becauſe the French Garriſon within it was but ſmall, and that in the mean time the Souldiers, that were departed out of *Fougiers* ſhould joyn with them and increaſe their forces. On the other ſide the French army marched alſo towards S. *Albin*, meaning to be there before the *Britains*; but it ſo fell out, that neither of them entred the Town, becauſe before they came thither they met and fought. For you ſhall underſtand, that the ſame *Saturday* that the *Britains* received news of the taking of *Fougiers*, they marched to a Village called *Orenge* two leagues from Saint *Albin*, where they were advertiſed that the Kings Army marched againſt them with a full reſolution to fight with them.

The *Sunday* morning the Britains conſulted of the order of their battel, and becauſe the footmen where jealous of the French horſemen, that were in their camp, and namely the Duke of *Orleans* himſelf : it was thought good, that he and the Prince of *Orenge* ſhould leave their horſes, and put themſelves on foot in the battell among the Switzers, and ſo they did. The Vaward was led by the Marſhall of *Rieux*, the battell by the Lord of *Alebret*, and the Rereward by the Lord of *Chaſteaubrian* : upon one of their Wings was placed their Artillery and their Carriage. And the more to terrifie the French with the great number of Engliſhmen, whereas there was in truth but three hundred Engliſhmen led by the Lord *Talbot*, ſeventeen hundred *Britain* footmen were joyned to them, armed with jacks and red Croſſes Engliſh like : and the *Monday* morning they ranged themſelves in battell in this order above rehearſed, hard by a grove of Wood attending the French Army. The Kings Army (whereof Maſter *Lewis* of *Trimoville*, Vicount of *Tours*, being five or ſix and twenty years of age, was Generall) departed out of *Fougiers* with a full reſolution to fight with the Britains, The Vaward was led by *Adrian de l' Hoſpitall*, and *Gabriel* of *Montfalzois*; before the which, ten or twelve valiant French Knights advanced themſelves to diſcover the Britains actions. Whoſe good order when they had viewed, they retyred to their company, and then being in troop all cloſe joyned together approached the Britains Army, the artillery, in the mean time, playing on both ſides, and greatly endamaging both the parties. The French marched very couragiouſly, and charged the Britains Vaward, where the Marſhall of *Rieux* valiantly received them, and acquitted himſelf ſo well both he and his company, that the French left the vaward, and marched ſtraight upon the Britains battell; where the *Britain* horſemen recoiled, by means whereof their Rereward being diſcouraged fled. Then the French purſued them, and ſlue all the footmen they could overtake : which diſorder, when the *Britain* Vaward perceived, they alſo diſparkled and ſought to ſave themſelves. To conclude, the French

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obtained the victory, and slue all those that bare the red crosse, supposing them all to be Englishmen, together with twelve or thirteen hundred Britains, as well horsemen as footmen. The Duke of *Orleans* was taken by the footmen, and likewise the Prince of *Orenge*, who had pulled away his black Cross from him, & had laid himself flat upon the ground among the dead bodies, feigning himself to be slain; but he was known by a French archer, and both he and the Duke of *Orleans* led prisoners to Saint *Albin*, under sure guard. The Lord of *Alebret* seeing all overthrown, fled away and escaped. The Marshall of *Rieux* also saved himself, and retired to *Dinan*. The Lord of *Leon*, the Lord *du Font l' Abbe*, the Lord of *Montfort*, and divers other Noble men of Britain were slain; and of other Souldiers to the number of 6000: of the Kings part was slain *James Galeat* a valiant and renowned Captain, and to the number of a thousand or twelve hundred common Souldiers. This battell was fought on *Monday* the 28 of *July*, the year 1488. Soon after the Duke of *Orleans* was led to the Castle of *Luzignen*, and from thence to *Poictiers*, where he remained a certain space, and lastly to the great Town of *Bourges*.

The second day after the Battell, the Lord of *Trimoville* sent certain Heraulds to *Rennes* to summon the Town to yield to the King: who, after consultation had, answered the said Heraulds, that the King had no right to the Town, and that wrongfully and without cause he made war upon the Country of *Britain*, and that, notwithstanding his great army, he could not over-run the Country, as he hoped: for God who defended the *Britains* right, was able to do as much to him, as he did to King *John* before *Poictiers*, and to King *Philip* of *Valois* at *Cressy*: adding further, that they would not yield the Town, and that if Monsieur *de la Trimoville* came thither, he should find forty thousand men in the Town, whereof twenty thousand were men of defence. This answer was reported to the said *Trimoville*, who stayed a long time without replying one word thereunto, and afterwards by the same Heraulds advertised the King thereof being at *Angiers*. Whereupon the King assembled his Councill, to determine, what was to be done in this case. Some, yea almost all, were of opinion, that the Town should be besieged: but Master *Master* of *Rochfort*, Chancellour of *France*, held the contrary opinion, grounding himself upon the Kings title to the said Dutchy of *Britain*, which was said to grow by means of a certain conveyance that Master *John* of *Brosse*, Lord of *Bousſac*, Husband to Dame *Nicole* of *Britain*, Daughter and Heir to *Charles* of *Blois*, Earl of *Ponthieure*, had made to the Kings Ancestours, together with divers other Titles, which were not yet proved good: adding, that if the King had no right thereunto, it should be a damnable and tyrannous act to usurp another mans country that appertained not to him. Wherefore his advice was, that, according to the request of the Ambassadours of *Britain*, being at *Angiers*, certain grave and learned men should be appointed to examine the right of both sides. This opinion took place, and according thereunto the K. agreed with the Ambassadors of *Britain*, that both he and the D. would appoint some grave men of their Council, who should meet in some indifferent Town, with the Charters and Writings of both sides, to determine in Conscience to whom the said Dutchy appertained; and that in the mean time, the King should hold all the places in the said Dutchy, that already he possessed. The Duke of *Britain* liked this agreement well, and because the plague was vehement at *Nantes*, he departed thence with his two Daughters, the Lady of *Lavall*, the Lord of *Alebret*, the Earl of *Dunois*, the Marshall of *Rieux*, the Earl of *Comminges*, and divers other Lords to *Coiron*, upon the River of *Loyre*, three leagues beneath *Nantes*; where soon after, namely upon *Wednesday*, the seventh of *September* in the same year 1488, he ended his life thorow sickness which he got by a fall, leaving the Government both of his Dutchy of *Britain*, and of his two Daughters to the Marshall of *Rieux*, to whom he appointed the Earl of *Comminges*, for Assistant. His body was carried to *Nantes*, and buried in the Church of the Carmelites.

CHAP. VI. *Of the Kings marriage with the Lady* Anne *of* Britain, *whereby* Britain *was united to the Crown of* France.

SOon after the Duke of *Brittains* death, died also *Isabell* his younger Daughter, by reason whereof, the Lady *Anne* remained his sole heir: about whose marriage the Nobles of *Britain*, fell at great variance; for part of them inclined to the Lord of *Alebret*, a great Lord in *Guienne*, who also, as it was reported, (but falsly) was contracted to this young Princesse, with the Duke her Fathers consent, but the day before the Duke died; but this Faction was soon daunted, because the young Lady

her ſelf utterly refuſed this match: part onely favoured and furthered *Maximilian* the Emperour *Fredericks* Son, alledging that he would not onely be a protector of the liberty of their Country, but alſo a ſtrong rampier againſt all French attempts. Neither was the King of *France* ignorant of this treaty, but knew right-well that Ambaſſadors had paſſed to and fro between *Maximilian* and them, ſo far forth, that the ſaid *Maximilian* ſuppoſing all matters to be throughly concluded and agreed on, began to embrace all *Britain* in his mind, and thought no enterpriſe too high for him, if to his low Countries, obtained by his firſt marriage, he could now joyn the Dutchy of *Britain* by his ſecond. Great conſultation was had in *France*, how to repulſe this terrible ſtorm, but *Maximilians* own ſlackneſs moſt furthered their devices. The Kings Councill in the end, reſolved that the King ſhould refuſe his Wife, being *Maximilians* Daughter, and ſeek with all expedition the marriage of the Lady *Anne* of *Britain*, alledging that the neighbourhood of ſo mighty a Prince as *Maximilian* was, could not be but dangerous to his eſtate, of whom he could hope for nothing but diſſembled friendſhip preſently, and aſſured War in time to come, conſidering that the ſaid *Maximilian*, forgetting already his League and Affinity with the King, ſtirred up continually one War after another againſt him, and by that means profeſſed himſelf an open enemy to him and his Realm. Wherefore Ambaſſadors were preſently ſent to treat of this marriage, with the Lady *Anne*. She at the firſt wondered at the matter, and alledged that ſhe had given her faith to *Maximilian*, which ſhe might not break: and further, that ſhe had been ſolemnly married to him (according to the accuſtomed manner of Princes) by *Wolfgangus Poleme* of *Auſtrich* his Proctor, purpoſely ſent by him into *Britain* to that end. But the Lady of *Laval*, and other Noble women of *Britain*, whoſe company and familiarity this young Princeſſe uſed and greatly delighted in, being corrupted with French rewards and promiſes, perſwaded her that this French match ſhould be moſt for her ſafety and advancement; alledging that if ſhe married with *Maximilian*, he ſhould hardly be able to defend *Britain*, whereof already they had good proof, conſidering that he had ever diſappointed them of the ſuccours he had promiſed to ſend them. And as touching her ſcruple of conſcience, they ſaid that the Pope who had power over all Laws Eccleſiaſticall, would eaſily be brought to diſpence therewith, the rather becauſe this match ſhould be beſt for her ſafety, and for the preſervation of her eſtate. The young Princeſſe, though ſhe were of a ſingular wit and rare vertues, yet being vanquiſhed by theſe perſwaſions, yielded to their requeſt; and delivered both her ſelf and her Country into the Kings hands, and ſoon after was the marriage ſolemnly accompliſhed, to the great rejoycing of the French. And thus received *Britain* the French Yoak, to the great grief of all the ſubjects, that deſired to be governed by a particular Duke of their own, as they had ever been in times paſt.

Not long after this marriage, the Earl of *Dunois*, who had been the principall inſtrument of the peace, and a great furtherer of the marriage, and thereby throughly reconciled to the King, ſuddenly died, as he was on Horſeback, for want of meat as it was ſaid. When the King had ſet all things in good order in *Britain*, he returned into *France*, and appointed that the Lady *Margaret* of *Flanders* ſhould remain, accompanied with the Princes of *Tarente*, in the Caſtle of *Melun* upon the River of *Seine*.

Maximilian was forewarned of all theſe French practiſes, and ſeemed to make no account of them; but when he perceived this marriage to be accompliſhed, it doubled his hatred againſt the King, ſo far forth, that he openly railed upon him, and vowed himſelf to deſtroy *France* with fire and ſword, and preſently invaded *Picardy*. But the Lord of *Cordes* governor thereof, made head againſt him, and valiantly defended the Country, to his own honour and the profit of *France*. Further, *Maximilian* meaning a thorow revenge upon this Realm, ſtirred up the Engliſhmen, the ancient enemies of the Crown, to paſſe into *France*, promiſing them great aid both of men and money out of his Dominions. Wherefore I will here ſpeak a word or two of the affairs of *England*, becauſe the Engliſhmen are our next neighbours, and both in peace and War have ever to do with us, and we with them.

CHAP. VII. *Of the troubles in* England, *and how the King of* England *passed the Sea, and besieged* Bolloin; *and of the peace between the King and him; and of the surprising of* Arras *and Saint* Omers, *by the King of Romains men.*

KIng *Edward* the fourth, the same that met with King *Lewis* the eleventh at *Picquigny*, dying in the year 1483. left behind him two Sons, being very young, and divers Daughters; the government of the which Sons, together with the Realm, was committed to the Duke of *Glouceſter* King *Edwards* Brother: but he moſt unnaturally murthered his two Nephews, ſlew thoſe of the Nobility, that he thought would impugne his proceedings, and uſurped the Crown. In the end, the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had taken part with the Duke of *Glouceſter* (who entituled himſelf King *Richard*) in all his actions, fell at variance with him, and ſollicited *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, that had lived many years in *Britain* as a baniſhed man, to paſſe over into *England*; promiſing him a great army to joyn with him ſo ſoon as he ſhould be landed. The Earl communicated this matter with *Peter Landois*, who wholly at that time governed the Duke of *Britain*. The ſaid *Landois*, hoping that the Earl if by his means he obtained the Realm of *England*, would give him aid to revenge him of his enemies; perſwaded the Duke of *Britain* to ſuccour him in his enterpriſe, who furniſhed him of three great Ships, well manned with Souldiers, which took Sea and ſailed towards *England*: but when they were ready to land, the Earl was advertiſed that the Duke of *Buckingham* was beheaded, his army defeated, and all his Faction overthrown, and that King *Richard* lay with a great army upon the Sea coaſt attending his landing. Upon which news the Earl of *Richmond* returned, thinking to recover the coaſt of *Britain* from whence he was departed, but tempeſt drave him upon the coaſt of *Normandy*, where he was forced to take land. The Lady of *Beavieu* being advertiſed thereof, ſent unto him, deſiring him to come to ſpeak with the King, and ſo he did. The King courteouſly received him, and entertained him well. Afterward he returned to *Vannes* in *Britain*, there to remain as before, attending ſome better opportunity. But *Peter Landois*, ſeeing himſelf diſappointed of his purpoſe, altered his mind, and practiſed with King *Richard*, to deliver the Earl of *Richmond* into his hands: who being advertiſed thereof, under colour of going a Hawking one morning, with ten or twelve Horſes fled into *France* to King *Charles*, who not long after furniſhed the Earl of Ships, and a good number of Souldiers to accompany him into *England*, where by the help of the French, and of divers of his own kinſmen, who had called him into *England* and took part with him; he ſlew King *Richard* in the field, and was himſelf Crowned King in his place. This good turn of King *Charles*, together with the deſire the King of *England* had to live quietly at home in his Country, and to gather wealth, was the cauſe that King *Henry*, during all the Wars and troubles in *Britain* abovementioned, had not paſſed his forces into *France*: notwithſtanding that he had been often earneſtly ſollicited thereunto, both by the Duke of *Britain*, and the Earl of *Dunois*, and others of that Faction. For ordinarily, when any troubles ariſe in *France*, our neighbours, eſpecially the Engliſhmen, within a year are bidden to the banquet; and ſo was King *Henry* invited, and had come long ago, if the reaſons above rehearſed, together with ſome other reſpects, namely, fear of domeſticall troubles had not ſtayed him at home.

But notwithſtanding the King of *Englands* backwardneſs heretofore to invade *France*, yet in the year 1490. partly by the earneſt ſollicitation of *Maximilian*, who promiſed him great aid in his Wars, and yet performed nothing; partly to content his own people, who began to account him as too much affectionate to the French, in that he had ſuffered them to the great prejudice of the Realm of *England*, to unite to the Crown of *France* the Dutchy of *Britain*: he paſſed over his army to *Calais*, & from thence marched and laid his ſiege before *Bolloin*, whither the Lord of *Cordes* and the Baſtard of *Cardonne* Captain of *Arras*, with a ſmall army went to make reſiſtance. Further, the King levied his forces to ſuccour the place, but becauſe his army proceeded but ſlowly forward: the ſaid *de Cordes* and *Cardonne* took upon them the defence of the Town. This ſiege was nothing hot, for the which cauſe a Herauld was ſent into the Engliſh Camp, to treat of peace; from the which King *Henry* ſeemed nothing ſtrange, as well for the affection that he bare to the King,

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who had aided him to obtain the Realm of *England*; as alſo for that he feared ſedition at home, and durſt not long be abſent out of his Realm; becauſe *Maximilian* had broken promiſe with him: and laſtly becauſe he hoped by this peace to receive of the King a great ſumme of money, which he loved as well as any Prince in his time: *De Cordes* finding the King of *Englands* inclination to peace, went and communed with him in his Camp: his demands were, firſt a great ſumme of money, that he ſaid he had lent the late Duke of *Britain*: and ſecondarily, that the King ſhould defray all the charges that he had been at in theſe Wars. All the which the King yielded unto, and order was given, that the King of *England* ſhould yearly receive a certain ſum of money, till all the ſums by him demanded were clearly paid and diſcharged: and thus returned the King of *England* home.

In the mean while, *de Cordes* and *Cardonne* were at *Bolloin*, treating with the King of *England*: the Citizens of *Arras* knowing the Garriſon within the Town to be but weak, practiſed to yield it into *Maximilians* hands, who ſent certain bands thither, the which in great diligence approached near to the Town. When all things were in a readineſs, and the Gates being ſo negligently guarded, that the traitors with their counterfeited keyes had opened them, they began a ſong, whereby they willed the enemies to make haſte, who preſently repaired to the Gates, and were received into the Town. *Paul Carquelevant* a Britain, governor of the Town in the abſence of the Baſtard of *Gardonne*, at the enemies firſt entry retired himſelf with his Souldiers into the Caſtle; but fearing leſt it ſhould be taken by aſſault, he ſoon abandoned it, greatly to his reproach: for if he had held it but till the next day, divers French bands had come thither to his relief. The Town was ſpoiled, and many ſlain, neither were the Churches ſpared, nor the traitors houſes. The author of this treaſon was a poor Smith, that dwelled upon the Town wall, and had been the onely man that was ſuffered to remain in the Town by *Lewis* the eleventh, when he tranſported the Townſmen as a colony into *France*. *Carquelevant* the governor, when the Town was ſurpriſed, lay faſt a ſleep, drowned in drink and good cheer, as it is ſaid. The Town was ſpoiled by the Souldiers, becauſe *Maximilian* was behind with them for certain moneths pay. Saint *Omers* was alſo taken at the ſame time, though ſome referre it to another time, but whenſoever it was taken, this is moſt certain, that the negligence of the watch was the loſſe thereof. For the enemies, being led by *George Dabecſin*, made ſhew at their firſt coming before the Town, as though they would have ſcaled it, at which time the French Souldiers were ready to withſtand them upon the Walls, being ſtrong and very defenſible, both by Nature and by Art: whereupon the enemies under pretence of fear, retired into their Camp; yea and further, when the French iſſued forth to skirmiſh with them, they ever retired faining the like fear, which diſſimulation they uſed by the ſpace of eight dayes, and by this their pollicy, cauſed the French to remit much of their accuſtomed induſtry and diligence: which when the Burgundians and Almains perceived, they with great expedition reared ladders againſt the Walls and bulwarks of the Town, which they eaſily entred; that watch being faſt aſleep, and in ſome place no watch at all. Then brake they open the Gates, ſlew the French Souldiers and the Citizens, and ſo became Maſters of the Town.

At the ſame time was *Amiens* alſo attempted by the Burgundians in the night, and like to have been ſurpriſed by the like negligence of the watch: but *Katherine de Liques* (a Woman of manlike courage) awaked the watch out of their dead ſleep, by means whereof the alarm was ſounded, and all the Town aroſe in arms, and part went to defend the Walls, and the reſt iſſued forth and skirmiſhed, and put to flight *Maximilians* bands, who plainly confeſſed that the diligence and induſtry of one Woman had wrung the Victory out of their hands.

CHAP. VIII. *Of the reſtitution of the Counties of* Rouſſillon *and* Parpignan *to the King of* Spain: *of Emperour* Fredericks *death: of the peace between the King of Romans and the King: and of the Duke of* Orleans *delivery out of Priſon.*

1492 FErdinand King of *Arragon*, deſired nothing more then to recover out of the Kings hands the Counties of *Rouſſillon* and *Parpignan*, engaged by him (as he ſaid) to King *Lewis* the eleventh for fifty thouſand crowns. But the Nobles of *France* would not condeſcend to this reſtitution, becauſe theſe two Counties were a rampier for the Realm on that ſide towards *Spain*: adding

adding that they were not engaged to King *Lewis*, but abſolutely ſold. And notwithſtanding that the King of *Spain* alledged, that King *Lewis* by his laſt Will and Teſtament, had commanded the ſaid Counties to be reſtored, knowing that they were wrongfully withheld: yet his perſwaſions and allegations little availed. Wherefore he perceiving, that by this way no good would be done, fell to practiſe with them of Religion, hoping by their preaching of conſcience to King *Charles*, to win that of him, that otherwiſe he ſaw no means to obtain. Wherefore he corrupted with a great ſum of money *Oliver Maillaird*, or, as others write, *John de Mauleon*, a Frier Franſciſcan, Confeſſor to the Lady of *Beavieu* the Kings Siſter, who under his cowl of Religion cloaking his hypocriſie and covetuouſneſs, perſwaded her, that except reſtitution were made of theſe Territories to the King of *Spain*, the King her Brothers government could not proſper nor pleaſe God. She being moved in conſcience by this Friers perſwaſions, brake this matter to *Lewis* of *Amboiſe* Biſhop of *Alby*, the Kings Schoolmaſter, who together with her, ſo terrified the Kings conſcience, that he did not only make reſtitution of the ſaid Territories by the hands of the ſaid Biſhop, whom he ſent thither to deliver them: but alſo freely releaſed to the King of *Arragon*, all the money that King *Lewis* his Father had paid for them; with theſe conditions, that the ſaid King of *Arragon* and his ſucceſſors, ſhould ever after love and honour the Realm of *France*, that he ſhould make no War againſt it, nor aid with Money, Victuals, or Counſell, any of the enemies thereof, nor permit them to have paſſage through his Dominions. And thus were theſe Countries reſtored, greatly to the Frenchmens grief and damage; but in truth, the King the rather inclined to reſtore them, becauſe he began already, by the perſwaſions of thoſe that were about him, to phanſie a Voyage into *Italy*, for the recovery of the Realm of *Naples*, which afterward took effect, though the King both now, and long after this, kept his purpoſe ſecret to himſelf, and one or two more; which Voyage I think was the principall cauſe, that induced him to reſtore the aforeſaid Countries, thereby to tye the King of *Spain* to him, that he ſhould not trouble him in his enterpriſe: but he miſreckoned himſelf, for he was no ſooner paſt the mountains, but the King of *Spain* forgot all his kindneſs, and fell to practiſe a League with his enemies.

While theſe matters paſſed thus in *France*, *Frederick* the Emperour died, to whom his Son *Maximilian* ſucceeded, who notwithſtanding was never Crowned, nor greatly deſired ſo to be, although with a ſmall requeſt he might have obtained it. The Emperour *Maximilian*, purpoſing to quiet the ſtate of the Empire, troubled by his Fathers death, ſeemed more inclined to peace with the King, then heretofore he had been, which happened very fortunately for the Kings affairs: for without *Maximilian* were pacified, his Voyage into *Italy* muſt of force have ſtayed; but both the parties by this means inclining to concord, the peace was ſoon concluded: the Emperours Daughter was reſtored unto him, and the County of *Artois*, together with all the Towns he quarrelled. And thus the King being in peace with all his neighbours: namely, with the Emperour and the Kings of *England* and *Spain*, and poſſeſſing the Dutchy of *Britain* quietly by his marriage, and by that means having no body to fear, began wholly to diſpoſe himſelf to his Voyage into *Italy*, whereupon his mind was altogether fixed.

The Emperour Frederick died the 19. of Auguſt 1493.

This peace was concluded at Senlis, anno 1494.

Further, about this very time, the King, at the earneſt ſuit and continuall tears of his Siſter *Jane*, a Lady of ſingular piety and chaſtity, reſtored not onely to liberty, but alſo to his favour and familiarity, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* (husband to the ſaid Lady,) taken priſoner at the Battell of Saint *Albin* in *Britain*, as before you have heard: whereby, as the King deſerved great commendation for his clemency, in preſerving his enemy taken in Battell, and reſtoring him to his former dignity and honour: ſo did he alſo thereby provide, that no diſcontented ſubject at home ſhould trouble his eſtate, in his abſence, in his Voyage to *Naples*: whereunto the Hiſtory of *Commines* now calleth us, which from the death of King *Lewis* the eleventh till this preſent, I have ſupplied out of other good Authors; becauſe the ſaid *Commines*, being impriſoned, or in diſgrace, almoſt ever ſince King *Lewis* his death, till the ſaid Voyage of *Naples*, (whereat he was preſent,) was ſilent and left nothing in writing to the poſterity of all thoſe years.

THE

THE SEVNTH BOOK.

OF THE HISTORY OF *PHILIP DE COMMINES*, TREATING OF THE PRINCIPALL ACTS OF KING *CHARLES* THE EIGHTH, SON TO *LEWIS* THE ELEVENTH.

THE PROLOGUE OF THE AUTHOR, *containing that which he mindeth to treat of in this Hiſtory following.*

TO continue the Hiſtory written by me *Philip de Commines*, of the reign of King *Lewis* the eleventh (whom God aſſoil) I will now declare the occaſion that moved King *Charles* the eighth his Son, to make his Voyage into *Italy*, whereat my ſelf was preſent. The ſaid King departed from *Vienna* in *Daulphin* the 23. of *Auguſt*, the year 1494. and returned into his Realm about *October*, the year 1495. Before the enterpriſe was fully reſolved on, the matter was often debated whether he ſhould go or not: for the Voyage ſeemed very dangerous to all men of wiſdom and experience, neither did any allow thereof, but the King himſelf, and one *Stephen de Vers*, born in *Languedoc*, a man of mean parentage, and utterly unacquainted with the Wars, and all things thereunto appertaining. One other alſo being of the receit, was a furtherer thereof till his heart failed him, namely the Generall *Briſannet*, who afterward by occaſion of this Voyage, was preferred to many goodly dignities and ſpirituall promotions, and created a Cardinall. The former had already gotten goodly poſſeſſions, for he was Seneſchall of *Beaucaire*, and Preſident of the Compts at *Paris*: he had ſerved the King in his youth very faithfully, being a Groom of his Chamber, and by his means the Generall was won to favour this Voyage; ſo that they two were the only authors thereof; for the which, few commended, but many blamed them: for all things neceſſary for ſo great an enterpriſe were wanting. The King was young, a weak body, wedded to his own will, ſlenderly accompanied with wiſe men or good Captains, and ſo utterly unfurniſhed of money, that before his departure, he borrowed of the banck of *Soly* in *Genua*, an hundred thouſand franks upon great Intereſt, from Mart to Mart[1]. In divers other places alſo he borrowed money, as hereafter you ſhall hear. His army was unprovided of Tents and Pavillions, and Winter was begun when he entred into *Lombardy*. One onely good thing he had, to wit, a couragious company of young Gentlemen: yet not in ſuch military diſcipline as was requiſite. Wherefore we muſt of neceſſity conclude, that this Voyage was governed by God alone, both at our going forth, and at our return home; for the wiſdom of the authors thereof abovementioned, ſerved to no great purpoſe: notwithſtanding they might juſtly vaunt themſelves, to be the occaſion of the great honour and renown their Maſter won thereby.

[1] The intereſt of this money, as he ſaith in the end of the fourth Chapter, amounted in four months to fourteen thouſand franks. Further, there are at *Genua* certain Marts in the year, from the one of the which to the other, they let out their money: it is between every Mart four moneths.

CHAP.

CHAP. I. *How* Rhene *Duke of* Lorrain *came into* France *to demand the Dutchy of* Bar *and the Earldome of* Provence, *which King* Charles *held; and how he failed to enter into the Realm of* Naples, *whereunto he pretended title as the King did, and what right both of them had thereunto.*

THE year of the Kings Coronation [1], being the fourteenth, or fifteenth of his age, the Duke of *Lorrain* came into *France*, to demand the Dutchy of *Bar*, which King *Lewis* the eleventh had witholden from him, and likewise the Earldom of *Provence*, left to the said King *Lewis* by the last Will and Testament of King *Charles* of *Anjou* his cozen germane [2], who died without issue. The Duke of *Lorrain* pretended title to it, as Son and heir to the Daughter of *Rene* King of *Sicily*, Duke of *Anjou*, and Earl of *Provence*; alledging, that the said King *Rene* had done him wrong [3], in preferring King *Charles* of *Anjou*, being but his Brother the Earl of *Mains* Son, before him being his Daughters Son [4]. The other answered that by their Ancestours Testaments, *Provence* could not descend to the Female. In the end, *Bar* was yielded to him, for the which, the King demanded onely a sum of money. Further, because the said Duke of *Lorrain* was highly favoured and friended by divers of great authority in *France*, (especially by *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, who was old and desirous to marry his sister) it was agreed that during the space of four years in the which his title to the Earldom of *Provence* should be examined, his estate should be wholly defrayed by the King, and that he should have charge of an hundred launces, together with a yearly pension of six and thirty thousand franks during the said four years. My self was present at the debating and ending of all these controversies, being one of the Commissioners purposely chosen for the determination thereof, both by the Kings neerest kinsmen, and by the three Estates of his Realm: So was also *Stephen de Vers* abovementioned, who because he had gotten certain possessions in *Provence*, caused the King (as young as he was) in the presence of his sister, the Dutchesse of *Bourbon*, to say, to Monsieur *de Commynes*, and to Mousieur *de Lau* (who were both also in the said Commission) and to my selfe, that we should do our endeavour, that he might not loose the Earldome of *Provence*; which words he uttered before the Agreement abovementioned was made.

Before the four years were expired, certain Lawyers of *Provence* brought forth the Testaments of King *Charls* the first, Brother to Saint *Lewis*, and of other Kings of *Sicily* of the House of *France*. These Lawyers (among other proofs) alledged, that not only the Earldome of *Provence*, but also the Realm of *Sicily*, with all the House of *Anjous* other possessions, appertained of right to the King, and that the Duke of *Lorrain* had no right thereto, notwithstanding others maintained the contrary. All these Lawyers depended wholly upon *Stephen de Vers*, who nourished his Master in this language, that King *Charles* Earl of *Provence* last deceased, Son to *Charles* of *Anjou*, Earl of *Main*, and Nephew [5] to King *Rene*, left *Provence* to King *Lewis* by his last Will and Testament, and that King *Rene* before his death made the said *Charles* his Heir, preferring him before the Duke of *Lorrain* his Daughters Son, because of the Testaments of King *Charles* the first, and his Wife Countesse of *Provence*: wherein they had willed that the Realm [6], and the County of *Provence* should not be severed nor descend to the Heir Female, so long as there was issue male remaining. The like Testaments they alledged also to have been made, by their next successors in the said Realm, namely by *Charles* the second. During these four years space; those that governed the King, that is to say the Duke and Dutchesse of *Bourbon*, and certain of the Kings Chamber, namely Monsieur *de Graville* [8] and others, who at that time bare great sway in *France*; called to the Court to high Authority and Estimation, the said Duke of *Lorrain* to have him for their support and aid: (for he was a hardy Gentleman, and more than a Courtier) not doubting but easily to rid their hands of him at their pleasure, as also they did, when they found themselves strong enough, and the force of the Duke of *Orleance* [9] and others (whom I need not name) so weakened,

[1] King *Charles* was crowned *Anno* 1484 in *June*.

[2] This cousin german must be referred to King *Lewis*.

For King *Rene* made *Charles* his Brothers Son his heir, omitting this Duke of *Lorrain* his Daughters Son.

[3] The pedegree in the end of the work will make this title plain.

[4] The Author under the name of *Sicily* comprehendeth the Realm of *Naples* also, because both the Realms bare the name of *Sicily*, the one beyond the other on this side the far.

[5] By Nephew he meaneth Brothers Son.

[6] Understand this of the Realms of *Sicily* and *Naples*.

[8] This *de Graville* was after Admirall of *France*.

[9] Madam *de Beaujeu* Dutchesse of *Bourbon* was appointed by King *Lewis* and the three Estates Governour of King *Charls* her brother; but the Duke of *Orleans* called after *Lewis* the twelfth, withstood the decree, and was in arms with divers Noble men, demanding the Government as the first Prince of the Blood, as in my Supply is mentioned at large, against these they herenamed, called the Duke of *Lorrain*.

that

that it was no more to be feared. But after the four years expired, they could no longer hold the D. of *Lorrain*, unleſſe they would put him in poſſeſſion of the County of *Provence*: or aſſure him of it by writing at a day, and continue ſtill his penſion of ſix and thirty thouſand franks, whereunto becauſe they would not condeſcend, he departed the Court greatly diſcontented.

Four or five months before his departure, a good overture was made unto him, if he would have embraced it: for the whole Realm of *Naples* rebelled againſt King *Ferrande*, becauſe of his great tyranny and his childrens, ſo far forth, that all the Nobles, and the third part of the Realm yielded themſelves to the Church: notwithſtanding King *Ferrande*, being aided by the Florentins, preſſed them ſore: for the which cauſe, the Pope and the ſaid Nobles of the Realm, that had rebelled, ſent for the Duke of *Lorrain*, purpoſing to Crown him King; and ſo forward the enterpriſe was, that the Gallies and the Cardinall Saint *Peter de Vincula* (who ſhould have conveyed him thither) ſtayed for him a long time at *Genua*: during the which ſpace he was buſied with theſe broils in Court, and delayed his departure, notwithſtanding that he had Meſſengers with him from all the Nobles of the ſaid Realm, earneſtly preſſing him to come with ſpeed. To be ſhort; the King and his Councill ſhewed themſelves willing by all means they could to aid, and ſuccour him, and gave him ſixty thouſand franks, (whereof he received twenty thouſand but loſt the reſt) and agreed alſo that he ſhould lead with him the hundred launces, that were under his charge; promiſing further to ſend Ambaſſadours round about in his favour. Notwithſtanding, the King was now nineteen years of Age or more, and governed by thoſe abovenamed, who daily beat into his head that the Realm of *Naples* of right appertained to himſelfe, which I write, becauſe divers of mean eſtate raiſed great contention about this matter: as I underſtood, both by certain of the Ambaſſadours ſent to *Rome*, *Florence*, *Genua*, and other places in the Duke of *Lorrains* favour; and alſo by the Duke himſelfe, when he paſſed through *Moulins*, where I then lay, with *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, becauſe of the troubles in Court. But his enterpriſe was now halfe loſt through his long delay. I went forth to receive him, notwithſtanding, that he had deſerved no ſuch courteſie at my hands: for he was one of thoſe that chaſed me from the Court [1] with rough and diſcourteous words: yet now he made the moſt of me that might be, lamenting much the Government of the State. He abode at *Moulins* two dayes, with *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, and then took his journey towards *Lyons*.

[1] For *Philip de Commines* was a ſollower of the Duke of *Orleans*, as himſelf writeth in the laſt chapter of the laſt Book.

To conclude his Friends were ſo wearied, and weakened becauſe of his long delay, that the Pope made peace, and the Nobles of the Realm alſo, who under ſurety thereof went to *Naples* where they were all taken priſoners: notwithſtanding that both the Pope, the Venetians, the King of *Spain*, and the Florentines had undertaken to ſee the Treaty kept and obſerved, and had ſworn and promiſed the Nobles ſafety. The Prince of of *Salerne* eſcaped and came into *France*, refuſing to be comprehended in the Treaty as one well acquainted with King *Ferrands* humour: but the Duke of *Lorrain* returned into his Country with diſhonour, and loſt his credit with the King, loſt his men of Arms, and loſt alſo the Penſion of ſix and thirty thouſand franks, which he received for *Provence*: and even at this preſent, being the year 1497, he liveth yet in this eſtate.

CHAP. II. *How the Prince of Salerne in the Realm of* Naples *came into* France, *and how* Lodovick Sforce, *ſirnamed the Moor, and he ſought to perſwade the King to make war upon the King of* Naples, *and for what cauſe.*

THE Prince of *Salerne* fled to *Venice* (where he was well friended) accompanied with three of his Nephews, Sons to the Prince of *Biſignan* [1]. There they asked Counſell of the Seniory, (as the Prince himſelf told me) whether it would pleaſe them, that they ſhould retire, to the Duke of *Lorrain*, the King of *France*, or the King of *Spain*. They anſwered, that the Duke of *Lorrain* was a dead man unable to do them good, and that the King of *Spain* ſhould be too ſtrong, if to the Iſle of *Sicily*, and the other places which he held in the Venetian gulfe, he ſhould joyn the Realm of *Naples*; adding, that he was already mighty upon the Sea: wherefore they adviſed him to go into

[1] *Antonel* of S. *Severin* Prince of *Salerne*, and *Bernardin* Prince of *Beſignan*, were brethren, *Guic.*

into *France*, saying that with the Kings of *France* [2], that held the said Realm, they had ever lived in perfect amity and friendship, and found them alwayes good neighbours. But I suppose, they thought not the enterprise should have had such successe, as afterward it had. Thus these Noblemen abovenamed came into *France*, where they were courteously received, but their entertaiment was small. They followed their suit earnestly, the space of two years, addressing themselves wholly to *Stephen de Vers*, then Seneschall of *Beaucaire*, and of the Kings privy Chamber.

One day they lived in hope, another in despaire; but their friends used great diligence in *Italy*, especially at *Milan*, whereof *John Galeas* was Duke; not the great *John Galias*, that lieth buried in the Charterhouse of *Pavia*, but he that was Son to Duke *Galeas* and the Dutchesse *Bonne*, Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*, a man of no great sense. The said Dutchesse had the wardship of her Children, and my self have seen her there in great authority, being a Widow, and governed by one *Cico* a Secretary, and an ancient servant of that House. This *Cico* had banished all Duke *Galeas*'s Brethren for the said Ladies safety and her Children; and among the rest, the Lord *Lodonic* (afterward Duke of *Milan*) whom she revoked, being her enemy, and in War against her, together with the Lord *Robert* of Saint *Severine* a valiant Captain, whom she had also banished by the said *Cicos* perswasion. To be short, at the request of a young man that carved before her, called *Anthony Thesin*, being a Ferrarian of very mean parentage, she called them all home through great simplicity, supposing they would do the said *Cico* no harm; and the truth is, that so they had sworn and promised. But the third day after their return, they took him, notwithstanding their oath, and carried him in an empty Cask through the Town of *Milan*: he was allied by marriage to one of the Viscounts [3], and if the said Viscount had been in the City at that present, some say they durst not have taken him. Moreover, the Lord *Lodonic* caused this matter so to be ordered, that the said *Robert* of Saint *Severine* coming that way should meet with this *Cico* as he passed through the Town in this estate, because he hated him extreamly. Thus was he led prisoner to the Castle of *Pavy* where he died.

They used this Lady very honourably in her judgement, seeking to content her humor in all things; but all matters of importance they two dispatched, making her Privy but to what pleased them, and no greater pleasure could they do her, then to communicate nothing with her.

They permitted her to give this *Anthony Thesin* what she would, they lodged him hard by her Chamber, he carried her on Horseback behind him in the Town, and in her house was nothing but feasting and dancing; but this jollity endured but half a year. She gave many goodly things to this *Thesin*, and the Courtiers packets were addressed to him, which bred great disdain in many, wherein the Lord *Lodonic*, Unkle to the two Children, (aspiring to the Dutchy, which afterward also he obtained) nourished them as much as in him lay. One morning they took her two Sons from her, and lodged them in a great Tower within the Castle, called the *Rock*, whereunto consented the said *Lodonic* the Lord *Robert* of *Severin*, one called *de Pallevoisin* governor of the young Dukes Person, and the Captain of the *Rock* [4], who, since Duke *Galeas*'s death had never departed out of the place, neither did many years after this, till he was taken prisoner by the Lord *Lodonics* subtilty, and his Masters folly, being of his Mothers disposition. After the abovenamed had lodged these Children in the *Rock*, they seized upon the treasure, being at that time the richest in Christendom, and made her yield account thereof. Moreover, they caused three keyes thereof to be made, one of the which she kept, but the treasure after that day she never touched. They made her also to surrender the wardship of her Children, and the said *Lodonic* was chosen their guardian. Further, they sent Letters into divers Countries, especially into *France*, (which my self saw) written to her great dishonour: for they charged her with this *Anthony Thesin*, whom notwithstanding they sent away unharmed, for the Lord *Robert* saved both his life and goods. These two great men entred not into the *Rock* at their pleasure, for the Captain had his Brother in it, with a Garrison of a hundred and fifty Souldiers or better; and when they entred, the Gate was straightly kept; neither entred they accompanied at any time with more then a man or two, and this endured a long space.

In the mean time, great variance arose between the Lord *Lodonic* and *Robert* of Saint *Severin*, (for usually two great men cannot long agree:) but *Lodonic* wan the Garland, and the other departed to the Venetians service. Notwithstanding, afterwards two of his Sons

[2] He meaneth by Kings of *France*, those Kings of the House of *France*, that had held the Realm of *Naples*, to wit, the Dukes of *Anjou*.

[3] Viscompt in both these places, and divers others, is a proper name, not a name of honour, and signifieth as much as Biscompt, that is, twice Earl, because the Viscompti were Lords of *Angiera* and *Milan*.

[4] This Captain meant no treason to the Children, as others did; but consented to this deed, because he thought the Children in more safety with him, then with their foolish mother.

returned to the ſervice of the ſaid *Lodouic*, and the State of *Milan*, (namely Maſter *Galeas*, and the Earl of *Caiazze*) ſome ſay with her Fathers conſent, others ſay no: but howſoever it were, the ſaid *Lodouic* highly favoured them, and both hath been, and yet is, very faithfully ſerved by them. You ſhall underſtand that their Father, the Lord *Robert* of Saint *Severin*, was iſſued of a baſe Daughter of the Houſe of Saint *Severin*; but in *Italy*, they make no great difference between a Baſtard and a Child Legitimate. This I write, becauſe they furthered our enterpriſe in *Italy*, as well in favour of the Prince of *Salerne*, chief of the ſaid Houſe of Saint *Severin*, as alſo for divers other reſpects, whereof hereafter you ſhall hear.

The Lord *Lodouic* declared immediately, that he would by all means poſſible maintain his authority; for he cauſed money to be coyned, on the one ſide whereof the Dukes Image was ſtamped, and on the other his own, whereat many murmured. This Duke was married to the Daughter of *Alphonſe* Duke of *Calabria*, and King of *Naples* after his Father King *Ferrandes* death. His ſaid Wife was a Lady of a great courage, and would gladly have increaſed her Husbands authority if ſhe could; but her Husband lacked wit, and diſcloſed all her attempts. The Captain alſo of the *Rock* of *Milan* continued long in great authority, and never departed out of the place; for many jealouſies were now ariſen, ſo far forth, that when one of the Children went abroad, the other abode within. To be ſhort; a year or two before we entred into *Italy*, the Lord *Lodouic* having been abroad with the Duke, and purpoſing ſome miſchief, waited upon him at his return home to the Caſtle, according to his accuſtomed manner. The Captain came upon the Drawbridge with his men about him, to kiſſe the Dukes hand, as their manner is. The Duke at this time was ſomewhat without the Bridge, in ſuch ſort, that the Captain was forced to ſtep forth a pace or two, where theſe two Sons of Saint *Severin*, and others that were about them laid hold upon him. They within drew up the Bridge; but the Lord *Lodouic* cauſed an end of a Wax Candle to be lighted, and ſwore that he would ſmite off their heads [5], if they yielded not the place before the Candle were burned out; whereupon they delivered it, and then he furniſhed it well, and ſurely for himſelf, but all in the Dukes name. Further, he endited the Captain of high treaſon, laying to his charge, that he would have put the place into the Emperours hands: and ſtayed certain Almains, charging them as practiſers with the Captain about this enterpriſe, yet afterward diſmiſſed them without further harm. He beheaded alſo one of his own Secretaries, charging him in like manner as a dealer in the matter; and yet one other, who he ſaid had been a meſſenger [6] between them. The Captain he held long in priſon, yet in the end delivered him, pretending that Dutcheſſe *Bonne* had once hired a Brother of the Captains to kill the ſaid *Lodouic* as he entred into the Caſtle, whom the Captain withheld from executing the fact, for the which cauſe he now ſaved his life. Notwithſtanding if he had been guilty of ſo heinous a crime, as a purpoſe to yield the place to the Emperour, who might have laid claim to it, both as Emperour and Duke of *Auſtrich*, (for that Houſe pretended ſome title thereunto:) I think he would not have pardoned him; for it would have made a great alteration in *Italy*, and the whole Eſtate of *Milan* would have revolted in one day. For when they lived under the Emperour, every Houſhold paid but half a ducat for tribute: but now, they are cruelly and tyrannouſly governed, both by the Spiritualty, Nobility, and Commons.

The Lord *Lodouic* ſeeing himſelf ſeized of the Caſtle, and all the force of the country at his commandment, determined to attempt further; for he that poſſeſſeth *Milan* poſſeſſeth the whole Eſtate, both becauſe the chief of the country be reſident there, and alſo becauſe thoſe that have the charge and government of the other places be all Milanois born. Sure for the quantity of this Dutchy, I never ſaw a pleaſanter or plentifuller piece of ground. For if the Prince would content himſelf with the yearly revenues of five hundred thouſand ducats; his ſubjects ſhould be but too rich, and the Prince live in ſafety: but he levieth yearly ſix hundred and fifty thouſand or ſeven hundred thouſand, which is great tyranny: and therefore the people deſire nothing more then change of their Prince. Which the Lord *Lodouic* conſidering, together with the other reaſons above rehearſed, and being already married to the Duke of *Ferrara's* Daughter, by whom he had many Children, determined to accompliſh his intent, and endeavoured to win friends not only in the ſaid Dutchy, but alſo abroad in *Italy*. Wherefore firſt he entred into League with the Venetians for the preſervation of their Eſtate, whereunto he was a great friend, to his Father in Laws prejudice; from whom the ſaid Venetians not long before had taken a litle

territory

[5] The ſenſe in my opinion were better to read it *qu'il luy feroit*, then *qu'il leur feroit* that is, that he would ſmite off the Captains head, if the place were not yielded, for they within were out of *Lodouicus* power.

[6] The French had it in this ſenſe; [And another whoſaid that he had been a meſſenger between them]: but undoubtedly the place is corrupted, and to be read as I have amended it.

territory called the *Poleſan*, environed with water, and marvellouſly abounding with all kind of wealth. This Country, being diſtant but half a League from *Ferrara*, the Venetians poſſeſs yet at this day.. There are in it two pretty Towns, which I have been in my ſelf, the one named *Rovigue*, the other *Labady*. The Duke of *Ferrara* loſt it in the War that himſelf firſt moved againſt the Venetians: for notwithſtanding that before the end of thoſe Wars, *Alphonſe* Duke of *Calabria* (his Father King *Ferrande* yet living), the Lord *Lodouic* with the forces of *Milan*, the Florentines, the Pope, and the Town of *Bolonia*, came to his aid: by means whereof the Venetians were brought altogether under foot, or at the leaſt to great extremity, being utterly unfurniſhed of money, and having loſt divers places: yet the ſaid *Lodouic*, concluded a treaty to their honour and profit; for every man was reſtored to his own, ſave the poor Duke of *Ferrara*, who was forced to leave unto them the *Poleſan* (which they yet hold:) notwithſtanding that he had moved this War at the requeſt of the Lord *Lodouic*, and of King *Ferrande* whoſe Daughter he had married[7]. The report went that *Lodouic* received threeſcore thouſand ducats of the Venetians, for making this treaty. Whether it were ſo or no, I know not, but ſure I am that the Duke of *Ferrara* was once perſwaded that it was ſo: for at that time the ſaid *Lodouic*, was not married to his Daughter. From that day forward, amity ever continued between the Venetians and the ſaid *Lodouic*. No ſervant or kinſman of *John Galeas* Duke of *Milan*, ſought to impeach and ſtop the Lord *Lodouic* from ſeizing the Dutchy into his own hands, ſave onely the Dutcheſſe his Wife, who was young, but a very wiſe Lady. She was Daughter to *Alphonſe* Duke of *Calabria*, before mentioned, Son and heir to *Ferrande* King of *Naples*. In the year 1493. the ſaid *Lodouic* ſent to K. *Charles* the eighth now reigning, to perſwade him to come into *Italy* to conquer the realm of *Naples*, and to vanquiſh and ſubdue thoſe that poſſeſſe it: for ſo long as they flouriſhed and were of force, he durſt never attempt that which afterward he accompliſhed. At that time, the ſaid *Ferrande* King of *Naples*, and *Alphonſe* his Son, were puiſſant, rich, of great experience in the Wars, and accounted Princes of haughty courages, though afterward their actions declared the contrary. The ſaid *Lodouic* was alſo a very wiſe man, but marvellous timerous, and humble when he ſtood in fear; and void of all faith, if the breach thereof might turn to his profit. I ſpeak as one that knew him throughly well, becauſe I have dealt with him in many matters. But to proceed; In the year 1493. (as before I ſaid) the Lord *Lodouic* began to tickle this young King *Charles* being but two and twenty years of age, with the ambitious vain glories of *Italy*, ſhewing him what right he had to this goodly Realm of *Naples*, which I warrant you he skilfully blazed and painted forth. In all theſe negotiations, he addreſſed himſelf to *Stephen de Vers*, then newly made Seneſchall of *Beaucaire*, and marvellouſly enriched, though not ſatisfied; and to the Generall *Briſonet*, a rich man, skilfull in matters of the receit, and a great friend at that time to the ſaid Seneſchall, by whoſe means the Lord *Lodouic* perſwaded the ſaid *Briſſonet* to become a Prieſt, promiſing to make him a Cardinall, but the Seneſchall himſelf he promiſed to make a Duke. And to ſet all theſe practiſes on foot, the ſaid *Lodouic* ſent in the ſame year to *Paris*, a goodly ambaſſage to the King, the chief whereof was the Earl of *Caiazze*, Son and heir to the abovenamed *Robert* of Saint *Severin*, who found there the Prince of *Salerne* his Coſin: for the ſaid Prince is chief of the Houſe of Saint *Severin*, (as I have already made mention) and lived in *France*, being baniſhed by King *Ferrande* of *Naples*, as before you have heard, and therefore laboured earneſtly that this Voyage to *Naples* might go forward. With the ſaid Earl of *Caiazze* came alſo *Charles* Earl of *Bellejoyeuſe*, and Maſter *Galeas* Viſcount of *Milan*, who were both in very good order and well accompanied, but openly they uſed ſalutations onely and generall ſpeeches. This was the firſt great ambaſſage that came from the Lord *Lodouic* to the King. True it is that he had ſent before this, one of his Secretaries to negotiate with the King, to ſend his Deputy into *Italy*, to receive Homage of his Coſin the Duke of *Milan* for *Genua*, which was granted him, againſt all reaſon[8]: notwithſtanding I will not deny, but that the King of ſpeciall favour, might aſſigne one to receive it of him; for when this Duke *Galeas* was Ward to his Mother, I being then Ambaſſador for King *Lewis* the eleventh, received his Homage in the Caſtle of *Milan*, having an expreſſe commiſſion from the King ſo to do. But *Genua* was then out of the Duke of *Milans* hands, and held by Maſter *Baptiſt de Campefour gouſe*; but at this preſent the Lord *Lodouic* had recovered it, and gave to certain of the Kings Chamber, eight thouſand ducats for the inveſture thereof, who by receiving the money greatly prejudiced the King. For before the grant of the ſaid inveſture, they might have ſeized *Genua* to the Kings own

[7] The Duke of *Ferrara* had married King *Ferrandes* Daughter, named *Eleonor*.

1493

[8] Duke *Galeas* ought to have come into *France* to have done Homage to the King in Perſon, but becauſe *Lodouic* would not let him depart out of his cuſtody, he found means that it ſhould be done to one ſent thither by the King as his Deputy for that purpoſe.

use, if they had would: but seeing they meant to take money for it, they ought to have demanded more: for Duke *Galeas* paid at one paiment for it to King *Lewis* my Master, fifty thousand ducats, whereof the King, (whose Soul God pardon) gave me thirty thousand crowns in reward. Notwithstanding they said, they received these eight thousand ducats with the Kings consent, and *Stephen de Vers* Seneschall of *Beaucaire*, was one of those that took the money, happily to entertain the better the Lord *Lodonic* for this enterprise which he so much both favoured and furthered. After audience given openly at *Paris*, to the Ambassadors aboven entioned, the Earl of *Caiazze* had secret conference with the King. The said Earl was in great credit at *Milan*, but his Brother Master *Galeas* of Saint *Severin* in greater, especially in marshall affairs. His Master could now dispose of the State of *Milan* as of his own: for the which cause, he offered the King great services and aid, as well men as money, affirming the enterprise to be of no difficulty. This done, he and Master *Galeas*, Viscount, took their leave and departed, leaving behind them the Earl *Charles* of *Bellejoyeuse* to entertain the suit, who incontinently put himself into French apparel, and laboured so earnestly in this business, that many began to like of the enterprise. The King sent into *Italy* to Pope *Innocentius*, to the Venetians, and to the Florentines, one named *Peron* of *Basche*, who had been brought up in the House of *Anjou* under Duke *John* of *Calabria*, and was marvellously affectionated to this Voyage. These practises and runnings to and fro continued the space of seven or eight moneths, and those that understood of this enterprise, communed among themselves diversly of it, but none thought that the King would go in person into *Italy*.

[a] *Genua* was forfeited, and under colour thereof, the Lord *Lodonic* had recovered it, but because it was held of the King (for the Genuois had given themselves to *Charls* the sixth *anno* 1394 who sent thither for governor *John de Maingre*, and afterward to *Charles* the seventh *anno* 1446) it could be forfeited to none but to the King; but by giving away this investiture, he gave away his right.

CHAP. III. *How King* Charles *the eighth made peace with the King of Romans, and the Archduke of* Austrich, *restoring to them the Lady* Margaret *of* Flanders, *before he made his Voyage to* Naples.

During this delay abovementioned, peace was treated of at *Senlis*, between the King and the Archduke of *Austrich*, heir of the House of *Burgundy*. For notwithstanding that they were in truce, yet a breach happened between them, because the King refused the King of Romans Daughter, Sister to the said Archduke (being very young) and married the Daughter of *Francis* Duke of *Britain*, to enjoy peaceably thereby the Dutchy of *Britain*: all the which at the time of this treaty he held, save the Town of *Renes*, and the said Daughter being within it; the which was governed by the Prince of *Orenge* her Unkle, who had made a marriage between her and the King of Romans [1], and openly solemnized it in the Church by a Proctor. All the which happened in the year 1492. To this treaty abovementioned, came a great ambassage in favour of the Duke of *Austrich*, from the Emperour *Frederick*, who offered to be a mediator for the peace: the King of Romans sent thither also [2], and so did the Palzgrave, and the Swissers, to pacifie this controversie, being all of opinion that it would kindle a great fire: for the King of Romans seemed above all measure to be injured, having at one time her taken from him, whom he accounted his Wife, and his Daughter sent back to him which many years had been Queen of *France*: but in the end the matter was quietly shut up, and peace concluded. For all parties were weary of War, especially Duke *Philips* subjects, who had susteined so many troubles, partly because of Wars with this Realm, and partly through their own domesticall divisions, that they could endure no more. The peace was concluded but for four years, whereunto the King of Romans agreed, to the end he might repose his subjects, and receive again his Daughter: whom some that were about the King and the said Daughter, made difficulty to restore. At this treaty my self was present with the rest of the Kings Commissioners, being these, *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, the Prince of *Orenge*, the Lord of *Cordes*, and divers other Noble Personages, and promise was there made to restore to the said Duke *Philip* all that the King held in *Artois*: for so was it agreed when this marriage was treated of, in the year 1482, that if it were not accomplished, all the Lands that were given with this Lady in marriage, should return again with her, or be restored to Duke *Philip*. But the said Archdukes men had already surprised *Arras* and Saint *Omer*, so that only *Hedin*, *Aire*, and *Betune*, remained to be restored: the possession and seigniories where-

of

[1] *Annal. Burg.* write, which *Philip* the King of Romans son: but the best writers agree with our Author.

[2] *Maximilian* was chosen K. of Romans, *anno* 1486. *Fuccius.*

of were presently delivered them, and they put officers into them: but the King held still the Castles, and might place Garrisons in them till the four years were expired, which ended at the Feast of Saint *John Baptist* in the year 1498. at which time he was bound to restore them also to the said Archduke, and so he promised and sware to do.

Whether the alteration of these marriages agreed with the Laws of the holy Church or no, let others judge: for many Doctors of Divinity said yea, and many nay: but were they lawfull or unlawfull; sure all these Ladies were unfortunate in their issue. Our Queen had three Sons successively one after another in four years: one of them [3] lived almost three years and then died, and the other two be dead also. The Lady *Margaret* of *Austrich* was afterward married to the Prince of *Castile*, onely Sonne to the King and Queen of *Castile*, and heir both of *Castile* and divers other Realms. The said Prince died the first year of his marriage in the year of our Lord 1497. leaving his Wife great with child [4], who immediately after her husbands death fell in travail before her time, and was delivered of a dead-born Child; which misfortune the King and Queen of *Castile* and their whole Realm lamented a long time. The King of Romans immediately after this alteration abovementioned, married the Daughter of *Galeas* Duke of *Milan*, Sister to Duke *John Galeas* beforenamed, the which marriage was made by the Lord *Lodowics* only procurement: but it displeased greatly both the Princes of the Empire, and many also of the King of Romans friends, because she was not of a House Noble enough in their opinion, to match with their Emperour. For as touching the Viscounts, of whom the Dukes of *Milan* are descended, small Nobility is in them, and lesse yet in the *Sforces*; for the first of that House was *Francis Sforce* Duke of *Milan*, whose Father was a Shoomaker [5], dwelling in a little Town called *Cotignoles*, but a very Valiant man, though not so Valiant as his Son, who by means of the great favor the people of *Milan* bare to his Wife *Mary*, being base Daughter to Duke *Philip*, made himself Duke, and conquered and governed the whole Country, not as a Tyrant, but as a good and just Prince: so that in worthinesse and vertue, he was comparable to the Noblest Princes that lived in his days. Thus much I have written, to shew what followed the change of these marriages, neither know I what may yet hereafter ensue further thereof.

[3] Of this Childs death he writeth, *lib.* 8. *cap.* 13.

[4] Of this Princes death he writeth at large *lib.* 8. *cap.* 17.

[5] *Francis Sforces* Father (as some write) was first a cook in the Camp, after he became a soldier, and lastly for his valor was made a Captain and a Knight.

CHAP. IV. *How the King sent to the Venetians to practise with them before he enterprised his Voyage to* Naples, *and of the preparation that was made for the said Voyage.*

NOw to return to the principall matter: you have heard of the Earl of *Caiazze*, and the other Ambassadors departure from the King at *Paris*, and of divers practises entertained in *Italy*, and how the King, as young as he was, greatly affected this Voyage, notwithstanding that as yet he discovered his meaning but to the Seneschall and Generall only. Further, he required the Venetians to give him aid and counsell in this enterprise, who answered him that he should be welcome into *Italy*: but that aid him they could not, because they stood in doubt of the Turk, (yet were they in peace with him) and as touching counsell, it should be too great presumption in them to give counsell to so wise a Prince, having so grave a counsell about him; but they promised rather to help him then hinder him. This they took to be a wise answer, and so was it I confess But notwithstanding that they govern their affairs more circumspectly then any Prince or Common wealth in the world; yet God will alwayes have us to know, that wisdom and forecast of man avail nought, when he is purposed to strike the stroke. For he disposed of this enterprise far otherwise then they imagined, for they thought not that the King would have come in Person into *Italy*, neither stood they in any fear of the Turk, notwithstanding their forged excuse: for the Turk then reigning was a man of no valor [1]: but they hoped by this means to be revenged of the House of *Arragon*, which they hated extreamly, both the Father and the Son, because by their perswasion (as they said) the Turk came to *Scutary* [2]. I mean the Father of this Turk, called *Mahumet Ottoman*, who took *Constantinople*, and greatly endamaged the said Venetians. But apart to *Alphonse* Duke of *Calabria* they had many other quarrels, for they charged him, first as only Author of the War the Duke of *Ferrara* moved against them, wherein they consumed such infinite treasure, that it had well near undone them (of the which War a word or two

[1] This Turk was *Bajazet* the second.

[2] *Scodra* in Latin a Town in that part of *Dalmatia*, now called *Albania*.

hath been ſpoken before.) Secondarily, That he had ſent a man purpoſely to *Venice* to poyſon their Ciſterns; at the leaſt, as many as might be come unto, for divers of them be incloſed and locked. They uſe there none other Water, for they are invironed with the Sea, and ſure that Water is very good[3], as my ſelf can witneſs: for twice I have been at *Venice*, and in my firſt Voyage drank of it eight moneths together. But the chief cauſe of their hatred againſt this Houſe of *Arragon*, was none of theſe above rehearſed; but for that the ſaid Houſe kept them from growing great, as well in *Italy* as *Greece*, on both the which Countries they had their eyes fixed: notwithſtanding they had lately conquered the Iſle of *Cyprus*, upon no title in the world[4]. For all theſe conſiderations, the Venetians thought it their profit, that War ſhould ariſe between the King and the Houſe of *Arragon*: but they ſuppoſed that it could not have ended ſo ſoon as it did, and that it ſhould but weaken their enemies, not utterly deſtroy them: and further, that if the worſt fell, either the one party or the other, to have their help, would give them certain Towns in *Poville*, lying upon their Sea-coaſt: as alſo in the end it hapned, but they had well near miſreckoned themſelves. Laſtly, as touching the calling of the King into *Italy*, they thought it could not be laid to their charge, ſeeing they had given him neither counſell nor aid, as appeared by their anſwer to *Peron* of *Baſche*.

[3] This is rain-water he meaneth. But the Venetians uſe alſo other water, brought by boats from the main Land, to the yearly value of 20000 crowns, and yet notwithſtanding all this, are in great diſtreſs of water oftentimes.

[4] Why they had no title appeareth by the Pedegree in the end of the work.

In the year 1494. the King went to *Lyons* to attend to his affairs, but no man thought he would paſſe the mountains. Thither came to him the abovenamed Maſter *Galeas* of Saint *Severin*, Brother to the Earl of *Caiazze*, with a goodly train, ſent from the Lord *Lodonic*, whoſe Lievtenant and principall ſervant he was. He brought with him a great number of brave horſes and armors to run in, and ran himſelf, and that very well, for he was a young and a gallant Knight. The King entertained him very honourably, feaſted him ſumptuouſly, and gave him his Order. This done, he returned into *Italy*. But the Earl of *Belle joyeuſe* remained ſtill with the King to ſollicit the Voyage. At *Genua* they began to arm a great Navy, whither the King ſent the Lord of *Urſe* Maſter of his horſe, with divers others. In the end, he removed to *Vienna* in *Daulphin*, about the beginning of *Auguſt* in the ſame year, whither the Nobles of *Genua* reſorted daily to him: wherefore to *Genua* he ſent *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, now King of this Realm, a young Gentleman of goodly Perſonage, but much given to his pleaſures, of whom in this Hiſtory ample mention ſhall be made. It was then thought, that the ſaid Duke of *Orleans* ſhould have led this army by Sea, to land in the Realm of *Naples*, by the conduct and direction of the abovenamed baniſhed Princes of *Salerne* and *Biſignan*. The whole Navy was fourteen Ships of *Genua*, beſides a great number of Gallies and Galleons, and the King was as well obeyed there in this caſe, as he ſhould have been at *Paris*: for *Genua* was under the State of *Milan*, where the Lord *Lodonic* governed all, having none to gainſay him, ſave onely the Dutcheſſe his Nephews Wife, Daughter to King *Alphonſe*, (for about this preſent his Father King *Ferrande* died.) But the ſaid Lady prevailed little or nothing, both becauſe men ſaw the King in a readineſs, either to paſſe into *Italy* in Perſon, or to ſend his forces, and alſo becauſe her Husband was a very ſimple man, and diſcloſed all her doings to the Lord *Lodonic*, his Unkle, who had already cauſed a meſſenger to be drowned ſent by her to her Father.

This Navy did no ſervice, notwithſtanding that the charges thereof amounted to three hundred thouſand franks, for all the treaſure that the K. could levy was employed that way, by means whereof he was unfurniſhed, as before I ſaid, both of good counſell, of mony, and of all things neceſſary for ſuch an enterpriſe: yet God of his meer Grace, (as manifeſtly he declared) gave it good ſucceſſe. I mean not, that the King was not wiſe of his age, but he was but two and twenty years old, newly crept out of the ſhell. The two abovenamed that governed him in all his Voyage, to wit, *Stephen de Vers* Seneſchall of *Beaucaire*, and the Generall *Briſſonnet*, now Cardinal of Saint *Malo*, were men of mean eſtate, and of no experience, whereby ſo much the more appeared the wonderfull work of God: our enemies on the other ſide, were accounted wiſe, of great experience in the Wars, rich, accompanied with wiſe men and good Captains, and in poſſeſſion of the Realm. I mean King *Alphonſe* (lately Crowned by Pope *Alexander* a Spaniard, born in the Realm of *Arragon*) who had the Florentines joyned with him, and great intelligence with the Turk. He had alſo a Son bearing arms, called *Dom Ferrande*, a courteous young Gentleman, of the age of two or three and twenty years, who was welbeloved in the Realm, and a Brother alſo named *Dom Frederick*, who ſucceeded the ſaid *Ferrande* in this our age, and was a very wiſe man, and led their army upon the ſea. He had been long trained upon this

his ſide the Mountains, and of him you had often aſſured me, my Lord of *Vienna*, by your knowledg in Aſtrology, that he ſhould be King; ſo that he once promiſed me four thouſand franks of yearly revenues in the ſaid Realm, when that came to paſſe: which promiſe was made twenty years before the Propheſie took effect.

Now to proceed, the King altered his mind [5], through the Duke of *Milans* earneſt ſolicitation made both by Letters, by the Earl *Charles* of *Bellejoyeuſe* his Ambaſſadour, and by the two abovenamed. Notwithſtanding the Generall, in the end, began to faint, ſeeing all men of wiſdome and underſtanding to miſlike his Voyage, for many reſpects, and eſpecially, becauſe the Kings forces lay abroad in Camp in *Auguſt*, unfurniſhed of mony, and all other things neceſſary: but the Seneſchall alone carried the credit from them all, ſo far forth that the King ſhewed a countenance of diſpleaſure to the Generall three or four dayes, but he ſoon recovered his favour again. At this preſent died one of the Seneſchal Servants of the plague, as men ſaid; for the which cauſe he durſt not repair to the Kings preſence to his great grief, for no man ſolicited the voyage: But on the contrary ſide, the Duke and Dutcheſſe of *Bourbon* were there, labouring all that in them lay to overthrow it, whereunto alſo the ſaid Generall encouraged them, by means whereof one day the voyage was daſhed, and another revived. In the end the King reſolved to go, and my ſelfe mounted on horſeback with the formoſt, hoping to paſſe the Mountains the more commodiouſly with ſmall company: but I received a countermand, whereby I was advertiſed that all was altered again. The ſelfe-ſame day was borrowed fifty thouſand ducates of a Merchant of *Milan*: but the Lord *Lodovic* delivered the money upon aſſurance made to the ſaid Merchant for the repayment: my ſelf ſtood bound for ſix thouſand, and others for the reſt; but this money was lent without intereſt. The King had borrowed before of the bank of *Soly* at *Genua* a hundred thouſand Franks the intereſt whereof amounted in four moneths to fourteen thouſand Franks [6]. But ſome ſaid, that the two abovenamed had part both in the Principall, and alſo in the Intereſt.

[5] For he was not minded at the firſt to have gone in Perſon

[6] That is after the rate of ſterling money 14 pounds in the hundred for four moneths.

CHAP. V. *How King* Charles *departed from* Vienna *in* Daulphine *to conquer the Realm of* Naples *in Perſon; and what his Navy upon the Sea did under the leading of the Duke of* Orleans.

TO be ſhort, the King departed from *Vienna* the 23 of *Auguſt* in the year 1494, and marched ſtraight towards *Aſt* [1]. At *Suze* Maſter *Galeas* of Saint *Severin*, came to him in poſt, from whence the King removed to *Thurin*, where he borrowed all the Dutcheſs of *Savoyes* Jewels, who was Daughter to the late Lord *William* Marqueſſe of *Montferrat*, and Duke *Charles* of *Savoyes* Widow, the which he engaged for twelve thouſand ducats. A few dayes after, he went to *Caſſal* to the Marqueſſe of *Montferrats* Widow, being a wiſe young Lady, Daughter to the King of *Servia*. The Turk had conquered her Country, and the Emperor, whoſe Kinſwoman ſhe was (having, as I ſuppoſe, taken her into his protection) had beſtowed her in this Houſe of *Montferrat*. She lent alſo her Jewels, which were in like manner engaged for twelve thouſand ducats. Hereby you might perceive what ſucceſſe this voyage had like to have had, if God alone had not guided the enterpriſe. The King abode at *Aſt* a certain ſpace [2]. That year all the Wines of *Italy* were ſowre, which our men much miſliked; neither could they away with the great heat of the Aire. To *Aſt* came the Lord *Lodovic* and his Wife with a goodly train to viſit the King, where they abode two dayes: and then the ſaid *Lodovic* departed to a Caſtle of the Dutchy of *Milan*, a League from *Aſt* called *Nom*, whither the Kings Council repaired dayly to him. King *Alphonſe* had two Armies abroad in the Country, the one in *Romain*, towards *Ferrara*; under the leading of his Son, accompanied with the Lord *Virgil Urſin*, the Earl of *Petilhane*, and the Lord *John James* of *Trevoul*, who is now become French. Againſt theſe, the King ſent the Lord *d' Aubigny* [4], a valiant and wiſe Knight, with two hundred men of Arms French, and five hundred men of Arms Italians, being in the Kings ſervice, under the leading of the Earl of *Cajazze*, ſo often before mentioned, who was there as the Lord of *Lodovics* Lievtenant, and feared greatly the diſcomfiture of theſe forces; which if it had hapened, we had re-

[1] The King came to *Aſt* the 9 of *September* 1494 *Guicciar.*

[2] The King abode at *Aſt* till the ſixth of *October*, *Annal. Franc. & Aquit.*

[3] *Alphonſe* in perſon levied men in *Abruzzo*, to have fought with *Aubigny*, but in an Aſſembly held between him and the Pope, at *Vicovare* the third of *July*, it was agreed that he ſhould paſs no further, but give the charge of the Army to his Son, *Guicciar.*

[4] This *Aubigny* was a Scotiſh man and a *Stuart*, and of him the now King of Scots is by his Father lineally deſcended.

paired

paired home incontinent, and he ſhould have had his enemies upon his Neck, whoſe intelligence was great in the Dutchy of *Milan*.

The other army was upon the Sea, under the leading of *Dom Frederick* King *Alphonſes* Brother, and lay at *Ligorne* and at *Piſe*; for the *Florentines* took part, as yet, with the Houſe of *Arragon*, and furniſht them with certain Gallies. Moreover, with the ſaid *Dom Frederick* was *Bretto de Fliſco*, and certain other *Genuois*, by whoſe intelligence he hoped to cauſe *Genua* to revolt[s]. And ſure they had almoſt obtained their purpoſe at *Specie* and *Rapalio* near to *Genua*, where they landed a thouſand of their Faction, by means whereof they had undoubtedly atchieved their enterpriſe, if they had not been very ſpeedily aſſailed. But the ſelfe ſame day or the next day, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* arrived there with certain ſhips, and a good number of gallies, and one great galliaſſe being mine, the Patrone whereof was one Maſter *Albert Mely*, and it carried the ſaid Duke and the principall of the Army, and many goodly pieces of Artillery; for it was very ſtrong, and approached ſo near the ſhore, that the very Artillery almoſt diſcomfited the enemies, who before had never ſeen the like[t]: for Artillery, was at that time ſtrange and new to the Italian Nation. The Souldiers landed alſo, that were in the other ſhips: and from *Genua*, where the Kings whole Army lay, came a band of Switzers by land led by the Bailiff of *Digeon*, who had joyned with him certain of the Duke of *Milans* forces (under the leading of Maſter *John Lewis de Fliſco*, Brother to the forenamed *Breto*, and of Maſter *Joh n Adorne*) the which (notwithſtanding that they were not at the ſkirmiſh) ſhewed themſelves valiant Souldiers, in defending a Straight againſt the enemies. To be ſhort, becauſe men came to hand-ſtrokes with the enemies, they were diſcomfited and put to flight, and a hundred or ſix ſcore ſlain, and eight or ten taken priſoners: among the which was one *Fourgouſin*, Son to the Cardinall of *Genua*. Thoſe Priſoners that were diſmiſſed, were all ſtripped to their ſhirts by the Duke of *Milans* bands, and other harm had they none, for ſuch is the Law of Arms in *Italy*. I ſaw all the Letters that were ſent both to the King, and to the Duke of *Milan* making a report of this ſkirmiſh. Thus was the Enemies Navy repulſed, which afterwards approached no more ſo near. At our mens return the *Genuois* thought to have raiſed a tumult, and ſlew certain Almains in the Town; certain alſo of them were ſlain, but the matter was ſoon pacified.

I muſt here ſpeak a word or two of the Florentines, who had ſent twice to the King before his departure out of *France*, meaning onely to diſſemble with him: with their firſt Ambaſſadours (being the Biſhop of *Areſe*[u], and one named *Peter Sandorin*) the King commanded me, the Seneſchall, and the Generall to negotiate. Our demands were onely theſe: Firſt to give the King paſſage through their Country: and ſecondarily to ſerve him with a hundred men of Arms, paying them after the Italian entertainment, which was, but ten thouſand Ducats the year[v]. Theſe Ambaſſadours depended wholly upon *Peter* of *Medicis* a young man of ſmall wiſdom, Son to *Laurence* of *Medicis*, who was dead, and had been one of the wiſeſt men in his time, and had governed the City almoſt as Prince, as did alſo at this preſent his Son; and as two deſcents of their Houſe had already ſucceſſively done, namely *Laurence* the Father of this *Peter* and *Coſme* of *Medicis* the firſt Root and Founder of this Houſe, a Man worthy among the worthieſt. And ſure of their Trade (being Merchandiſe) I think it hath been the greateſt Houſe that ever was in the World: for their Servants and Factors have had ſo great credit under their name, that it is wonderfull. My ſelf have ſeen the proof thereof both in *Flanders*, and *England*. For I knew, one called *Gerrard Quanueſe*, by whoſe only help, in a manner, King *Edward* the 4th. kept the Crown on his head, when Civil Wars were in the Realm of *England*: for he lent him at times more than ſixſcore thouſand Crowns, little for his Maſters profit, notwithſtanding he recovered his principall in the end. Another alſo I knew, named *Thomas Fortunay*, who was pledge at one time between the ſaid King *Edward* and Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy*, for fifty thouſand Crowns, and at another time in another place for fourſcore thouſand. I commend not the wiſdome of Merchants in thus doing; but I commend Princes that uſe Merchants well, and keep day with them, for they know not when they ſhall need their help, and ſometime a little money doth great ſervice.

It ſeemeth, that this Houſe of *Medicis* fel to ruin, as mighty Houſes do in Realms and Empires; for the great authority of this *Peter* of *Medicis* Predeceſſors did him harm: notwithſtanding the Government of *Coſme* the firſt of that Houſe, was milde and gentle, ſuch as was agreeable with a free ſtate: But *Laurence* this *Peters* Father (whom we now preſent-

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[s] *Genua* was ever divided into the factions of *Fregoſe* (called here in many places *Fourgouſi*) *Adorni*, *Dorti*, & *Spinoli*.

[t] The Italians have *Artiglio*, which is a Town between *Florence* and *Perouſe*, but *Guazzi de Regio*, which is a little Town near to *Parma*.

[u] That was after the rate of one hundred ducates for every man of arms: for the Italian men of arms have not their archers as the French and therefore their wages is leſſe by the half.

ly write of) becauſe of the great variance before mentioned in this Hiſtory, that was between him and them of *Piſa*, and others (divers of the which at that time were hanged;) took a guard of twenty men, for the defence of his Perſon, by the commandment and leave of the Seniory, who commanded nothing but at his pleaſure: notwithſtanding he behaved himſelf in this great authority very diſcreetly and ſoberly, for (as before I ſaid) he was one of the wiſeſt men in his time. But this *Peter*, who ſucceeded his Father, (ſuppoſing the like authority to be due to him of right) became terrible by means of this guard, and uſed great violence in the night, beating men as they went in the ſtreets, and abuſing their common treaſure; ſo had his Father done alſo, but ſo wiſely, that they held themſelves in a manner contented therewith. *Lib. 6. cap. 5.*

In the Second Ambaſſage the ſaid *Peter* ſent to *Lyons*, one called *Peter Capon* with divers others, by whom he excuſed himſelf, as before he had done, for not accompliſhing the Kings requeſts, ſaying that King *Lewis* the eleventh had commanded the Town of *Florence*, to enter into League with King *Ferrande*, in the time of Duke *John* of *Anjou*, and to depart from their League with the ſaid Duke: wherefore ſeeing, by the Kings commandment, they were entered into this League, which endured yet certain years: they could not abandon nor forſake the Houſe of *Arragon*. But if the King hapned to come into their Countrey, they promiſed to do him great ſervices, which offer they made becauſe they thought (as the Venetians did) that the King would not come into *Italy*. In both theſe Ambaſſages, there was ſome one enemy to the ſaid *de Medicis*, eſpecially in the later, this *Capon*, who often advertiſed us, by what means the City of *Florence* might be brought to rebell againſt the ſaid *Peter*, and delivered alſo his meſſage in far worſe terms, then indeed it was ſent; and further gave advice, to baniſh all the Florentines out of *France*, and ſo they were[g]. Thus much have I written, to the end you may the better underſtand, that which afterwards enſued: for the King became mortall enemy to the ſaid *Peter*, and the Seneſchall and Generall had great intelligence with his enemies in the City, eſpecially with this *Capon*, yea and with two alſo of the ſaid *Peters* Couſin Germaines, being both of his own name.

[g] They gave this counſell, to the end the Florentines, being barred their traffick in *France* might murmur againſt *Peter* of *Medicis*: for what misfortune ſoever hapneth, the Prince is alwayes blamed as cauſe thereof

CHAP. VI. *How the King remaining yet in* Aſt *reſolved to paſſe forth towards* Naples *at the earneſt ſute of* Lodovic Sforce. *How* Philip de Commines *was ſent Ambaſſador to* Venice: *of the Duke of* Milans *death; after whoſe deceaſe the ſaid* Lodovic *ſeized upon the Dutchy, to the prejudice of a Son the ſaid Duke left behind him.*

I Have told you already, what happened upon the Sea at Rapalo. *Dom Frederick* retired to *Piſa* and *Ligorne*, leaving his footmen behind him, whom he had landed. The Florentines waxed marvellous weary of him; for they be, and ever have been, better affected to the Houſe of *France*, than to that of *Arragon*. Our Army that was in *Romany* (notwithſtanding that it were the weaker) furthered greatly our affairs; for it had made *Dom Ferrande* Duke of *Calabria*, by little and little to retire: which when the King perceived, he reſolved to paſſe forward being earneſtly ſolicited thereunto, by the Lord *Lodovic*, and the others abovenamed. The ſaid *Lodovic*, at his firſt meeting of the King, ſpake thus unto him: Sir, fear not this enterpriſe, there are in *Italy*, but three mighty Eſtates, one of the which taketh part with you, which is *Milan*; another moveth not, to wit, the Venetians, ſo that you have onely to do with the Force of *Naples*. But divers of your Anceſtors have overthrown us all three being joyned together. Sir, if you will credit me, I will help to mak you greater then ever was *Charlemain*: for we will eaſily chaſe the Turk out of the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, having ſubdued the Realm of *Naples*. And ſure he ſaid true of the Turke that now reigneth[1], if all things had been well ordered on our ſide. Then the King began to govern all his affairs by the order and direction of the ſaid *Lodovic*, wherewith certain of our men, I mean ſome of the Kings Chamber, and ſuch like, were not a little diſcontented, which was great folly; for without him we could do nothing: and this that they did was only to flatter the Duke of *Orleans*, who pretended title to the

[1] He meaneth, becauſe he was a man of no vertue as before is ſaid.

the Dutchy of *Milan* [2]. But the Generall eſpecially was highly offended therewith; for now he thought himſelf a great man and ſome breach was hapned between the Seneſchall and him: for the which cauſe the Lord *Lodovic* moved both the King and the ſaid Seneſchall, that the Generall might be ſent home; which his words cauſed the Generall openly to babble againſt him, and to ſay that he would deceive the whole company: but ſilence would better have becomed him. Notwithſtanding as touching him, never wiſe man made account of him in matter of State, both becauſe he underſtood not what it meant, and alſo becauſe he was light of talke: but ſure he was well affected to his Maſter. They concluded in the end to ſend abroad divers Ambaſſadours, and my ſelf among the reſt was appointed to go to *Venice*, but my diſpatch was delayed a while, becauſe the King was ſick of the Small pox, and in danger of death: for an Ague was joyned with his diſeaſe, but it endured not paſt ſix or ſeven dayes. Then I departed leaving the King in *Aſt*, and verily believing that he would paſſe no further: In ſix dayes I went to *Venice* with my Mules and Carriage; for the way was marvellous fair. But I departed from the ſaid Town of *Aſt* in great fear, doubting the Kings Return home: notwithſtanding God had otherwiſe diſpoſed of this enterpriſe; for he went ſtraight to *Pavy*, and paſſed through *Caſſall*, where the Marchioneſſe of *Montferrat* lay, which was a good Lady and great friend to us, but deadly enemy to the Lord *Lodovic*, and he alſo to her. When the King arrived at *Pavy*, ſome ſmall jealouſie began to ariſe; for they would have lodged him in the Town, and not in the Caſtle; but he would not lodge, but in the Caſtle, and ſo he did. Thoſe that were near about him have told me, that he was there in ſome danger, wherefore the ſelfe-ſame night the Watch was re-inforced, whereat the Lord *Lodovick* marvelled greatly, ſo far forth that he communed thereof with the King, demanding if he had conceived any ſuſpition of him. To be ſhort, their behaviour was ſuch on both ſides, that their amity could not long endure: but we babbled much more then they, not the King himſelf, but certain of his neareſt Kinſmen [3]. In this Caſtle of *Pavy* was *John Galeas* Duke of *Milan*, and his Wife, Daughter to King *Alphonſe* in very piteous eſtate: for her Huſband being ſick, was held in this Caſtle as under guard, and her Son, who is yet living, with a Daughter or two. The Childe was then about five years old, and him every man might ſee, but no man might ſee the Duke: for my ſelfe paſſed that way three dayes before the King, and could by no means be ſuffered to come to him. Every body ſaid he was extream ſick: notwithſtanding the King ſpake with him; for he was his Couſin germain [4], and he hath told me that their communication was only in generall terms, becauſe he would in no wiſe offend the Lord *Lodovic*; notwithſtanding that he was very deſirous to have advertiſed his ſaid couſin of divers matters: at the ſaid time the Dutcheſſe fell upon her knees before the ſaid *Lodovic*, deſiring him to have pity upon her Father and Brother. He anſwered, that it could not be. But to ſay the truth, ſhe might better have entreated for her Husband, and herſelf, being at that time a goodly young Lady.

From thence the King removed to *Plaiſance*, where the ſaid *Lodovic* received Letters, that his Nephew the Duke of *Milan* lay at the point of death, wherefore he took his leave of the King to go to him. The King deſired him to return, and ſo he promiſed to do. Before he came to *Pavy* the Duke died, whereupon he rid incontinent, as it were in poſt to *Milan*. Al theſe news I underſtood by a Letter, that the Venetian Ambaſſadour reſident with the ſaid *Lodovic* ſent to *Venice*, wherein alſo he advertiſed the Seniorie that he meant to make himſelf Duke, which both the Duke of *Venice* and the Seignory utterly miſliked, ſo far forth that they asked me, whether the King would not defend the Child: which though reaſon required that he ſhould, yet I made the matter doubtful, conſidering how neceſſary an inſtrument the ſaid Lord *Lodovic* was at that time for the Kings affairs.

To be ſhort, he made himſelf to be received at *Milan* as Duke, which was the onely end (as ſome ſaid) why he had cauſed us to paſſe the Mountains. Many alſo charged him with his Nephews death, whoſe Kinſfolkes and Friends in *Italy* were in Arms to have taken the Government from him, which they would eaſily have done, had not the Kings coming ſtopped them, for they were already in *Romane*, as you have heard. But the Earl of *Cajazze* and the L. of *Aubigny* made them to retire. For the ſaid Lord of *Aubigny* had with him a company of an hundred and fifty, or two hundred men of Arms, French, and a good band of Switzers. *Dom Ferrande* and his Forces retired towards their friends, diſlodging ever halfe a dayes journey before our men, and marched towards *Furly* [5], which belonged to a Lady being a baſtard of *Milan*, and Widow of the Earl

Hiſto-

[2] What right the Duke of *Orleans* had to it, the pedegree in the end of the Book will declare.

[3] He meaneth the Earl of *Ligay* the King and who were ſiſters children.

[4] King *Charles* his mother was *Caroloys*, and this Dukes Mother *Bonne*, both Daughters to the Duke of *Savoy*.

[5] It was corruptly in the French *S Sorly* for *Furly*, which the old Romans called *Forum Livii*.

Hieronimo, Nephew to Pope *Sixtus*[6]. This Lady favoured them, as the report went; notwithstanding after our men had taken by assault a little Town of hers, being first beaten half a day by the Cannon: she revolted to us, being indeed well affected to us before. Further, the people of *Italy* began in all places to take heart and to desire change and alteration: for they saw that which before they had never seen, I mean the feat of artillery, which they were unacquainted with, and which in *France* was never more practised then at that time. The said *Dom Ferrande* approached still nearer and nearer to his Realm, and went to *Sesenne*, a fair City of the Popes in the Marque of *Anconne*; but the people spoiled his carriage and stuffe, whensoever they took his men at advantage. And through all *Italy* they would have rebelled, if the Wars had been ordered on our side without spoil: but all was done clean contrary, to my great grief, because of the honour and renown the French Nation might have obtained by this Voyage. For at our first arrival the people honoured us as Saints, supposing all faith and vertue to be in us: but their opinion endured not long, partly because of the disorder and spoil our men used; and partly because of the slanderous reports our enemies made of us in all places, charging us that we forced Women, and robbed and carried away money, and whatsoever we could lay hand on: of heinouser crimes they could not have accused us in *Italy*, for no Nation is so jealous and covetous as the Italian. As touching Women they belied us, but the rest was not altogether untrue.

[6] *Octavian* son to *Hieronimo* of *Riare*, was Lord of *Furly* and *Imola*, with title of Vicar of the Church; but he was under the government of *Katherin Sforce* his mother here mentioned. *Guicciar.*

CHAP. VII. *How* Peter *of* Medices *yielded four of the Florentines strongest places to the King; and how the King restored* Pisa, *being one of them, to their ancient liberty.*

THe King (as before you have heard) was at *Plaisance*, where he caused a solemn funerall to be made for his Cosin-german the Duke of *Milan*; for other thing wist he not what to do, the new Duke of *Milan* being departed from him. They that best understood the course of these affairs, have told me that the whole Company desired to return home, as well for that they were unprovided of all things necessary, as also because of divers doubts that were arisen: for certain that at the first seemed to have great good liking of this Voyage, began now utterly to disallow thereof, namely the Lord of *Vrse* Master of the Horse, who was not with the King, but lay sick at *Genua*: from whence he wrote him a Letter, giving him therein to understand of divers doubts and jealousies whereof he was advertised. But (as before I have said in divers places) God manifestly declared that he himself governed this enterprise. For suddenly in the neck of this Letter, news came to the King that the Duke of *Milan* would shortly return, and that the Florentines began to favour us in hatred of *Peter de Medices*, who governed them as if he had been their Prince, to the great discontentation both of many of his own near kinsmen, and of divers also of the best Citizens, namely the *Caponi*, the *Sonderini*[1], the *Nerly*, and in manner the whole City. Wherefore the King departed from *Plaisance*, and marched towards the Florentines territories, meaning either to cause them to declare themselves for him, or to take their Towns, being unfortified, and lodge his men in them all the Winter, which was already begun. Divers small places yielded unto him, so did also the City of *Luques* enemy to the Florentines, shewing him all pleasure and service that in them lay. Now you shall understand that the Duke of *Milan* had two purposes in his head; First he sought by all means possible to stay the King from passing further that Summer[2]. Secondarily he hoped to obtain of him *Pisa* (a great and a fair City) together with *Serzane*, and *Petresantte*, which two places had been subject to the Genuois not long before, and were wan from them by the Florentines in *Laurence de Medices* time.

The King passed through *Pontreme*, one of the Duke of *Milans* Towns, and went to besiege *Serzane*, the strongest and best Castle the Florentines had, but unfurnished because of their great divisions. To say the truth, the Florentines never bear arms willingly against the House of *France*: for they have ever faithfully served it, and taken part with it, both because of their great traffick in *France*, and also because they have ever been of the Guelphes Faction[3]. If this place had been well furnished, the King must of necessity have broken his army: for the Country is very barren and full of Hills, and Victuals there

[1] It was *Tadonni* in the French, but corruptly.

[2] He meaneth that the Duke of *Milan* found delays to cause the King to stay all the winter in the Florentines territories, hoping that their Towns would yield unto him (as indeed they did) and that then he might obtain of the King such as he would.

[3] The Factions of the Guelphs and Gibellines began in *Italy* under the Emperor *Frederick* the second *anno* 1240. The Gibellines held for the Emperor, the Guelphes for the Pope.

there were none to be gotten: beſides that, the Snow lay marvellous deep upon the ground. After the Kings ſiege had layn before it three dayes, the Duke of *Milan* came thither, no compoſition being yet made between the Florentines and the King [4], and paſſed through *Pontreme*, where the Townſmen and the Souldiers of the Garriſon, fell at ſuch variance with our Almains, (led by one *Buſer*) that certain of the ſaid Almains were ſlain: of the which brawl ſprang a great inconvenience, as hereafter you ſhall hear. For although I were not my ſelf preſent at theſe actions: yet underſtood I of them, both by the King, the Duke, and divers others. The Florentines began now to practiſe, and appointed fifteen or ſixteen to go to the King, ſaying, that they would no longer continue in this great danger, nor ſuſtain the diſpleaſure of the King and the Duke of *Milan*, who had continually an Ambaſſador reſident at *Florence*. And *Peter* of *Medices* conſented to the ſending of this ambaſſage; for, to ſay the truth, he could not remedy it, conſidering upon what terms they ſtood: for if they had done otherwiſe, they had been undone, being unprovided of all things, and utterly unacquainted with the Wars. When theſe Ambaſſadors came to the Kings preſence, they offered to receive him into *Florence*, and their other places; neither cared the greater part of them how the world went, ſo that we would come to *Florence* to chaſe away *Peter* of *Medices*; which matter they earneſtly preſſed, becauſe they had good intelligence with the abovenamed, that governed the Kings affairs.

[4] This compoſition he ſpeaketh of afterward in this Chapter.

On the other ſide, *Peter* of *Medices* practiſed, by a ſervant of his own, named *Laurence Spinelly*, who was his Factor at *Lyons*, and an honeſt man in his vocation, and had lived long in *France*: but of the ſtate of our Court he could underſtand nothing, no hardly they that had been Courtiers all their lives, becauſe of the often changes and alterations. This *Spinelly* negotiated with thoſe, that heretofore had born all the ſway, namely, the Lord of *Breſſe*, afterward Duke of *Savoy*, and the Lord of *Miolans* Chamberlain to the King. Soon after the abovenamed Ambaſſadors were returned to *Florence*, *Peter* of *Medices* accompanied with certain of the City, came himſelf to the King to make anſwer to our requeſts: for they within the City ſaw utter deſtruction before their eyes, unleſs they yielded to all the Kings demands; whoſe favour they hoped to obtain, by offering him ſome greater ſervice, then any of the other Towns that had already received him. At his arrivall Monſieur *de Piennes*, a Flemming born, and Chamberlain to the King, and the Generall *Briſſonnet* were ſent to treat with him, who required him to yield unto the King the Caſtle of *Serzane*, which preſently he did. They required him further to lend the King *Piſa*, *Ligorne*, *Petreſancte*, and *Librefacto*: whereunto alſo he agreed incontinently, never communicating the matter with his Collegues, who ſuppoſed that the King ſhould onely have lodged in *Piſa*, and in theſe other places, to refreſh himſelf, but not have held them ſtill: well, by this means they yielded their whole eſtate and force into our hands. Thoſe that negotiated with the ſaid *Peter*, have told both me and others ſince, ſcoffing and jeſting at him, that they wondred to ſee him ſo lightly condeſcend to ſo weighty a matter, granting more then they looked for. To conclude, the King entred into *Piſa*, and the abovenamed Ambaſſadors returned to *Florence*, where the ſaid *Peter* cauſed the Kings lodging to be made in his own Houſe, which was the goodlieſt, of a Citizens or Merchants houſe, that ever I ſaw, and better furniſhed then any mans houſe in the world of his eſtate.

[5] It was ſold to this *John Galeas*, and he ſold it over to the Florentines.

[6] This Park was made by the ſaid *John Galeas*, after he had conquered *Pavia*: it was twenty miles in circuit, walled round about, and ſtored with all kinde of Beaſts; but now by means of the Wars it is deſtroyed: by this Park he built alſo the Caſtle. In this Park was *Francis* the French King taken priſoner, by the forces of the Emperour *Charls* the 5th. the 24th. of *February anno* 1525. but the French ſay, 1524. becauſe they begin not the year till Eaſter.

I muſt here ſpeak a word or two of the Duke of *Milan*, who now wiſhed the King with all his heart out of *Italy*, notwithſtanding that both already he had made his profit by him, and ſought alſo ſtill ſo to do: for he was in hope to obtain of him, the places yielded by the Florentines, and preſſed him earneſtly for *Serzane*, and *Petreſancte*, which he ſaid appertained to the Genuois: he lent him alſo at that preſent thirty thouſand ducats, and he hath ſince both told me and others, that theſe places were promiſed him. But when he ſaw that he could not obtain them, he departed in great diſpleaſure from the King, pretending that earneſt buſineſs called him home, which was the laſt time the King ſaw him: notwithſtanding he left Maſter *Gales* of Saint *Severin* behind him, whom he joyned in commiſſion in all matters with the Earl *Charles* of *Bellejoyeuſe*. The ſaid Maſter *Galeas* while the King lay in *Piſa*, ſent (by his Maſters advice) for the chief Citizens of the Town to his lodging, where he perſwaded them to rebell againſt the Florentines, and to deſire the King to reſtore them to their ancient liberty, truſting by this means that *Piſa* would fall into the Duke of *Milans* claws, under whoſe obedience it had been [5], in the time of *John Galeas*, the firſt Duke of *Milan* of that name, (a great and wicked Tyrant though very honourable) whoſe body lyeth buried in the Charterhouſe of *Pavia*, by the Park [6], ſo high above the high

high altar, that men go up to it by a Ladder: certain of the Monks ſhewed me it, at the leaſt his bones, which ſmelt, as naturally as they ſhould. Further, one of the ſaid Monks who was born at *Bourges*, called him Saint, as he talked with me; and I asked him in his ear, why he called him Saint, conſidering he might behold painted round about him, the arms of many Cities which he had wrongfully uſurped[7], and ſeeing the Image of him and his Horſe, being of fine marble, ſtood higher then the Altar, and yet his body lay under his Horſe feet; He anſwered me ſoftly, Sir, in this Country, we call all thoſe Saints, that have done us any good, and he built this goodly Charterhouſe Church, (which in very deed is the faireſt that ever I ſaw, for it is all of fine marble.) But to proceed, the ſaid Maſter *Galeas* ſought to make himſelf great, and ſo I think did the Duke of *Milan* alſo, becauſe he had married his baſe Daughter: for he manifeſtly declared that he would advance him as his own Son, becauſe at that time his own Children were all very young. The ſaid Piſans, were, I confeſſe, cruelly handled by the Florentines, for they uſed them like ſlaves. They had ſubdued them about an hundred years before, even in the ſelf-ſame year that the Venetians conquered *Padua*, which was the firſt Victory that they obtained upon the firm Land. And the fortune of theſe two Cities were almoſt alike, for they had been ancient enemies to thoſe whom now they ſerved, many years before they were conquered, and almoſt of equall force with them. Theſe Piſans conſulted together about this motion, and ſeeing themſelves counſelled by ſo great a Perſonage, and being alſo of themſelves deſirous of liberty: a great number of them both men and women, came crying to the King as he went to Maſſe, *Liberty*, *Liberty*, deſiring him with weeping eyes to grant it them. One of the Maſters of the Requeſts (who was a counſellor of the Parliament in *Daulphin*, named *Robot*) going before the King, or executing his Office, ſaid unto him, (were it becauſe he had promiſed the Piſans ſo to do: or becauſe he underſtood not what they demanded) that it was a lamentable caſe, and that of right he ought to grant them their petition; adding, that never men were ſo cruelly handled. The King not underſtanding well what this word meant, but bewailing in his mind the miſerable eſtate of the Italian Nation, and the cruelty that both Princes and commonalties, uſed towards their ſubjects, (notwithſtanding that, in reaſon, he could not grant them their liberty, ſeeing the Town was none of his, but lent him upon friendſhip, at his great need) anſwered, that he was contented to grant their requeſt, and ſo the Counſellor abovenamed declared unto them: whereupon the people incontinently began to proclaim holiday, in token of joy, and went to their Bridge, which is a very goodly one, built over the River of *Arne*, and threw down to the ground, and afterward into the River, a great Lyon ſtanding upon a ſtrong Pillar of marble, called Major, repreſenting the Seigniory of *Florence*: upon the which Pillar they cauſed to be erected a King of *France*, holding a naked Sword in his hand, and treading the Major or Lyon under his Horſe feet. But after, when the King of Romans entred the Town, they did with the Kings Image, as now with the Lyon: for ſuch is the Nature of the Italian Nation, to turn ever with the ſtrongeſt. Notwithſtanding theſe Piſans were then, and yet are, ſo cruelly handled, that they are to be holden for excuſed.

[7] This Duke conquered in *Italy* 29 Cities; among the which were *Pavie*, *Bologna*, *Verona*, *Senes*, *Perouſe*, *Lucques*, *Vercel*, &c.

CHAP. VIII. *How the King departed from* Piſa *to* Florence, *and of the flight and ruine of* Peter de Medices.

AFter the King had repoſed himſelf a few dayes at *Piſa*, he departed to *Florence*, where they had declared unto him, the great wrong he had done their eſtate, by reſtoring the Piſans to liberty, contrary to his promiſe. Thoſe that were appointed to make anſwer hereunto, excuſed the fact: ſaying, that the King had not well underſtood with what conditions *Piſa* was delivered unto him, neither underſtood he another treaty he made with the Florentines[1]: whereof you ſhall hear, after I have ſpoken ſomewhat of *Peter de Medices* ruine, and ſhewed how the King entred into *Florence*, leaving a Garriſon in *Piſa*, and the other places lent him. The ſaid *Peter*, after he had yielded to the King the places abovementioned, with the conſent of certain of the Town, returned to the City, ſuppoſing that the King would not hold them ſtill, but reſtore them at his departure from *Piſa*, where he would but repoſe himſelf three or four dayes. Yet am I of opinion, that if it had pleaſed him to winter there, they would willingly have agreed,

[1] This is *Ironice* ſpoken becauſe the King brake this ſecond treaty alſo, mentioned in the very next Chapter, notwithſtanding that he underſtood it well enough.

agreed thereunto, notwithſtanding that *Piſa* be of greater importance to them, then *Florence* it ſelf, ſave that their Perſons and Goods be reſident in *Florence*[z]. At the ſaid *Peters* return to *Florence*, every man frowned upon him, and not without cauſe: for he had diſpoſſeſſed them of their whole force, and of all that they had conquered in an hundred years, ſo that their minds ſeemed already to foretell them the evils that afterward fell upon them. Wherefore partly for this cauſe (which I ſuppoſe to be the principall, though they never uttered it) partly for the great hatred before rehearſed, which they bare him, and partly alſo to recover their liberty, whereof they thought themſelves bereaved by him: they determined to baniſh him the Town, forgetting all the benefits of *Coſmus* and *Laurence de Medicis* his anceſtors. The ſaid *Peter* having no certain intelligence of this their determination, yet doubting it, went to the Palace with his ordinary guard, to adverтiſe them of the Kings coming, who was about three miles from the Town: but when he came to the Palace Gate and knocked, one of the Houſe of *Nerly* (being the Father, and many Sons whom my ſelf knew well, all of great wealth) refuſed to let him in, ſaying, that if he would enter alone he ſhould, otherwiſe not; and he that made him this refuſall was armed. The ſaid *Peter* returned incontinent to his houſe, and armed both himſelf and his ſervants, determining to make reſiſtance againſt his enemies in the Town. Whereof he alſo advertiſed one *Paul Urſin*, who was in pay with the Florentines: (for the ſaid *Peter* was by his Mother of the Houſe of the *Urſins*, and both his Father and he had ever given entertainment to certain of them) but immediately after, they heard the people cry, *Liberty, Liberty*, and ſaw them come towards his houſe in arms. Whereupon (following good advice) by the help of *Paul Urſin*, he departed the Town, which was a miſerable departure to him: for in power and wealth both he and his anceſtors, ſince the time of *Coſmus de Medicis* the firſt of that Houſe, had been in manner equal with great Princes: and this day fortune began to frown upon him, ſo that he loſt both honour and riches. At this preſent my ſelf was at *Venice*, and by the Ambaſſador of *Florence* there reſident, underſtood of all theſe news, which greatly diſpleaſed me; for I had loved his Father well. If the ſaid *Peter* had followed my advice, all this had never hapned: for immediately after my arrival at *Venice*, I wrote unto him, offering to make his peace with the King, for I had commiſſion by mouth, both from the Seneſchall of *Beaucaire*, and the Generall, ſo to do: and I am well aſſured, the King would have held himſelf contented, with paſſage through their Country, at the moſt with *Ligorne*, and (that being obtained) have agreed to all the ſaid *Peters* demands. But he, by the perſwaſion of the abovenamed *Peter Capon*, anſwered me in manner with ſcoffs. The ſaid Ambaſſador the next day, delivered a letter to the Senate of *Venice*, the contents whereof were, that the ſaid *Peter* was baniſhed the Town, becauſe he ſought to make himſelf Lord thereof, by aid of the houſe of *Arragon* and the Urſins, and divers other matters they charged him with, that were untrue. But ſuch be the Chances and Changes of this World, that he that is in adverſity, hath not onely his enemies to perſue him, but his friends alſo become his foes, as appeared by this Ambaſſador, named *Paul Anthony Sonderin* (one of the wiſeſt men in *Italy*) who but the day before talked with me of this *Peter*, as if he had been his Sovereign Lord, yet now declared himſelf his enemy. True it is, that it was by the Seniories commandment; for of himſelf particularly he made no declaration. The next day, I was advertiſed that the ſaid *Peter* came to *Venice*, and that the King in great Triumph was entred into *Florence*. Moreover, the Senate of *Florence*, commanded their Ambaſſador to take his leave of the Seniory of *Venice*, and return home with all ſpeed. The Letter himſelf ſhewed me, and then departed. Two dayes after his departure, arrived *Peter de Medicis* in his Doublet and his Hoſe, or in one of his Servants Cloaks. The Venetians ſtood in great doubt to receive him; ſo much feared they the Kings diſpleaſure. And notwithſtanding, that they could not of their honour refuſe him, yet made they him ſtay two dayes without the Town, being very deſirous to underſtand of me, how the King would take it, if they received him. I for my part, deſired to do him good, and the King had written nothing to me againſt him: wherefore I anſwered them, that I thought he was fled for fear of the people, not of the King. Whereupon he entred the Town, and the next day after he had been with the Seniory, I went to viſit him. They lodged him well, and permitted both himſelf, and fifteen or twenty of his ſervants that accompanied him, to wear their weapons in the Town[a]. And notwithſtanding that *Coſmus* abovementioned had hindered them in times paſt from taking of *Milan*, yet uſed they him very well, and reverenced

[z] It ſtood them in ſuch ſtead, becauſe it was ſtrong, and the key of their Country, and ſtandeth near the Sea, very commodiouſly for their traffick.

[a] For through the Venetians Dominions no man may wear his weapon without leave.

reverenced him for the honour of his Houſe, which had been of ſo great eſtimation and renown through all Chriſtendome. When I ſaw him, me thought, he ſeemed a man of no great ſtuffe, he diſcourſed to me at large of all his misfortunes, and I, as well as I could, comforted him. Among other things, he told me that he had loſt all, and that above all other his miſhaps this moſt grieved him, that a Factor of his in the Town had refuſed to give him credit for cloth, but to the value of an hundred ducats, to apparell his Brother and himſelf; which was a ſtrange thing, conſidering his eſtate and authority: for by the ſpace of threeſcore years the eſtimation of this Houſe had been ſo great, that greater it could not be. Soon after, by means of the Lord of *Breſſe* afterward Duke of *Savoy*, the ſaid *Peter* received good news; for the King wrote unto him, willing him to repair to his preſence. Notwithſtanding, the King was firſt departed from *Florence*, as now you ſhall hear, but ſomewhat I was forced by the way to ſpeak of this *Peter de Medicis*.

CHAP. IX. *How the King entred into* Florence, *and through what other Towns he paſſed, till he came to* Rome.

THE next day the King entred into *Florence*, where the ſaid *Peter* had prepared his own houſe to receive him, but the Lord of *Ballaſſet*, who was ſent thither before to make the Kings Lodging, underſtanding of the ſaid *Peters* departure; fell to ſpoil all that he found in his houſe, pretending that his Bank of *Lyons* owed him a great ſum of money. Among other things he took one whole Unicorns horn, valued at ſix or ſeven thouſand ducats, and two great pieces of another, with a number of other goodly things, which others ſeeing did the like, into another houſe in the Town the ſaid *Peter* had conveied all his goodlieſt ſtuffe, but the people ſpoiled that alſo. The Seniory had part of his richeſt jewells, twenty thouſand ducats in coin, that lay in his bank in the Town, divers fair pots of Agat, and ſuch a number of goodly Camayeux excellently well cut, (all the which my ſelf once ſaw) as is wonderfull, together with three thouſand medalls of Gold and Silver, weighing forty pound weight; the number and goodneſſe whereof, I think, all *Italy* could not match. All that he loſt that day in the City, amounted to an hundred thouſand crowns and better. The King being in *Florence* (as you have heard) made a treaty with the Citizens, to their great good liking, as I ſuppoſe. The conditions were theſe: they gave him ſix ſcore thouſand ducats, whereof they paid him fifty thouſand preſently, and the reſt at two payments very ſhortly after; they lent him all the places abovementioned, they changed their Arms, being the red Flower de luce, and gave the Kings Arms. And he, for his part, received them into his ſafeguard and protection; and promiſed and ſware upon the altar of Saint *John* to reſtore their places unto them, within four months after he ſhould be entred into *Naples*, or ſooner, if ſooner he returned into *France*: but the matter had other ſucceſſe, as hereafter you ſhall hear.

The King ſtayed not long at *Florence*, but went to *Senes*, where he was honorably received; and from thence to *Viterbe*, where Dom *Ferrand* (who, as you have heard, retired towards *Rome*) was once minded to have lodged, and furniſhed his Camp and to have fought, if he had ſeen his advantage, as I was advertiſed, both by King *Alphonſes* Ambaſſador, and alſo by the Popes Legate being at *Venice*. And ſure I looked ever when King *Alphonſe*, being accounted a valiant Prince, ſhould have come thither in Perſon, leaving his Son in his Realm: for in mine opinion the place had been greatly for his advantage, conſidering he ſhould have had his own Realm, the dition of the Church, and the places and territories of the Urſins on his back. Wherefore I was marvellouſly aſtoniſhed when I received letters from the King, that he was entered the Town of *Viterbe*, and likewiſe the Caſtle, which ſoon after his entry into the Town a [1] Commander yielded unto him, by means of the Cardinal *Petri ad Vincula* (who was Governour thereof) and of the Coulonnois. And then began I to perſwade my ſelf, that God was fully purpoſed to accompliſh this enterpriſe, ſo far forth that I repented me, that in my letters I had adviſed the King not to refuſe an honourable compoſition, for they offered him enough. But to proceed, *Aquipendant*, *Monteflaſcon*, and all the places round about yielded before *Viterbe*, as I was advertiſed both by the Kings, and alſo the Seniories letters,

[1] *un commandeur*, is one, that having Eccleſiaſticall livings may not marry, and yet is not compelled to be a Prieſt: as the Grand prior in *France*, and all the Knights of Saint *Johns* at *Jeruſalem*.

who were daily enformed by their Ambaſſadours of all that happened) divers of the which they ſhewed me, or cauſed one of their Secretaries to report unto me. From thence the King marched to *Rome*, through the Urſins territories, which were all yielded to him by the Lord *Charles Urſin*, who ſaid that he had commandement from his Father [2] (notwithſtanding, that he were then in King *Alphonſes* ſervice) ſo to do, and that ſo long as *Dom Ferrande* ſhould have paſſage granted him through the Dominions of the Church, and ſhould be in the ſaid Dominions; ſo long he would accompany him and no longer. Thus live they in *Italy* both Princes and Captains in continuall practice with their enemies, and turning ever as they ſee Fortune incline. Further, the King was received into *Brachane*, the ſaid *Virgil Urſins* principall Caſtle, which was fair, ſtrong, and ſo well furniſhed of victuals, that I have heard the King oftentimes commend both the place and the good entertainment he found there. For his Army was in ſuch extream penury of victuals, that in greater it could not be. To be ſhort, who ſo ſhall conſider how often this army was upon the point to return home ſince the time it firſt arrived at *Vienna* in *Daulphin*, and by what means and overtures the journey was ſtil continued: I think, they will confeſſe, that God was the Leader thereof.

[2] His Father was *Virgil Viſine*, of whom hereafter more mention is made.

CHAP X. *How the King ſent the Cardinall* Petri ad vincula *to* Oſtie; *what the Pope did at* Rome *in the mean time; and how the King went to* Rome *maugre all his enemies.*

FRom *Brachane* the King ſent the Cardinall S. *Peter ad Vincula* to *Oſtie*, whereof he was Biſhop. The place was of great importance and held by the Colonnois, who lately had recovered it from the Pope, whoſe forces not long before, had taken it from the ſaid Cardinall. It was of no defence, notwithſtanding it hath ſince held *Rome* in great diſtreſs a long time by the ſaid Cardinals aid[1], being great friend to the Colonnois, who joyned at that time with us; partly by the means of the Cardinal *Aſcanio*, Brother to the Duke of *Milan* and Vice-chancellor, and partly in hatred of the Urſins, whoſe enemies they be, and ever have been. Theſe two Factions bred great troubles in the Church Dominions; as do in *France* the Factions of *Luce*, and *Grandmont*, and in *Holland* of *Houc* and *Caballian*[2]: but were it not for this Diviſion, the ſaid Dominons were the beſt Country for the Subjects in the world, for they pay no Subſidies, and other duties but few. Further, they are alwayes well governed, for the Popes are ever wiſe themſelves, and have wiſe men about them: but becauſe of theſe Factions many great and cruell murthers are often committed, as within theſe four years we have ſeen a number on both ſides. For, ſince the time I now write of, the Colonnois became our enemies, though to their great diſhonor: for they poſſeſſed of the Kings gift in the Realm of *Naples*, namely in the Earldom of *Taillecouſe*, and other places, which the Urſins had held before, 20000 ducats and better of yearly revenues [3]. Further, all their other demands were granted them as well charge of men of Arms as penſions. Wherefore they fell from us very traiterouſly, and upon no occaſion. But you ſhall underſtand, that they have ever been partakers with the Houſe of *Arragon*, and other enemies of *France*, becauſe they were Gibelins, and the Urſins had ever been friends to *France* becauſe they were Guelphes. To *Oſtie* the King ſent with the ſaid Cardinall Saint *Peter ad Vincula*, *Peron de la Baſche*, Steward of his Houſe, who was landed but three dayes before at *Plombin*, and brought with him by Sea twenty thouſand ducats, parcell of that money the Duke of *Milan* lent the King. Upon the Sea, with the Kings Army (being very ſmall) remained the Prince of *Salern.* and one called the Lord of *Sernon* in *Provence*, whom tempeſt drave into *Corſique* [4], with their Navy, all to rent and torn, where they ſtayed ſo long in repairing it, that it did no ſervice, notwithſtanding the great treaſure employed thereon, for before it arrived at *Naples* the King was entred the Town.

At *Oſtie* with the ſaid Cardinall were five hundred men of Arms, and two thouſand

[1] This Cardinall was afterwards Pope *Julius* the ſecond, and proved a deadly enemy to the French. Further, this town of *Oſtie* diſtreſſed *Rome* by means that being the very entry into the River of *Tyber* it kept all victuals from comming to *Rome* by water, for the which cauſe the old Romanes called the Town *Oſtia*, becauſe it was the very door or Mouth as it were of the River.

[2] The factions of *Houc* and *Caballian* began in *Holland* 1444. *Berlandus*. Read *Meyer* lib. 16. fol. 300, pag. 2.

[3] The King gave to *Fabrice Colonne* the Country of *Albe* and *Taillecouſſe*, which before were *Virginio urſins*, and to *Proſper* the Dutchy of *Tarcette*, and the City of *Pondi*. [4] This *Corſique* being corrupted in the French, we have reſtored according to *Paulus Jovius*, *Guicciar* hath *Corſe*.

Switzers

Switzers led by the Earl of *Ligny* (the Kings Couſin german by the Mother) the Lord of *Alegre*, and divers others, who thought to have paſſed the River of *Tiber* there, and to have encloſed *Dom Ferrande* within *Rome*, by aid of the Coulonnois; the principall of the which Houſe were at that time *Proſpere* and *Fabrice Coulonne*, and the Cardinall *Coulonné*, accompanied with two thouſand footmen, whom the King paid by the hands of the abovenamed *Baſche*. The ſaid footmen, they had levied at their own pleaſure, and muſtered at *Sanneſonne* a Town of their own.

You ſhall underſtand, that many matters concur here, and of every one ſomewhat is to be ſaid. Before the King entred into *Viterbe*, he had ſent to *Rome* Monſieur *de la Trimoille* his Chamberlain, the Preſident *Ganay* Keeper of the Seal, and the General *Bidant*, to enter into intelligence with the Pope, who practiſed continually after the manner of *Italy*. They being in *Rome* the Pope in the night received *Dom Ferrande* with his whole Forces into the Town, whereupon our Ambaſſadours and ſome few of their Servants were ſtayed: but the ſelfe-ſame day the Pope diſmiſſed them. Notwithſtanding he held ſtill in priſon the Cardinall *Aſcaigne*, his Vice-chancellour, and brother to the Duke of *Milan*, and *Proſpere Coulonne*, ſome ſaid by their own accord. Of all theſe accidents I was advertiſed incontinent by the Kings Letters, but the Seniory more amply by their Ambaſſadours. All this happened before the King entred into *Viterbe*, for neither party ſtayed above two dayes in a place. But as touching our Affairs they proſpered better than we could wiſh, and no marvell, for the Lord of Lords gave them ſucceſſe, as all men might manifeſtly perceive.

This Army that lay in *Oſtie* could do no ſervice, becauſe of the foul weather; further, you ſhall underſtand that the Force which the Lord of *Aubigny* led, was returned to the King, and himſelf alſo, neither had he further charge thereof. The Italians were alſo diſmiſſed, that had been with him in Romany, under the leading of the Lord *Rodolph* of *Mantua*, the Lord *Galeot* of *Mirandula*, and of *Fracaſſe* Brother to the Lord *Galeas* of Saint *Severin*, the which with their ſaid company being to the number of five hundred men of Arms, were well paid by the King, for they ſerved him as before you have heard. The King, after his departure from *Viterbe*, removed to *Naples*[5], which the Cardinall *Aſcaigne* held. Further, it is moſt certain that while our men lay in *Oſtie*, above twenty fathomes of *Rome* was faln to the ground, on the ſame ſide they ſhould have entred. The Pope, ſeeing this young King come thus ſuddenly with ſuch ſucceſſe, agreed that he ſhould enter the City, (for to ſay the truth he could not other wiſe chooſe) and deſired a ſafe Conduct[6] (which the King willingly granted) for *Dom Ferrande*, Duke of *Calabria*, and onely Son of King *Alphonſe*, who in the night retired to *Naples*, the Cardinall *Aſcaigne* conveying him to the Gate[7]. Then the King entred the City in arms, as a Prince having power to diſpoſe of all things at his pleaſure, and divers Cardinals, with the Governours and Senatours of the Town, came forth to receive him. He lodged in Saint *Markes* Pallace, which is the Coulonnois quarter, who were his Friends and Servants at that time. But the Pope retired into the Caſtle of Saint *Ange*.

[5] This is not the City of *Naples*, but a little Town called in the *Annales* of *France*, *Neple*, in Latine *Nepeſium*, of the Italians.

[6] *Ferdinande* Duke of *Calabria* refuſed the paſport *Guicciar.*

[7] *Ferdinande* was Son to *Hypolite* Siſter to Duke *Galeas* of *Milan* to the Lord *Ludovic*, and to this Cardinal.

CHAP. XI. *How King* Alphonſe *cauſed his Son* Ferrande *to be crowned King, and fled himſelf into* Sicily: *with a diſcourſe of the evill life, that his Father the old* Ferrande, *and he, had led.*

WHO would have thought that this proud King *Alphonſe* (having been trained up all the dayes of his life in martiall Affairs) that his Son and all theſe *Urſins*, whoſe faction was ſo great in *Rome*, would thus have abandoned the City through Cowardiſe, eſpecially, ſeeing they knew and underſtood perfectly, that the Duke of *Milan* began to waver, and the Venetians to ſtir and to treat of a League; which had then been concluded (as I was certainly informed) if they had made any reſiſtance, either at *Viterbe* or at *Rome*, to ſtay the King but a few days: but God meant to ſhew, that all theſe proceedings paſſed far the reach and compaſſe of mans brain. And here note, by the way, that as the Wall of the City of *Rome* fell down, ſo did fifteen fathomes alſo of the

vantmure of the Caſtle of Saint *Ange*, as I have been advertiſed by divers, eſpecially of two Cardinals there preſent. Now I muſt return, to ſpeak a word or two of King *Alphonſe*.

So ſoon as the Duke of *Calabria*, called the young *Ferrande*, was returned to *Naples* his Father King *Alphonſe*, judged himſelfe unworthy longer to raign, becauſe of the evills he had committed, and the manifold cruelties he had uſed againſt divers Barons and Princes of his Realm. For you ſhall underſtand, that whereas his Father King *Ferrande*, and he, had taken (notwithſtanding their ſafe conduct) to the number of four and twenty of them, and had held them in priſon from the time of their rebellion againſt the ſaid *Ferrande* [1] till the hour of his death: this *Alphonſe* immediately after his Fathers deceaſe, for a ſurpluſage of all cruelty, cauſed them miſerably to be murthered, and with them two other whom his Father had alſo taken under ſafe conduct, the one Duke of *Seſſe* [2] a man of great authority, and the other Prince of *Roſane*, who had married the ſaid *Ferrands* ſiſter, and had iſſue by her a Son, a very goodly Gentleman. True it is, that the ſaid Prince had wrought great treaſon againſt him, for the which he had well deſerved death, if he had not been taken under ſafe conduct: but King *Ferrande* to rid himſelf of all fear, took him (that notwithſtanding) being come to him by his commandement, and laid him in a marvellous ſtinking priſon, and afterwards put his ſaid Son alſo being between fifteen and ſixteen years of age. Thus had the Prince of *Roſane* lived a Priſoner when King *Alphonſe* came to the State, about 34 years. But the ſaid *Alphonſe*, immediately after his Coronation, commanded theſe Priſoners to be led into an Iſland near to *Naples*, called *Iſcle* [3] (whereof hereafter more mention ſhall be made) and there villainouſly to be ſlain, all ſave one or two, whom he held ſtill in the Caſtle of *Naples*, namely the ſaid Prince of *Roſanes* Son, and the noble Earl of *Popoli*. I have diligently enquired after what ſort he cauſed them thus cruelly to be murthered; (for many ſuppoſed they had been yet living, when the King entred into the good Town and City of *Naples*) and divers of their principall ſervants have informed me, that he cauſed them villainouſly and horribly to be ſlain by a Moor of *Africk*, not ſparing theſe ancient Princes: ſome of the which had been priſoners about four or five and thirty years. Further, the ſaid Moor immediately after the execution done, departed in to *Barbary*, to the end no man ſhould know what was become of them. To be ſhort, never man was more cruel than this King *Alphonſe*, more wicked, more vitious, more filthy, nor a greater glutton. Notwithſtanding his Father had been the more dangerous: for no man could be acquainted with his humour, nor know when he was pleaſed or diſpleaſed; ſo that at Feaſts and bankets he took and betrayed men: as for Example, the Earl *James* Son to *Nicholas Picinnio*, whom after that ſort he took and murthered villainouſly, being Ambaſſadour to him from Duke *Francis* of *Milan*, whoſe baſe Daughter he had married. True it is, that the ſaid *Francis* was conſenting to the murther (notwithſtanding he were his Father in Law) for they both feared the ſaid Earl *James*, becauſe the [4] *Braciques* in *Italy* were wholly at his Devotion. After the like manner alſo took this *Ferrande* the Princes of his Realm abovementioned: and as touching pardon or mercy, never was any to be obtained at his hands, as divers of his neareſt Kinſmen and Friends have often told me; neither had he at any time pity or compaſſion upon his poor people, to eaſe them of payments and ſubſidies. Moreover he uſed within his Realm all trade of merchandiſe himſelf, ſo far forth that he delivered ſwine to his people, to feed, which they were conſtrained to fat to further their ſale: and if any of them happened to dy, they where forced to make them good. In thoſe places, where the oile Olive groweth (namely in *Poville*) he and his Son bought it all up at their own price: and in like manner the corn yet green upon the ground, which they ſold again as dear as was poſſible; and if the price thereof hapned to fall, they conſtrained their Subjects to buy it: beſides that, during the time of their ſale all other were forbidden to ſell: if any of their Noble-men were a good Husband, and thought to ſpare ſome good thing for himſelf, they would forthwith deſire to borrow it: and if he made refuſall, he was conſtrained to deliver it perforce: ſo that they uſed to take from them the races of their horſes (wherewith that country aboundeth) and to cauſe them to be broken and kept to their own uſe: yea, and that ſuch numbers as well of horſes as of mares and colts, that they were eſteemed many thouſands, which alſo they ſent to feed in divers places in the paſtures of their Noblemen, and other their ſubjects, to their great loſſe and damage. Both of them had forced many women; and as touching the Church, they had it in no reverence, neither would

[1] That is, ſince the time that they rebelled, when they ſent for the Duke of *Lorrain*, whereof mention is made in the firſt chapter of this ſeventh Book.

[2] *Jovian Pontan* in the wars between Duke *John* of *Anjou* and this old *Ferrande*, maketh the Duke of *Seſſe* and Prince of *Roſane* but one.

[3] The Italians have *Iſchia* whereof *Pliny* writeth thus, lib. 3. cap. 7. *Iſchia inſula eſt è Regione Veliæ oppidi Palinuri dicta*: Others write that it was firſt named *Æaria*. *Jovius* writeth that the Ile is named *Æaria*, and that *Iſchia* is the name of the Caſtle in the Iſle: it is thirty miles from *Naples*. *Gaieta*. *Sabellicus* ſaith *Procyta* alias *Iſola*, but *Pliny* maketh *Procyta*, and *Iſchia*, twain.

[4] Theſe were ſouldiers ſo named of *Bracio de Fortibraci*, a great Captain in his time.

would obey the laws thereof, ſo far forth that they ſold Biſhopriks for money; as for example, the Biſhoprick of *Tarente* ſold to a Jew by King *Ferrand* for thirty thouſand ducats, to beſtow upon his Son, who (he ſaid) was a Chriſtian. Abbies they gave to Faulconers and others to beſtow upon their children, with this condition, that ſome of them ſhould enter them a certain number of Hawks, and keep them flying to their uſe, and other ſome entertain a number of ſoldiers, at their own proper coſts and charges. The Son never obſerved Lent, neither ſeemed to think there was any, and many years together never Confeſſed himſelf, neither received the holy Sacrament. To conclude, it was impoſſible for any man to commit more hainous crimes than both they had done; yet ſome reported the young *Ferrande* to be worſe than they both, notwithſtanding that he were humble and courteous at his death; and no marvel, for he was then in great diſtreſs.

The readers may happly think, that I utter all this of ſome private hatred againſt them, which, in good ſooth, I do not, but rehearſe it onely to continue my Hiſtory: in the very beginning whereof I have declared, that this enterpriſe could never have been atchieved by thoſe that were the chief managers thereof, had not God alone governed it, and given it good ſucceſs, to the end he might make this good young King, being ſo ſlenderly provided both of good counſell and all other things neceſſary, his deputy to chaſtiſe theſe Princes, ſo wiſe, ſo rich, of ſo great experience, ſo well accompanied with wiſe and noble perſonages, whom the defence of the realm touched as near as themſelves, ſo allied and friended; yea and the which ſaw the ſtorm afar off, and yet never could provide for it, nor make reſiſtance in any place. For out of the caſtle of *Naples* there was not one man that ſtayed the King a day and a night: Whereupon Pope *Alexander* now living ſaid, that the French men came thither with wooden ſpurs, and chalk in their harbingers hands, to make their lodging without further trouble: which Similitude of wooden ſpurs he uſed, becauſe yet at this day, when the young gentlemen of this realm ride about the ſtreets on horſeback, their Pages thruſt little ſticks into their ſhooes or pantofles, wherewith they prick forward their mules. And to confeſſe the truth, this was ſo eaſie a conqueſt, that our men very ſeldom armed themſelves in all this voyage. Beſides that, from the Kings departure out of *Aſt*, till his entry into *Naples*, it was but four moneths and nineteen days. An Ambaſſador would almoſt have been as long in journying thither. I conclude therefore, agreeably to the opinion of divers holy Religious men, and others, and to the voice of the people (which is God's voice) that God meant to puniſh theſe Princes ſo viſibly that every man might behold it, to warn thereby all other Princes to live well, and according to his commandements. For theſe Princes of *Arragon*, loſt both honour and realm, with great riches and goodly furniture of divers and ſundry ſorts, the which is ſo diſperſed here and there, that a man can hardly tell what is become thereof; beſides that, they ended their lives, three in a years ſpace or little more (but I truſt their ſouls be in Paradiſe.) For you ſhall underſtand that this old *Ferrande* (baſtard to King *Alphonſe*, a wiſe, vertuous and honourable Prince) was marvellouſly diſquieted when he ſaw this French war firſt moved againſt him, which he could find no means to avoid. For he was wiſe, and knew that he and his Son had lived ill, and were marvellouſly hated in their realm: divers alſo of thoſe that were neareſt about him, have informed me, that as he raiſed a certain Chappel, he found a book, whereon theſe words were written, *Truth with her ſecret Counſells*; the which contained all the evils that afterward fell upon him. There were but three that ſaw the book, for immediately after he had read it, he threw it into the fire. Another thing that greatly troubled him was this, his Son *Alphonſe* and *Ferrande* his Sons ſon, could never be perſwaded that the King would come into *Italy*. Wherefore they uſed proud and threatning words againſt him, and ſpake very contemptuouſly of him, ſaying, they would go as far as the mountains to meet him But one that ſtood by, wiſhed, that never King of *France* might come into *Italy*, for he had ſeen a poor man of the houſe of *Anjou* ſcourge it ſhrewdly, meaning Duke *John* ſon to King *Rene*. King *Ferrande* had laboured very earneſtly the year before, by his Ambaſſadour called *Cammillo Pendolfo*, to ſtay the King in *France*, offering to pay him yearly a tribute of fifty thouſand Ducats, and to hold the realm of him by homage and fealty. But when he ſaw that he could by no means obtain peace, nor pacifie the eſtate of *Milan*, he fell into the diſeaſe whereof he died: notwithſtanding in the midſt of his pangs he confeſſed himſelf, and as I truſt repented him of his ſins. His ſon *Alphonſe* who had been ſo terrible a Prince, ſo cruel, and ſo long

5 How this book was ſtrangely revealed by a viſion of one *Cataldus* (who had been Biſhop of *Tarente* more than a thouſand years before) to a young child, who thereof enformed the King, read *Alexander in diebus genialibus*, lib. 3. c. 15.

long trained up in the wars, before the King departed from *Rome*, resigned his crown, and was stroken with such fear, that in the night he never ceased to cry, That he heard the *French* men comming, and that the trees and stones sounded *France*. He never was so hardy as once to issue forth of *Naples*, but upon his sons return from *Rome*, put him in possession of the realm, and caused him to be crowned, and to ride about the streets of the City accompanied with the noblest personages that were there, namely, with *Dom Frederick* his brother, and the Cardinal of *Genua* (between whom the new K. rode) and with the Ambassadors there resident. He caused also all other solemnities belonging to the Coronation to be accomplished, and then fled himself and sailed into *Sicily* with his mother in law (sister to K. *Ferrand* of *Castile* now raigning, to whom the said realm of *Sicily* was in subjection) to a house that she had there: which was strange news through the whole world, especially at *Venice* where I then was. Some said he went to the Turk; others thought this departure to be, to the end his son who was not hated in the realm, might the better win the hearts of the people. But mine opinion was ever, that he fled for very cowardise: for cruel man was never hardy, as appeareth in Histories by *Nero* and others, who before their death fell into great fear and desperation. To be short, this *Alphonse* made such haste to be gone, that he said to his mother in law the self same day that they departed (as divers of his servants have told me) that, unless she would depart with speed, he would leave her behind him. And when she desired him to stay but three days only to the end she might be a whole year in his realm: he answered that rather then he would tarry any longer he would throw himself headlong out of the windows, asking her if she heard not how every man cryed *France*. Thus he embarked in his Gallies with his said mother in Law and departed, carrying with him all sorts of wines, (whereunto he was marvellously given) and of all kinds of seeds for Gardens. But as touching his moveables and goods he left no order for them, but the greatest part remained in the Castle of *Naples*: notwithstanding certain Jewels he carried also with him, and a little money. And in this estate sailed he and his mother in Law to her said house in *Sicily*, whence he departed and went to *Messine*, whither he called and led with him divers religious men, vowing himself to be no more of this world. Above all other orders of Religion he loved especially those of the Mount *Olivet* (who are clad in white) as themselves told me at *Venice*, where the body of S. *Helene* lieth in their cloister. Moreover, he began to lead a marvellous holy life, and to serve God hourly both day and night with the said religious men as they do in their covents. He used also great fasting, abstinence, and almes, and soon after fell into a sharp sickness of excoriation and the stone in such sort, that the said religious men reported that they never saw man so tormented. Notwithstanding he endured patiently all these pangs, being fully resolved to have spent the rest of his life in an Abbey at *Valence* the great in *Spain*, and there to have registred himself a religious man. But he was so tormented with this disease, that he dyed soon after: and it is to be hoped because of his great repentance, that his soul is joyful in Paradise: his son also dyed soon after him of an Ague joined with a flux, and I trust they are both in better case than they were in this world. But mark here, by the way, that in less than two years space, five wore the Crown of *Naples*, to wit, the three above named, *Charles* the eighth, King of *France*, and *Dom Frederick* (brother to the said *Alphonse*) now raigning.

[6] This she, *Guiciar* understandeth, she meaning that she desired *Alphonse* to tarry three or four daies to the end he might have been King a whole year.

CHAP. XII. *How the young* Ferrand *after he was crowned King of* Naples, *went and encamped at* Germain *to resist the Kings comming, and of the treaty that King* Charles *made with the Pope at Rome.*

NOW to the end all these matters may be plain and evident, you shall understand that King *Ferrand* being crowned, became as it were a new man, supposing all old injuries and offences to be forgotten by his Fathers flight: wherefore he levyed all the force he could as well horsemen as footmen, and came to Saint *Germain* which is the very entry into his Realm, and a strong place, and of great defence, through the which the Frenchmen had passed twice before [1]. There he encamped and manned the Town, and then his friends began somewhat to recover their spirits.

[1] He meaneth in their voyages to *Naples* under the house of *Anjou*.

their ſpirits. The Town is ſtrong, both becauſe of a little River [2], which ſometime is paſſable on foot, ſometime not; and alſo becauſe of the Hill hanging over it.

The King was yet at *Rome*, where he remained about twenty dayes, buſied with a number of matters. He had with him at the leaſt eighteen Cardinals, beſides divers others that repaired to the City from all parts. The names of theſe Cardinals were, the Cardinal *Aſcaigne*, the Popes Vicechancellor, and Brother to the Duke of *Milan*, the Cardinal *Petri-ad Vincula* (the which two were deadly enemies to the Pope, and great friends each to other) the Cardinals of *Guiſe* [3], Saint *Denis*, Saint *Severin*, *Savelli*, *Coulonne*, and divers others; all the which would needs have proceeded to a new election, and depoſed the Pope, being within the Caſtle of Saint *Ange*; againſt the which, the Artillery was twice bent, as I have heard the Nobleſt Perſonages there preſent report, but the King of his goodneſs ever withſtood it. The place was not of defence, for the ſeat thereof is upon a little hill, made by force of man: beſides that, theſe Cardinals alledged that the Walls thereof were fallen down by miracle, and charged the Pope that he had obtained this holy Dignity by ſimony, and they ſaid true; but Cardinal *Aſcaigne* himſelf was the chief Merchant that ſold it, and received a great ſum of money for his part, together with the Popes houſe where he lodged before he was Pope, being then Vicechancellor, with divers places of that patrimony of the Church. For great controverſie had been between them two, for the ſaid Dignity [4]. Notwithſtanding I think they would both willingly have agreed, to chuſe a new Pope of the Kings naming, yea, and a Frenchman; ſo that I know not whether the King did well or ill in concluding peace, though all things condered I ſuppoſe he took the beſt courſe: for himſelf was young, and unprovided of men, ſufficient to manage ſo weighty a matter, as the reformation of the Church, though I confeſs his power to have been ſufficient thereunto. Sure if he could have reformed it, I think all men of wiſdom and underſtanding would have accounted it a good, a worthy, and a holy work. But there were too many things requiſite to ſo high an enterpriſe, notwithſtanding the Kings will was good, and yet is, if he had good aſſiſtance.

The King being in *Rome*, made a treaty with the Pope, which could not long endure, for it was unreaſonable in ſome points, and ſerved for the chief colour of the League, whereof hereafter you ſhall hear. By the ſaid treaty peace was concluded between the Pope and his Cardinals, and all other their adherents and partakers. And it was agreed that the Cardinals ſhould receive all rights and duties belonging to their Cardinals Hat, as well abſent as preſent: and that the Pope ſhould lend the King four places, to wit, *Terracine*, *Civita-vechia*, *Viterbe*, (which the King already held) and *Spolete*; but this laſt he never delivered, notwithſtanding his promiſe. All the which places, the King ſwore to reſtore at his return from *Naples*, as alſo he did, notwithſtanding that the Pope had abuſed him. By this treaty he delivered alſo into the Kings hands the Turks Brother: for the ſafe keeping of whom, he received yearly of the Turk ſixty thouſand ducats, and held him alſo by means of his ſaid Brother in great fear [5]. He promiſed further, to put no Legate into any fortified place or Town of the Church, without the Kings conſent. Certain other articles there were, touching the Conſiſtory or Colledge of Cardinals, which I over paſs. For the performance of all theſe conditions, the Pope delivered his Son the Cardinal of *Valence* in Hoſtage to the King, who accompanied him as his Legate, and the King did unto the Pope the duty of a Son, with all humility and obedience. Further, the Pope created two Cardinals at his requeſt, the one the Generall *Briſſonnet*, ſo often beforenamed, lately made Biſhop of Saint *Malo*; and the other, the Biſhop of *Mans* of the Houſe of *Luxembourg*, who was here in *France*.

[2] This River is called *Liris*, or *Garilliano*.

[3] *Gurcenſe*, *Guazzo*, and I ſuppoſe our author writ it *Gurſe*: but the letters of the ancient copy being defaced, the unſkilfull corrector at the firſt Printing gueſſing but at the word changed R. into I. *Guicciar.* hath *Gurce*.

[4] The Pope, before his Papacy, had been Vicechancellor. *Aſcanio* and he ſtrove for the dignity: but in the end *Aſcanio* relented, being recompenſed as here is mentioned.

Notwithſtanding ſeeing an occaſion againſt the Pope, offered by the Kings coming, his rancor brake forth anew.

[5] *Gemes* or *Gemin Ottoman* here mentioned, Brother to *Bajazet* the ſecond, rebelling againſt his brother, fled to the Soldan of *Ægypt* for aid, but being vanquiſhed he fled to *Rhodes*, from whence he was ſent into *France* to King *Lewis* the eleventh, to the end he might not eſcape; for the Turk for his ſafe keeping, paid yearly to the Knights of the *Rhodes*, 40000. crowns. King *Lewis* gave him to Pope *Innocent* the eighth. So he remained till this preſent, that he was delivered to King *Charles* at *Rome* by the Popes hands.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII. *How the King departed from* Rome *towards* Naples, *what hapned in the mean time in divers parts of the ſaid Realm: and through what places he paſſed till he came to* Naples.

THeſe matters being thus ended, the King removed from *Rome* in great amity and friendſhip with the Pope in apparance; at which time eight Cardinals departed alſo out of the City, highly diſpleaſed with this treaty, namely the ſaid Vicechancellor *Aſcaigne*, and the Cardinal Saint *Peter-ad-Vincula*, with ſix of their faction. But many thought that *Aſcaigne* did but diſſemble, and that indeed he was in good amity with the Pope; notwithſtanding I am able to affirm nothing thereof, for his Brother had not as yet declared himſelf our enemy. From *Rome* the King removed to *Janneſanne*, and from thence to *Beliſtre*, where the Cardinal of *Valence* eſcaped away.

The next day the King took *Chaſtelfortin* by aſſault, and put all that were within it to the ſword, becauſe the place belonged to *James Comte* who was revolted from the King, notwithſtanding that he had taken his pay: for the *Comtes* have ever been partakers with the *Urſins*. From thence he marched to *Valmonton*, a Town of the *Colonnois*, and from thence, removed and lodged about four miles from Mont Saint *Jehan*, which is a Town held of the Church, but belonging to the Marqueſs of *Peſcaire*, and very well fortified: notwithſtanding after it had been beaten ſeven or eight hours with the Cannon, it was taken by aſſault, and all that were within it, or the greateſt part ſlain, and there the Kings whole force joyned together [1]. Then he marched towards S. *Germain* ſixteen miles thence, where this new King *Ferrand* (as you have heard) lay in Camp with all the force he could levy. And indeed this was his onely refuge, and the place where he muſt fight or never, becauſe it was the very key as it were of his Realm, and a place much for his advantage, as well becauſe of the River, as of the Mountain. Further, he had ſent men to defend the Straight of *Cancello*, lying among the mountains, ſix miles from Saint *Germain*: yet notwithſtanding all this preparation, before the Kings arrival at Saint *Germain*, he raiſed his Camp, and departed in great diſorder, abandoning both the Town and the paſſage.

[1] For the Coulonnois and certain of the Kings Captains had been ſent about to come upon King *Ferrandes* back. Theſe took the Town of *Aquila*, and all thoſe parts, and here joyned again with the King, becauſe they looked for the Battell.

Our Vaward was led that day by the Lord of *Guiſe*, the Lord of *Rieux* was ſent to this ſtraight of *Cancello* againſt the Arragonnois, but they alſo before his coming abandoned the place: and then entred the King into Saint *Germain*. King *Ferrand* rid ſtraight to *Capova*, where they refuſed to give his Souldiers entrance, but received his perſon with a few that attended upon him; he ſtaied not there, but deſired them to continue true and faithfull Subjects to him, promiſing the next day to return, and ſo departed towards *Naples*, fearing the rebellion that afterwards happened. All his force, or the greateſt part, ſhould have tarried for him at *Capova*: but the next day, when he returned, he found them all departed. The Lord *Virgil Urſin*, with his Coſin the Earl of *Petillane*, went to *Nola*, where they and all their company were taken priſoners by our men. They alledged that they had a ſafe conduct, and that we did them wrong. So had they indeed, but their ſafe conduct was not yet in their hands: notwithſtanding they paid no ranſom, but much they loſt when they were taken; and ſure, in my opinion, they had wrong done them.

From Saint *Germain* the King removed to *Mingamer*, and to *Triague*, and lodged at *Calvi*, two miles from *Capova*, whither they of *Capova* came and yielded themſelves by compoſition, and the King entred into the Town with his whole army. From *Capova* the next day he marched to *Averſa*, being in the mid way between *Capova* and *Naples*, and five miles diſtant from each of them. Thither came they of *Naples* and yielded themſelves in like manner by compoſition, having received aſſurance from the King that their ancient liberties ſhould not be infringed nor empaired. The King ſent thither before him the Marſhall *Gié*, the Seneſchall of *Beaucaire*, the Preſident *Ganay* keeper of the Seal, and certain Secretaries: whereof King *Ferrand* being advertiſed, and ſeeing the people and Nobles of his Realm in arms againſt him (who alſo at his firſt arrivall thither, had ſpoiled his ſtable being marvellous great) took Sea and ſailed into *Iſcle*, an Iland eighteen miles from *Naples* [2]: then the King was received into the Town with great joy and triumph. For all the people came forth to meet him, yea,

[2] *Guicciar* ſaith thirty miles. The King was received into *Naples* the 21. of *February* 1494. not beginning the year before Eaſter, but 1495. if you begin it the firſt of *January Guicciar*.

yea, and those first that were most bound to the house of *Arragon*, namely all the *Carraffes*, who held of the said house of *Arragon* to the value of forty thousand ducats of yearly revenues, partly of inheritance, and partly of gift from the Prince; for the Kings of *Naples* may give away their crown lands, so do they also other mens, and I think there are not three in the realm whose lands be not crown lands or other mens.

Never people shewed so great affection to Prince or nation as they shewed to the King: the reason whereof was, because now they thought themselves delivered from all Tyrranny, so that they voluntarily yeilded unto us. For all *Calabria* became French incontinent, whither Mounsieur *d' Aubigny* and *Peron* of *Basche* were sent themselves alone without any force. All the country of *Abroussо* [3] yeilded likewise the Town of *Aquila* (which hath ever been a great friend to the French) giving them the first example. In like manner all *Poville* turned saving the Castle of *Brandis*, which was strong and well manned, and *Gallipoli* which had a Garrison in it, otherwise the people would have returned also. In *Calabria* three places held for King *Ferrand*, two of them were Manty and Turpy (antient partakers with the house of *Anion*) the which at the first had set up the armes of *France*, but because the King gave them to the Lord *Persie*, and would not receive them as parcel of the demains of his crowns [4] they reared up again the house of *Arragon*. The third was the *Castile* of *Reges*, which held also for King *Ferrande*. But it was our own fault that ought held, for we sent no forces thither; no, I am well assured that into *Poville* and *Calabria*, there went not men sufficient to have defended one Castle for the King. *Tarrante* yielded both Castle and Town, so did also *Otrante* [5], *Monopoli*, *Trani*, *Manfredonne*, *Barle*, and all the other places, the abovenamed onely excepted. Moreover the people came from their Cities three days journy to meet our men and to yield themselves. To be short, the whole Realm sent to *Naples*, and all the Princes and noble men repaired thither to do homage to the King, saving the Marques of *Pescaire* [6] whose brethren and nephews came notwithstanding. The Earl of *Acrie*, and the Marques of *Squillazo*, fled into *Sicily* because the King had given their Lands to the Lord of *Aubigny*. At *Naples* also arrived the Prince of *Salerne* newly come from the Sea, but having done no service. Thither came also his brother the Prince of *Bisignan* and his sonnes, being accompanied with the Dukes of *Melse*, of *Gravinne*, and the old Duke of *Sora*, who not long before had sold his Duchy to the Cardinal *Petri ad Vincula*, whose brother yet at this day possesseth it [7]. To *Naples* also repaired the Earls of *Montorio*, of *Fondi*, of *Tripalda*, and of *Celano* (who had long been banished out of the Realm, and was now newly returned with the King.) The Earl of *Troy* was there in like manner (who was a young Gentleman of *Scotland*, brought up in *France*) and the Earl of *Papoli* whom we found prisoner at *Naples*. The young Prince of *Rosane* before mentioned, after his long imprisonment with his Father (who had lain in prison four and thirty years) was at the length delivered and went with King *Ferrand*, whether willingly or by constraint I know not. To *Naples* came also besides these above named, the Marques of *Guefron* with all the *Caldoresques*, and the Earles of *Metalon* and *Merillaano*, the which had, both they and their ancestors, ever governed the house of *Arragon*. To conclude, thither repaired all the Nobles of the Realm, the three above named onely excepted.

[3] Samnium or Sammites.

[4] These were lands held in *Capite* of the King of *Naples*.

[5] *Otrante* called in Latine *Adduntum* first yielded to the French, then revolted again *Guicciar.*

[6] *Alphonse Davalo* Marques of *Pescare Guicciar.*

[7] *John de Rouvere* præfect of *Rome* was the Cardinals brother and he it was that held this Dutchy.

CHAP. XIIII. *How King* Charles *was crowned King of* Naples, *of the faults he committed in the defence of the Realm, and how an enterprise attempted on his behalf against the Turk, was discovered by the* Venetians.

KIng *Ferrand* at his departure from *Naples*, left the Marques of *Pescare* with certain *Almains* to defend the Castle [1], and sailed himself for aid into *Sicily* to his father. *Dom Frederick* lay still upon the Sea with a few Gallies, and came twice to parly with the King under safe conduct. His demands were, that some part of the Realm might remain to his Nephew with the title of King [2], and that himself might enjoy all of his own Lands and his wives. His request

[1] He meaneth *Castelnovo*: for there are in *Naples* four Castles. The Castle of *Capoana* where the King lodged

Castlenovo situate partly in the Sea, partly on the Land with a citadelle by it: *Castel del ovo* situate on a rock in the sea with a great Tower called of the French Prince *Faulay* and between the Castles *Nono* and *Del ovo* is a fort upon a rock in the sea with a strong Tower. The fourth is Castel S. *Ermo*; and above *Naples* in an Abbey that looketh into the Town called S. *Martin* in manner of a Castell. [2] *Guicciar* saith, he desired *Calabria* for his Nephew without title of King.

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in respect of himself was not great, for his partage was small. The King offered him possessions in *France* both for him and his nephew, and I think would willingly have given them a good and a great Dutchy: but they would not accept this offer, neither would he grant their demands. For what treaty soever had been made, they would have broken it, when they had seen their advantage being still resident in the realm. The Kings Artillery was bent and shot against the Castle of *Naples*, within the which were onely the *Almains*, for the Marques of *Pescare* was departed thence. And if we had sent but four Cannons to the Isle of *Iscle* [3] we had taken it, and then all had been ours: for from thence returned all the mischief [4]; but if that had been once won, all the other places they held, being not past four or five, would have yielded. But our men fell to feasting, to justs and banketing, and were so puffed up with pride, that they accounted the *Italians* no men. Moreover, the King was crowned and lodged in *Capovane*, and went sometimes to *Mont*-Imperial [5]. True it is that he shewed great grace and favour to the subjects of the Realm, for he abated their charges. And I think verily the people of themselves would not have revolted from us (notwithstanding their great inconstancy) if we had contented a few of the Nobles: but them no man regarded; besides that they were very roughly used at the gates. Those that were best dealt with, were the *Carraffes* the house of *Arragons* greatest friends, for their estates were but somewhat diminished: but the offices and pensions of the rest clean taken away; yea the partakers with the house of *Anjou* worse handled than the *Arragonois*. Further, into the County of *Metillano* a commandement was sent, for the which the president *Ganaye*, and the *Seneschall* newly created Duke of *Nola*, and Lord great Chamberlain of the Realm were burthened to have taken money By the said commandment every man was confirmed in his possession, and the partakers with the house of *Anjou* barred from their Lands, unless they could recover them by process. Further as touching such as had made entries upon their own head (as for example the Earl of *Celano*) aid was given to the Parties grieved, to dispossesse them again by force. All estates and Offices were bestowed upon two or three Frenchmen, and all the provision of victuals within the Castle of *Naples* [6], when it yeilded (being marvellous great) given to every man that demanded it, at the least all that came to the Kings knowledge.

In the mean time the *Almains* by practise yielded the Castle [7], in the which they obtained infinite riches, the Castle of *l'Oeouf* [8] was also taken by battery. By these faults above rehearsed a man may manifestly perceive that this great Conquest was atchieved by the meer Grace of God, and not by their wisedom that governed the enterprise: but these foul faults were the works of men, puffed up with pride and vain glory, and not understanding from whence all this their honor and good success sprang. Wherefore they proceeded according to their nature and experience, by means whereof their good fortune changed as suddenly and visibly, as men may see the day spring in *Island* or *Norway* [9], where the days in Sommer are of greater length than in any other place, in such sort, that within a quarter of an hour after the one days shutting in, the next day-light begineth to appear. Even so in as short space did every wise man perceive the alteration of our good and prosperous success, whereof all Christendome should have reaped great profit and honour if we had acknowledged it to proceed from him, who was indeed the giver thereof. For the Turk then raigning (and yet living) might as easily have been chased out of *Europe*, as King *Alphonse* was out of his Realm, both for that he was a man of no valor, and also because the King had with him the said Turks brother, whom he feared above all men living. But this said brother died soon after the Cardinal of *Valences* escape: whereupon the report went that he was poisoned, when the Pope delivered him to the King. Further, there were so many thousand Christians in *Greece* ready to rebell, as a man would hardly believe: for from *Otrante* to *Valonne* [10], are but 60. miles [11], and from *Valonne* to *Constantinople* but eighteen reasonable days journeys, as divers that have travelled that way, have enformed me. Between them are no strong places, at the most not above two or three, for all the rest be razed. Those countries are marvellous populous, and they that inhabite them be *Albanois*, *Scalvons*, and *Greeks*, who understood of our Kings good success by their friends that were at *Venice* and in *Poville*, unto whom also they sent letters, and looked daily, but for Messengers to move them to rebel. Whereupon the King sent thither the Archbishop of *Duras* [12] an *Albanois* born, who found a marvel-

[3] The King sent to *Iscle*, men finding the Town desolate through negligence never assaulted the Castle.

[4] He meaneth because all *Ferrandes* party was retired thither.

[5] The French Corrector supposeth that this should be *Mont-Cassin Imperial*, because some write that King *Charles* was crowned Emperor of *Constantinople* at *Rome*: but I think rather he meaneth *Mont de la Crote*, or the hill *Visuvius*, whither the King often walked for recreation, and peradventure because of the singularities which he saw there, named one of these hils *Mont Imperial*.

[6] He meaneth *Castel novo*.

[7] The *Almains* yeilded the Castle under condition, that they might have King *Ferrandes* moveables that were within it.

[8] This Castle was so named because it was built in form of an Egge.

[9] For *Island* and *Norway*, the unskilfull corrector had chopped in *Holland* and *Auvergne*, making the Author report a meer untruth.

[10] *Oricum* in Latin as some write as others *Apollonia*.

[11] Others write but 55.

[12] *Dyrrachium*,

lous

lous number ready to revolt, being ſons or Nephews of many noble and valliant men of thoſe parts, namely the ſons of *Scanderberg*, the Nephews of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and the Nephews of the Lord *Conſtantine*, (now Governor of *Montferrat*) who were alſo Nephews or couſins to the King of *Servia*. In *Theſſalia* more then five thouſand would have rebelled, yea and *Scutary* ſhould have been ſurpriſed by intelligence that the Lord *Conſtantine* had within it, as himſelf advertiſed me at *Venice*, where he lay hidden many days in my lodging. And ſurely he would eaſily have atchieved his enterpriſe: for *Macedonie* and *Theſſaly* were his inheritance [13], which was the patrimonie of *Alexander* the great, *Valonne* alſo is part thereof, and upon his dominions *Scutary* and *Croy* [14], border, the which in his youth his father [15] or uncle engaged to the *Venetians*, who loſt *Croye*, and yeilded *Scutary* to the Turk by treaty. The ſaid Lord *Conſtantine* lay himſelf within three leagues of *Scutary*, and the enterpriſe had been executed, had not the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Duras* ſtaied at *Venise* too long after the Lord *Conſtantines* departure. I dayly preſſed him very earneſtly to depart, for he was a man light of talke, and vaunted in all places, that he would do ſome feat worthy of immortal fame and renown. But as the devil would, the ſelf ſame day that the *Venetians* were advertiſed of the Turks brothers death, whom the Pope had delivered to the King: they determined to ſend word thereof to the Turk by one of their Secretaries. And becauſe they knew well that he ſhould be highly rewarded that firſt brought this newes to the Turk: they commanded that no ſhip ſhould paſs that night between the two Caſtles, which make the very entry into the gulf of *Venice* [16], where alſo they cauſed watch and ward to be kept, becauſe they feared the departure of ſome of the ſmall boats, as Gripes and ſuch like whereof there were a great number of the ports of *Albany*, and of their Iſles adjoining to *Greece*. But the ſelf ſame night this poor Archbiſhop would needs depart to this enterpriſe of the Lord *Conſtantine*, (who carried his comming) conveying with him great ſtore of ſwords, bucklers, and javelins, to furniſh thoſe with whom he had intelligence (for they are not permitted to have weapons in thoſe Countries) but as he paſſed between the two Caſtles above-mentioned, he was taken and put into one of them, both he and his men: notwithſtanding the ſhip that carried him was ſuffered to paſs. Letters were found about him which diſcovered the enterpriſe, and the Lord *Conſtantine* hath told me ſince, that the *Venetians* advertiſed thereof both the Turks Garriſons that lay in thoſe parts, and the Turk himſelf alſo, and had it not been for the Gripe that was permitted to paſs (the patrone whereof was an *Albanois*, who informed him of all that was happened) he had himſelf been taken, but he eſcaped by ſea, and fled into *Poville*.

[13] But the Turk held them from him.
[14] *Croy* in times paſt the ſtrongeſt Town in *Epirus*.
[15] His fathers name was *Comnenus*.
[16] He meaneth two Caſtles ſtanding at the entry into the calm ſea, which is within the natural bank that defendeth the town from the rage of the ſea without the bank: the ſaid caſtles be hard by *Venice*.

CHAP. XV. *A diſcourſe ſomewhat out of the courſe of the Hiſtory, wherein* Philip de Commines *Author of this preſent work, treateth amply of the eſtate and government of the Seniory of* Venice *and of thoſe things that he ſaw there, and were done there during the time of his Ambaſſage to the ſaid Seniory for the King.*

I Will now leave the King in *Naples*, having atchieved his Enterpriſe, and will ſpeak ſomewhat of the *Venetians*, and the cauſe of mine ambaſſage thither. My departure from *Aſt* to *Venice* was, partly to thank them for the good anſwers they had made to two of the Kings Ambaſſadors ſent thither, and partly to keep them ſtill his friends, if it were poſſible by any means: for becauſe of their great forces wiſedome, and good government, they might eaſily have marred his enterpriſe in *Italy*; but they being his friends, none in the Country were to be feared The Duke of *Milan* helped to diſpatch me, and wrote to his ambaſſadour there reſident (for he hath one there continually) to accompany me, and to give me inſtructions to whom I ſhould addreſs my ſelf. His ſaid Ambaſſador received monthly of the Seniorie a hundred ducats, and had his houſe well furniſhed, and three barges (at their charge) to convay him up and down the Town. Their ambaſſador hath the like at *Milan*, ſave that he hath no barge; for at *Milan* men ride altogether on horſe back, but at *Venice* they are carried by boat. In my journy thitherward, I paſſed through

their Cities; namely *Bresse*, *Veronne*, *Vincence*, and *Padua* with divers others; at every one of the which, I was very honourably entertained, for the honour of him whom I represented; for always either the Potestate or the Captain came to receive me, accompanied with a goodly train: but they both never issued out of the Town; for the Captain used to come no further than the Gate. After I was entred the Town, they conveyed me to my lodging, commanding the Host, that I should be plentifully served, and all my charges they defrayed; entertaining me with very honourable words. But if a man consider, what he must bestow upon Drums and Trumpets, he saveth not much, though he lye upon free cost, notwithstanding the entertainment be very honorable. The same day I entred into *Venice*, they sent as far as *Chafousine*[1] to receive me, which is a place five miles from the Town, where men leave the boats, that convey them down the River from *Padua*[2], and enter into other little boats very proper and neat, covered with Tapestry, and furnished within with goodly hangings, and velvet Cushions to sit upon. Thus farre the Sea floweth, and this is the neareſt passage from the firm land to *Venice*: but their Sea is marvellous calm (unlesse a tempest happen to arise) which is the cause that so great plenty of all kind of fish is taken there. I wondered to behold the seat of this City, so many steeples, so many religious Houses, and so much building, and all in the water; but especially that the people had none other passage to and fro in the Town but by boats, whereof, I think, there are to the number of thirty thousand, but they be very smal. Further, about the City (I mean within the compasse round about of lesse than half a French league) are seventy Houses of Religion, as well of men as women, all in Islands sumptuously built, richly furnished within, and having goodly Gardens belonging to them. Those within the City, I comprehend not in this number; for within there are besides these the four orders of Friers, and threescore and twelve Parishes, besides a number of Chappels of the Companies of Occupations, commonly called *Confrairies*[3]. And sure it is a strange sight to behold so many great and goodly Churches built in the Sea. To the said place of *Chafousine* came five and twenty Gentlemen to receive me, sumptuously apparelled in silk and scarlet; the which welcomed me with an Oration, and conveyed me into the Church of Saint *Andrew*, near to the Town, whereas many other Gentlemen met me, being accompanied, with the Ambassadours of *Milain* and *Ferrara*: and here also they received me with an Oration, and afterwards led me into other boats, which they call flat, being much greater than the former, two of them were covered with crimosin sattin, and decked within with Arras, each of them being large enough to have received forty persons. They placed me between these two Ambassadors (for the midst in *Italy* is the honourablest place) and conveyed me a long through the great Streat called the great *Chanell*[4], which is so large that the Gallies passed to and fro through it; yea, I have seen hard by the houses ships of four hundred tun and above. Sure in mine opinion it is the goodliest Streat in the world, and the best built, and reacheth in length from the one end of the Town to the other. Their buildings are high and stately, and all of fine stone[5]. The ancient houses be all painted; but the rest which have been builded within these hundred years, have their front all of white marble, brought thither out of *Istria* an hundred miles thence, and are beautified with many great peeces of Porphyre[6], and Serpentine[7]. In the most part of them are at the least two Chambers, the Cieling whereof is guilded, the Mantletrees of the Chimnies very rich, to wit, of graven Marble, the Bedsteds guilded, the Presses painted and vermilled with Gold, and marvellous well furnished with stuffe. To be short, it is the most triumphant City, that ever I saw, and where Ambassadors and Strangers are most honorably entertained, the Common-wealth best governed, and God most devoutly served; so far forth, that notwithstanding they have divers imperfections, yet, I think verily that God prospereth them, because of the reverence they bear to the Service of the Church. In the company of these fifty Gentlemen, I passed to Saint *Georges*, which is an Abbey of reformed black Monks, where I lodged. The next day they returned again to me, and led me to the Seniorie, where I delivered my Letters to the Duke, who presideth in all their assemblies, being honored as a King[8], and all letters are directed to him, but of himself he cannot do much. Notwithstanding this Duke is of great authority, yea greater then ever was any of his Predecessours[9]; and no marvell, for he hath been Duke these twelve years[10]: and for

[1] *Liccia* or *Lizafusina* Italians.

[2] The River is called *Brenta*.

[3] I think, he meaneth not the *Confrairez des Sainctz* which be but five, as *Contarenus* writeth lib. 5. but rather, I suppose, because our Author saith *many Confrairies*, that every company in *Venice* hath a Chappell, as in *London* they have Halls.

[4] I suppose it to be that which they call *Rivo alto*.

[5] There are in *Venice* two hundred pallaces able to lodge Kings

[6] A kind of red marble full of white spots called *Leucostictos*, or *Porphyrites*: it is known to every man.

[7] A green stone, I suppose it to be also a kinde of marble, which is green as Porphyre is red and spotted also with white for the most part as that is: it is called *Ophytes*.

[8] Of the Dukes office read *Contaren.* lib. 2.

[9] This Dukes name was *Augustinus Barbadicus* or *Barbadicus*, he was chosen *Anno* 1486, and was after some the 77, after others the 74 Duke.

[10] Reckon these twelve years, not at the time that the Author was at *Venice*, but at the time that he wrote this History: for at his being there, he had been Duke but eight years.

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my part, I ever found him a vertuous and a wise man, of great experience in the affairs of *Italy*, and a courteous and gentle person: This was all that I did the first day, save that they led me into the palace, and shewed me three or four Chambers, the Seelings whereof was richly guilded, and likewise the Beds and Presses, and sure it is a very stately and sumptuous building for the greatnesse thereof, for it is all of Square Marble, and all the Front vermuled with gold, and likewise the Edges, and borders of the Angles, about the breadth of an Inch. There are moreover four goodly Halls within it richly guilded, and a number of fair lodgings, but the Court is very smal. The Duke out of his chamber may hear masse at the high Altar of the Chappel of S. *Marke*[11], which is the goodliest and richest Church in the World, bearing but the name of a Chappell: for it is built throughout of the curious work called Musiaque, or *Marquetery*[12]; the Art also, whereof they vant themselves to be Authours of: and sure they have divers workmen thereof, as my self can testifie. In this Chappell is their treasure, so famous through the World, being onely things appointed for the furniture of the Church; among the which are twelve or fourteen Rubie Ballais, the greatest that ever I saw: for two of them weigh the one above seven hundred, the other above eight hundred carrets, but they are unpolished. There are twelve other stones like to little pillars set in gold, and garnished and broidered with excellent good stone. Moreover, twelve Crowns there are of gold, wherewith in time past at certain Feasts in the year twelve women decked themselve (whom they called Queens) the which went about these Islands and Churches: But the said Queens, and the greatest part of the women of the City, were stolen and carried away perforce by Theeves, that came out *Istria* or *Friole*[13], being borderers upon the Venetians, the which lurked privily behind these Isles: But their Husbands pursued these Theeves, and recovered their women, and offered all these Crowns to Saint *Mark*, and built also a Chappell upon the place, whither the Seniory resorted yearly, the same day they obtained the victory. Sure this is a goodly furniture for the Church: for besides these things above rehearsed, there are divers other jewels of Gold, and a sute of Amethus and Agats, and a few Emeraulds. But this is no such treasure to make account of, as ready money; and yet of money they have no treasure: For the Duke himself told me before the Seniory, that it is among them a Capitall crime to make mention of treasure in coine. And sure in my opinion they do therein very wisely, for fear of division, that thereby might arise amongst them. Afterward they shewed me their other treasure, namely their *Arsenall*[14], where they arme their Galleys, and prepare all their furniture necessary for their Navy, which undoubtedly is the goodliest thing at this day in the world, and the best in order for that purpose.

To be short, I abode there eight moneths upon their charge, as did all the other Ambassadors there resident. And sure thus much I dare boldly say of them, that they are men of such wisdome and so inclined to enlarge their Dominians, that unlesse they be looked to in time all their neighbours shall repent it too late: For the Kings coming into *Italy*, and the wars that have been between him and them, since that time, (which yet indure) have made them much skilfuller in fortification and defence of places, then they were before. Besides that, they have of late enlarged their Seniory, for they have seven or eight Cities engaged to them in *Poville*, which I doubt me, they will never restore. At the Kings first comming into *Italy*, they could not be perswaded, that places might be taken so easily and in so short space: for they made not war with such short expedition[15]; but both they and divers others have fortified since, and do daily fortifie many places in *Italy*. They cannot grow mighty upon a sudden, as the Romans did, for their bodies cannot endure such labor and travel as theirs could, because they are unaccustomed thereunto, by reason that none of them go into their wars upon their firm land[16] (as the Romans did) save their Provisers and Treasurers which accompany their General[17] assist him with their Counsell and provide all things necessary for their Army. True it is that their Armies upon the Sea are lead[18] by their Gentlemen who are Captains of their Gallies and Ships; and consist wholy of their own Subjects. Moreover another good order have they, as touching these Provisors, whom they send in person with their Armies upon the land; which is, that they imploy in that service no man of such courage and vertue as may seem worthy to be their Prince (as the Romans did) whereby they avoide all factions in the City, which sure is a great part of wisdome. And undoubtedly against Civill contention, they have marvellously well provided divers and sundry other wayes, for they have no Tribunes of the people as they had in *Rome*, which partly were the cause of their

[11] Saint *Marks* Church is described by *Contaren* in the very end of the fourth Book.

[12] *Musaique* or *Marquetary*, *Musea*, *Musaica* or *Musiva*, in Latine works wrought of stones of divers colours & divers mettals into knots and devises so curiously, that they seem all one, and not to be wrought in together by art.

[13] *Forum Julij*.

[14] This *Arsenall* is described by *Contaren* lib. 4.

[15] He meaneth, because they understood not the fear of Artillery.

[16] The Venetians armies upon the land are all strangers *Contaren*. lib. 5.

[17] Their Generall upon the land is also a stranger.

[18] *Contaren ib.*

ruine. But the people at *Venice* baer no ſway, neither are called to councill in any matter [19]: for all their Officers [20] be Gentlemen ſave their Secretaries [21]. And the greateſt part of their people be ſtrangers, Moreover they underſtand by *T. Livius*, what imperfections were in the State of *Rome*; for they have his Hiſtory, and his body lyeth buried in their Pallace at *Padua*, For theſe Reaſons, and divers others, which I could alledge, I ſay yet once again, they are in the way to be great Lords in time to come.

[19] Underſtand any matter of weight.

[20] Underſtand their principall officers.

[21] Their Chancellour alſo is no gentleman, neither may a gentleman be Chancellor, or Secretary, *Contaren.lib.5*

I muſt now declare the Cauſe of my Ambaſſage to them; which was to thank them, for the good anſwers they had made to two Ambaſſadours, ſent thither by the King; and for the good comfort they had given him, in willing him upon their word to proceed with his enterpriſe. All the which was done before he departed out of *Aſt*. At my arrival, I diſcourſed unto them of the ancient league that had been between the Kings of *France* and them. And further, I offered them *Brandis* and the Town of *Otrante*, under this condition, that when we delivered them better Towns in *Greece*, they ſhould be bound to reſtore theſe. They uſed very honourable terms both of the King and his affairs, ſuppoſing that he could not enter far into *Italy*. And as touching the offer I made, they anſwered, that they were his friends and ſervants, and would not ſell him their friendſhip, (as indeed as yet we had not the places offered.) Further they ſaid, that they had force ſufficient in a readineſſe to move war againſt him, if they were ſo diſpoſed, but they would not ſo do; notwithſtanding that the Ambaſſadour of *Naples* daily ſolicited them thereunto, and offered them in conſideration thereof whatſoever they would demand. Moreover King *Alphonſe* (who then reigned) confeſſed that he had many wayes misbehaved himſelf towards them, and declared unto them the great danger themſelves ſhould be in, if the King obtained his purpoſe. The Turk on the other ſide ſent an Ambaſſadour to them with all ſpeed, (whom my ſelfe ſaw divers times) the which at the Popes requeſt threatned them, unleſs they declared themſelves the Kings enemies. They gave every one of theſe good anſwers, notwithſtanding at the firſt they ſtood in no fear of us, but laughed at our voiage: and the rather becauſe the Duke of *Milan* ſent them word by his Ambaſſadour, that they ſhould not trouble themſelves about this enterpriſe: for he would find means to ſend the King home with empty hands. The like Meſſage ſent he alſo to *Peter* of *Medicis*, as himſelf told me. But when both they, and the Duke of *Milan* ſaw all the Florentine places, eſpecially *Piſa*, in the Kings hands, they began to fear and to conſult how to ſtop him from paſſing further: but their matters were long in debating, and in the mean time while Ambaſſadors paſſed to and fro between them, the King marched forward. The King of *Spain* in like manner began to fear, becauſe of the Iſles of *Cicily* and *Sardinia*. And the King of Romans envied our Kings good ſucceſſe: for divers there were that put him in doubt of the crown Imperial, ſaying, that the King would take it, and had required the Pope to give him leave ſo to do; but this was moſt untrue. Notwithſtanding for theſe doubts, theſe two Kings ſent honourable Ambaſſages to *Venice*, I being there as you have heard. The King of Romanes, becauſe he was their neighbour, ſent firſt: the principal of his Ambaſſage was the Biſhop of *Trent*, accompanied with two Knights, and a Doctor of the Law: they were very honourably and ſolemnly received, and their Lodgings made and furniſhed as mine. Moreover they had ten Ducats a day allowed them for their diet, and their horſes which they had left behind them at *Trevis*, were kept upon the Seniories charge. Soon after arrived alſo a worſhipful Knight of *Spain* [22] well accompanied and well apparelled; who was in like manner honourably received, and his charges defraied. The Duke of *Milan*, beſides his Ambaſſadour there reſident, ſent thither the Biſhop of *Come*, and Maſter *Francis Bernardin* Viſcount, all the which began at the firſt to negotiate together covertly, and in the night by their Secretaries: for they durſt not as yet openly diſcover themſelves againſt the King, eſpecially the Duke of *Milan*, and the Venetians, becauſe they doubted what ſucceſſe the League which was in communication ſhould have. Theſe Ambaſſadours of *Milan* came to viſite me, and brought me letters from their Maſter, pretending the cauſe of their coming to be, for that the Venetians had ſent two Ambaſſadours to *Milan*, whereas they were wont to have but one reſident there: no more had they in the end; and this was but a color of their lying deceit, and falſe dealing: for they were all aſſembled together to conclude a League againſt the good King; but ſo many ſtrings could not be turned on a ſudden. They deſired me afterward (if I could) to enform them, what the cauſe was of the King of *Spain*, and the King of Romanes Ambaſſadours arrival, to the

[22] The King of *Spain* uſed this colour for breach of his league with K. *Charles* becauſe there was a clauſe that they ſhould not be bound to any thing prejudiciall to the Church, & the realm of *Naples* was held of the Church. Further, another clauſe there was that he ſhould not reſiſt K. *Charles* his conqueſt, if it appeared by Law the Crown of *Naples* to appertain to him, which he ſought not to prove, but proceeded by force.

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end they might advertiſe their Maſter thereof. But I had intelligence already from divers places, both by the ſaid Ambaſſadours Servants and others; that the Ambaſſadour of *Spain* had paſſed through *Milan* diſguiſed, that the Almains governed their affairs wholly by the Duke of *Milans* counſell and advice; and that the Ambaſſadour of *Naples* delivered hourly packets of letters from his Maſter. For you muſt underſtand, that the treaty of their League was began, before the King departed from *Florence*, and I ſpent mony largely to have intelligence of all their doings, and wrought by good inſtruments; ſo that I knew already all their Articles, which were propounded, but not agreed upon: for the Venetians were very long in their reſolutions. For theſe cauſes I, ſeeing the League in ſuch forwardneſſe, would no longer pretend ignorance therein, but anſwered theſe Ambaſſadours of *Milan*, that ſince they uſed ſuch ſtrange termes to me, I thought good to ſay thus much unto them, that the King would not loſe the Duke of *Milans* friendſhip, if by any means it might be kept; and that I, as his ſervant, would do my duty to my Maſter, and excuſe him of the evill reports, which peradventure had been made of him to the Duke their Maſter, who I thought was miſinformed: ſaying further, that he ought well to bethink himſelfe, before he loſt the recompence of the great Service he had done the King: For the Kings of *France*, were never ingrate; adding alſo, that the ſpeaking of a fooliſh word ought not to diſſolve their Friendſhip, the continuance whereof was ſo neceſſary for them both. Wherefore I deſired them to open unto me their griefs, that I might advertiſe the King thereof, before they proceeded further: they ſware all unto me and proteſted, that there was no ſuch matter, as I imagined; but they lied, for they were come thither to treat of the ſaid League.

The next day I went to the Seniory to commune with them about their League, and to tell them my opinion thereof. Among other things, I alledged, that by the League concluded between the King and them, and the late King *Lewis* his Father and them, they might not maintain the one the others enemies: wherefore they could not conclude the League now treated of, without breach of their promiſe. Then they cauſed me to withdraw my ſelf a little, and at my returne the Duke ſaid unto me, that I muſt not believe all that I heard in the Town: For all men live there in liberty, and might ſpeak what them liſted; and that as touching them, they never meant to enter into league againſt the King, neither ever heard of any ſuch matter: but on the contrary ſide they ſought to conclude a League between the King, and theſe two other Kings, and all *Italy*, againſt the Turk at the common charges of them all, and that if any in *Italy* refuſed to pay that he ſhould be rated at, the King and they would conſtrain him thereunto by force. Moreover, they ſaid that they travelled to conclude a good peace for the King, to wit, that he ſhould receive of Dom *Ferrande* preſently a ſum of money, which they offered to lend, ſo that they might have engaged for it, thoſe places in *Poville*, which now they poſſeſſe, and that the Realm ſhould be held of the King by the Popes conſent[a], and pay him yearly a certain tribute. And further that he ſhould hold in it three places. And I would to God the King would then have given ear to this offer: But I anſwered them, I durſt not deal therein, becauſe I had no commiſſion nor authority ſo to do. Moreover I deſired them not to be haſty in concluding this league, becauſe I would advertiſe the King of theſe their overtures. I requſred them alſo (as *I* had done the others) to open unto me their grieſes, and not to diſſemble them as they of *Milan* had done. Then they told me plainly, that they were grieved becauſe the King held certain of the Popes Townes; but much more becauſe of the Florentines places, eſpecially *Piſa*, ſaying that the King himſelf had written both unto them, and divers others, that he would take nothing in *Italy*, but the Realm of *Naples* onely, and afterward go againſt the Turk: but now it plainly appeared, that he would conquer all he could in *Italy*, and leave the Turk in peace. They ſaid further, that the Duke of *Orleans* (whom the King had left behinde him in *Aſt*) put the Duke of *Milan* in great doubt and fear, and that his Servants uſed marvellous threatning words againſt him. Notwithſtanding they promiſed to conclude nothing before they received anſwer from the King, at the leaſt not before a convenient time to receive anſwer were expired, and they dealt more honourable with me then they of *Milan* had done[b]. Of all theſe matters *I* advertiſed the King, and received a cold anſwer from him: from that day forward they began daily to aſſemble together becauſe they knew their enterpriſe to be diſcovered. The King was yet at *Florence*, and if he had found any reſiſtance at *Viterbe* (as they thought he ſhould) they would have ſent men to defend *Rome*: yea, or if King *Ferrande* had not abandoned *Rome*, as they thought undoubtedly he would never have done;

[a] This is added, becauſe the Realm of *Naples* was held of the Church.

[b] He meaneth, becauſe they dealt plainly with him, but they of *Milan*, had diſſembled Notwithſtanding the French had it thus: *They ſhewed greater honor to me than to them of* Milan: but in mine opinion it was the Printers fault, who for *que ceulx de* Milan had put *que ceulx de* Milan: for ſure the ſenſe is much better thus.

but when they heard of his departure thence, they began to fear. Notwithſtanding the Ambaſſadours of theſe two Kings preſſed them earneſtly to conclude, ſaying, that otherwiſe they would depart, for they had been there four moneths daily negotiating with the Seniory. In the mean time I laboured all that might be to overthrow their League.

But when the Venetians ſaw all theſe places yielded, and were alſo advertiſed, that the King was entred into *Naples*, they ſent for me and told me theſe news, ſeeming greatly to rejoyce thereat: notwithſtanding they ſaid that the Caſtle was very well furniſhed; and I perceived by them, that they hoped aſſuredly it would have held good. Moreover, they licenſed the Ambaſſadour of *Naples* to levy men at *Venice* to ſend to *Brandis*; and they were even upon the point to have concluded their League, when ſuddenly they received Letters from their Ambaſſadours, that the Caſtle was yielded alſo to the King. Then they ſent for me again in the morning, and I found fifty or ſixty of them aſſembled together in the Dukes Chamber, who lay ſick of the Collick. He told me theſe news with a chearfull countenance, but none of the reſt could diſſemble ſo cunningly as himſelf: For ſome of them ſate upon a low bench leaning upon their elbowes; otherſome after one ſort, and others after another; their outward countenances bewraying their inward grief. And I think verily, when word came to *Rome* of the Battell loſt at *Cannas* againſt *Hannibal*, that the Senators which remained in the City, were not more aſtoniſhed nor troubled then theſe: for none of them once looked upon me; none of them gave me one word but the Duke alone: ſo that I wondered to behold them. The Duke asked me, if the King would perform what he had alwayes promiſed, both by his letters and by me: I aſſured that he would, and opened certain overtures of Peace, and offered my ſelf to travell therein, truſting to put them out of all doubt; and ſo departed.

Their League was as yet neither fully concluded, nor fully broken off; for the which cauſe the Almaines would needs have departed in great heat. The Duke of *Milan* would not yet condiſcend, I know not to which of their Articles: notwithſtanding in the end, he ſent word to his Ambaſſadors to ſeal with ſpeed to all; and thus at the length was their League concluded. During the ſpace that theſe practiſes were thus entertained among them, I had from time to time advertiſed the King of them all, preſſing them earneſtly to reſolve either to tarry in the Realm, and to make proviſion of greater forces of Footmen and Mony; or in time to retire homeward before his enemies were all aſſembled, leaving the principal places well manned. I advertiſed alſo the Duke of *Orleans* (who lay in *Aſt* with his houſhold Servants onely, for his company was with the King) of all that was done, willing him to put men into the town, and aſſuring him, that they would incontinent aſſail him. I wrote alſo to the Duke of *Bourbon*, (whom the King had left Regent in *France*) to ſend men to *Aſt* with all ſpeed poſſible to defend the town, becauſe that place being loſt no aid could come to the King. In like manner I advertiſed the Marchioneſſe of *Montferrat* of all theſe proceedings (who was a great friend to us, and deadly enemy to the Duke of *Milan*) to the end ſhe might aid the Duke of *Orleans* with men, if need ſo required: for *Aſt* being loſt, the Marquiſates of *Montferrat* and *Saluces* were alſo loſt.

Their League was concluded one night very late. The next morning the Seniory ſent for me earlier then they were accuſtomed. And when I was come and ſet down, the Duke told me that in the honor of the holy Trinity, there was a League concluded between our holy father the Pope, the Kings of *Romans*, and *Caſtile*, them, and the Duke of *Milan*, for three purpoſes. The firſt, for the defence of the Eſtate of Chriſtendom againſt the Turk: the ſecond, for the defence of *Italy*: and the third, for the preſervation of their own eſtates, whereof he willed me to advertiſe the King. They were aſſembled to the number of an hundred or more, and looked up with chearfull countenances, and ſate not as they did the day they advertiſed me of the taking of the Caſtle of *Naples*. The Duke told me moreover, that they had written to their Ambaſſadours, that were with the King, to take their leave and to return home: their names were Maſter *Dominic Loredan* and Maſter *Dominick Treviſan*. I was marvellouſly troubled with this news; for I ſtood in doubt, both of the Kings Perſon, and of all his company, ſuppoſing their Army to have been readier than indeed it was, as did themſelves alſo. I feared further leaſt the Almains had heen at hand; and not without cauſe; for if they had, undoubtedly the King had never departed out of *Italy*. I was reſolved, not to ſpeak much in

Their League was concluded at Rapall, &c.

this

this heat; but they ſo provoked me, that *I* was forced to change my mind; and then *I* ſaid unto them, that both the night before and divers other times, *I* had advertiſed the King of their League; and that he alſo had ſent me word, that he had intelligence thereof both from *Rome* and from *Milan*. They looked all marvellous ſtrangely upon me, when *I* ſaid, that *I* had advertiſed the King thereof the night before; for there is no Nation under the Sun ſo ſuſpitious as they, nor ſo ſecret in their affairs, ſo that oftentimes they baniſh men upon ſuſpition onely, for the which cauſe *I* ſaid thus much unto them. *I* told them moreover, that *I* had ſent word thereof, both to the Duke of *Orleans*, and to the Duke of *Bourbon*, to the end they might put men into *Aſt*: which words *I* uttered, hoping to delay their going thither For, if they had indeed been as ready as they vaunted, and ſuppoſed themſelves to have been, they muſt needs have taken the Town: for it was unmanned both then, and long after. Then they told me, that they meant not to attempt ought againſt the King, but onely to defend themſelves; adding, that they would not have him thus to abuſe the world with words, in ſaying that he would take nothing, but the Realm of *Naples*, and afterward go againſt the Turk: and yet do clean contrary, and ſeek to deſtroy the Duke of *Milan*, and the Florentines, and hold alſo the places of the Church. Whereunto *I* anſwered, that the Kings of *France* had ever inlarged and augmented the dition of the Church, and defended it; and that the King my Maſter would rather do the like, than the contrary. Wherefore theſe (*I* ſaid) were not the reaſons that moved them to enter into this War, but that they deſired to trouble the eſtate of *Italy*, thereby to make their own profit, as in the end *I* thought they would; which words they took in evill part, as afterward *I* was advertiſed: notwithſtanding it appeareth by thoſe townes in *Poville*, which they have in gage of King *Ferrande* to aid him againſt us, that *I* ſaid true. At this inſtant *I* would have riſen to depart, but they cauſed me to ſit down again, and then the Duke asked me, if *I* would make any overture of peace, becauſe the day before *I* had offered ſo to do. But that was under condition, that they ſhould have ſtayed the concluſion of their league fifteen dayes, to the end *I* might advertiſe the King thereof, and receive his anſwer thereunto. Our communication being ended, *I* returned to my Lodging; and then they ſent for the Ambaſſadours of the League one after another; and as *I* came forth from them, I met the Ambaſſadour of *Naples*, who ware a fair new Gown, and ſhewed a chearfull countenance; and ſo had he great cauſe to do, for theſe were good news for him. After dinner all the Ambaſſadours of the League accompanied with their Servants met together, at the charges of the Seniory, upon the Water, (which is all the paſtime of *Venice*) *I* think, they were in all forty Boats: every Ambaſſadour having his Boat garniſhed with a Flag of his Maſters Arms. I ſaw all this company paſſe underneath my window with goodly melody. And the Ambaſſadors of *Milan* (at the leaſt one of them) who had been wont very often before to bear me company, made a countenance now as though he knew me no more. By the ſpace of three dayes *I* never ſtirred out of my Lodging; neither any of my ſervants: notwithſtanding that not one man in the Town gave me or any of mine a foul word at any time: the ſame night they made great paſtime with Squibs, which were ſet on fire a high in the Steeples and Turrets of the Town, and a number of Torches were lighted in the Top of theſe Ambaſſadours houſes, and divers Pieces of Artillery diſcharged. *I* was in a covered Barge upon the water to behold all this triumph: about ten of the clock at night, eſpecially before theſe Ambaſſadors Lodgings, where was banketing and great chear: notwithſtanding this was not the great feſtivall day, on the which their League was proclaimed: for the Pope had given commandement, that the Proclamation thereof ſhould be deferred till Palm-ſunday, and that every one of the confederated Princes, when it ſhould be proclaimed, and the Ambaſſadours, that ſhould be preſent thereat, ſhould bear in their hands an Olive branch in token of peace, and confederacy, as he ſaid. He commanded further, that upon that day it ſhould be proclaimed both in *Spain* and *Almain*. Moreover, at *Venice* they made a Scaffold of wood, which they raiſed a great height from the ground, as they uſe to do upon *Corpus Chriſti* day, and it was richly hanged, and reached from the palace to the end of the Market place of S. *Mark*. Upon this Scaffold after the Popes Ambaſſador had ſung Maſs, & given full abſolution to all men (that ſhould be preſent at the ſaid proclamation) they went on proceſſion, the Senators and the Ambaſſadors being all very well apparelled: for to divers of the ſaid Ambaſſadors the Seniory had given crimoſin velvet gowns, eſpecially to the Almains, & new gowns alſo to all their Servants, but they were very ſhort After their return from proceſſion, a great number of Pageants and devices

devices were ſhewed, repreſenting firſt *Italy*, and then all theſe Kings and Princes, and the Queen of *Spain*. And as they returned from beholding the ſaid Pageants, at a Porphyre ſtone, where all the Proclamations are made, they proclamed the ſaid League, and the Turks Ambaſſadour heard it, ſtanding cloſſe at a window, and having his diſpatch, ſaving that they ſtayed him to behold this Triumph. At night he came to talk with me by means of a certain Greek, and was with me four hours in my Chamber, being very deſirous, that his Prince and the King my Maſter might enter together into amity. I was twice invited to this Feaſt, but I excuſed my ſelf. I remained in the Town about a moneth after this Proclamation, being as well entertained as at my firſt arrivall. Afterward the King ſent for me and I took my leave and departed, being ſafely conveied by them, and upon their charges to *Ferrara*, where the Duke came forth and received me and feaſted me two dayes, and defrayed me. The like did Maſter *John de Bentivole* at *Bolonia*, whither the Florentines ſent for me. Wherefore I departed thence and went to *Florence*, there to abide the Kings comming, of whom I will now return to ſpeak.

THE

THE EIGHTH BOOK.

CONTINUING THE DISCOURSE OF THE PRINCIPAL ACTS OF KING CHARLES THE EIGHTH.

CHAP. I. *Of the Order and Proviſion the King left in the Realm of* Naples, *at his return into* France.

TO continue the better this my Hiſtory, and to inform you of all that hapned, I muſt now return to ſpeak of the King: who from the time he entred into *Naples* till his departure thence, thought only upon ſports, and pleaſures, and thoſe that were about him of their own private profit and gain: notwithſtanding his young years excuſed him; but on their behalfe no juſt excuſe can be made: for he committed all, his affairs to their government. And if they had adviſed him to leave well furniſhed in the Countrey, at his departure, but three or four Caſtles onely namely that of *Cajetta*, and one or two more; or yet the Caſtle of *Naples* alone (the proviſion whereof he had given away, as already you have heard) the Realm had never been loſt: for if the Caſtle of *Naples* had been kept, the Town had never revolted. So ſoon as he underſtood the League abovementioned to be concluded, he commanded his whole Forces to repair to him, and appointed five hundred men of Arms French, and two thouſand five hundred Switzers [1], and a few French footmen, for the defence of the Realm, determining with the reſt to return home the ſame way he came; but the Confederates made preparation to ſtop his paſſage. The King of *Spain* had ſent and daily did ſend certain *Caravals* [2] into *Sicily*, the which notwithſtanding, that they were but ſlenderly manned, had before the Kings departure, put men into *Reges* in *Calabria* near to *Sicily*. I had oft times advertiſed the King, that there they would land; for the Ambaſſadour of *Naples* had ſo informed me himſelf, ſuppoſing they had already been landed: But if the King had ſent thither in time, he had taken the Caſtle; for the Town held for him. Out of *Sicily* came certain Bands alſo to *Mantia* and to *Turpia*, all through our own fault, becauſe we had ſent no Forces thither. In like manner the Town of *Otrante* in *Poville* (which had once ſet up the armes of *France*) ſeeing the League concluded, and themſelves ſeated near to *Brandis* and *Gallipoli*, and no means poſſible to levy men to put into their Town, reared up again the Arms of *Arragon*; and Dom *Frederick* being at *Brandis*, ſent a Garriſon thither. To be ſhort, Fortune began now to frown upon us, which but two moneths before ſo highly had favoured us, in ſuch ſort that through the whole Realm, they began to revolt, as well becauſe of the League as alſo of the Kings departure, and the ſmall Forces he left behind him, which was nothing in reſpect of the number of Souldiers, though divers of the Captains were of great valour. He appointed for his Lievtenant Generall in the ſaid Realm the Lord of *Montpenſier* of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, a valiant and a hardy Knight, but of no great ſenſe, and ſo careleſſe that he kept his bed every day till noon. In *Calabria* he left the Lord of *Aubigny*, a Scottiſh man born, a vertuous, wiſe, honourable, and a valiant Knight, him he created high Conſtable of the Realm, and gave him (as before you have heard) the Earldom of *Acri*, and the Marquiſate of *Squillazzo*. He had made Lord great Chamberlain of the Realm at his firſt coming thither, the Seneſchall of *Beaucaire* called *Stephen de Vers*, who was alſo Captain of *Cajetta*, Duke of *Nola*, and Lord of divers other Seniories. Further all the Treaſure of the Realm paſſed through his hands, ſo that his charge was much too weighty for him; but ſure he was wel affected to the defence of the Realm. He created the Lord Don *Julian Lorrain* a Duke, and left him in the Town of Saint *Angelo*, where he behaved himſelf paſſing well, He left in *Manfredonia* Maſter *Gabriel*

[1] *Guiccia.* ſaith, the King left behind him his Switzers, part of his French foot men, 800 French launces and five hundred Italian men of Arms.

[2] Theſe are certain ſhips having both ſail & oare, the which are very much uſed in the meridion Seas.

Gabriel of *Montfaulcon*, a man of whom he made great account; and to all these he gave goodly possessions: But this *Gabriel* behaved himself very childishly; for at four dayes end he yielded the Town, for lack of victuals: notwithstanding, that at his entry into it, he found it very well furnished; besides that it was seated in a Country abounding with all kind of grain. Divers sold all the provision they found in the Castles, and the report went, that this *Gabriel* fled himself, and left *William* of *Vilneusue* for defence of the Town, whom his own Servants sold to Dom *Frederick*, who put him into the Gallies, where he remained a long time. At *Tarenty*, the King left *George* of *Suille*, who carried himself there very gallantly, and died of the plague; and this City held for the King till famine forced it to yield. In *Aquilla*, he left the Bailiffe of *Viury*, where he did great service: and in *Abruzzo* Master *Gratian de Guerres*, who likewise made good proof of his valour there. They were all left unfurnished of money: for order was given they should receive their pay there, of the Revenues of the Crown, but all was too little notwithstanding the King left the Princes of *Salern* and *Bisignan* very well appointed, who did him good service as long as they were able. He dealt also very bountifully with the Coulonnois: for he granted them all their demands, and put above thirty places into their hands, and their friends: which, if they would have defended for him, as both by duty and oath they were bound, they had done him great service, and purchased to themselves both honour and profit. For, I think, they were not so highly advanced these hundred years as by the King at that time: yet notwithstanding before his departure they began to practise with his enemies. True it is, that they served him in favour onely of the Duke of *Milan*, because they have ever been of the Faction *Gibilin*; but they ought not in respect thereof, to have dealt faithlesly with him, who so highly had advanced and pleasured them, not onely this way but divers others. For in their favour he led prisoners with him under Guard the Lord *Virgil Ursin*, and the Earl of *Pettilane*, with divers others of the *Ursins* their enemies, yea and that against all right and reason: for notwithstanding, that they were taken prisoners, yet knew the King right well that they had a safe conduct, the benefit also whereof he meant they should enjoy, as himself well declared: for he was determined to lead them no further then *Ast*, and there to release them. All this did he at the Coulonnois request, and yet before his return to *Ast*, they shrunk from him, yea, they were the very first that revolted though they could alledge no cause, that moved them thereunto.

[a] *Virginio Ursin* and the Earl of *Pettilane* followed the King only upon their word not to depart without leave.

CHAP. II. *How the King departed from* Naples, *and passed again through* Rome, *whereupon the Pope fled to* Orviette: *Of the communication the King had with Monsieur* D' Argenton, *at his return from* Venice: *How he took advice whether he should restore the Florentines places to them or not: And of the Sermons worthy of memory of Frier* Jerome *of* Florence.

THE King having given order for his affairs, as he thought good, put himself upon the way homeward with the rest of his forces[1], being (as I suppose) nine hundred men of Armes at the least (comprehending therein the ordinary retinue of his house) and two thousand five hundred Switzers, so that I think the whole army contained seven thousand men taking pay, besides the train of the Court, being to the number of fifteen hundred, able to do service[2]. The Earl of *Pettilane*, who took the just muster of them, told me after the battell, (whereof you shall hear) that the whole force was nine thousand men. The King marched straight to *Rome*, where the Pope would not tarry his coming, but was first determined to have gon to *Padua* into the Venetians dominions, so far forth that, his Lodging was made there. But afterword he altered his mind: for both the Venetians, and the Duke of *Milan* sent him certain bands of men to *Rome*, where (though they arrived in time) yet durst he not abide; notwithstanding that the King meant him no harm, but would have done him all honour and service, and had also sent an Ambassadour thither purposely to desire him to stay. But he retired to *Orviette*, and thence to *Perouse*, leaving the Cardinals at *Rome* to receive the

[1] He departed from *Naples* the 20 of *May Annal. France. Guicciar.*

[2] The King departed *Naples* with eight hundred French launces, two hundred Gentlemen of his guard, a hundred launces under *Trivulce* three thousand footmen Switzers, a thousand Frenchs, and a thousand Gascoignes, *Guicciar.*

the King, who ſtayed not there [3], neither harmed any man. The King wrote unto me, that I ſhould meet him at *Sene*, whither I repaired accordingly; he received me of his goodneſſe very gratiouſly, and asked me (ſomewhat merrily) whether the Venetians would ſend to ſtop him upon the way: for his Army conſiſteth altogether of young men, who thought none in the world comparable to themſelves. I anſwered, that the Seniory told me at my departure, in the preſence of one of their Secretaries named *Lourdin*, that they and the Duke of *Milan*, would put forty thouſand men into the field, not to offend him but to defend themſelves: adding further that they adverti-ſed me, the day I departed from *Padua*, by one of their Proviſors, who came with their Army that they ſent againſt us, that their Forces ſhould not paſſe a certain River in their dominions near to *Parma* [4], called (as I remember) *Olie*, unleſſe he invad-ed the Duke of *Milan*. The ſaid Proviſor and I gave ſecret tokens each to other, by the which Meſſengers might paſſe to and fro between us, if need ſhould ſo require, to treat of ſome good end: For I would break off no Overture of Peace; becauſe I knew not what might happen to the King my Maſter. At this our communication, was preſent one Maſter *Lewis Marcell*, who by the Seniories appointment, accompa-nied me out of their dominions, and governed for that year the *Motz viere* [5], which is a certain Treaſure they have: in like manner certain of the Marqueſſe of *Mantua's* men who carried mony to their Maſter, were alſo preſent at it, but they heard not our talke. From theſe or from ſome other, I brought the King in writing the number of their horſemen, footmen, and Eſtradiots [6], and the names of their Captaines: but few of thoſe that were neareſt about him credited my words.

After the King had repoſed himſelf two dayes at *Sene*, and well refreſhed his horſes and his company, I earneſtly preſſed him to depart: for his enemies were not yet aſſembled, and I feared only the Almains arrivall, of whom the King of *Romans* muſtered great force, and levied great ſums of money for their payment. But notwithſtanding all my ſolicitation, the King put forth two matters to his Council, which were ſoon debated: the one whether he ſhould reſtore the Florentines places to them? and accept the offers they made for the reſtitution of them, being theſe, to pay him the 30000 ducats remaining yet unpaid of the ſum they gave him [7]; to lend him beſides 70000, and to ſerve him, as he paſſed out of *Italy* with three hundred men of Arms, and two thouſand footmen under the leading of Maſter *Francis Secco*, a valiant Knight, and in good credit with the King. My ſelf and divers others were of opinion, that he ſhould accept theſe conditions, retaining onely *Ligorn* in his hands till his return to *Aſt*. And if he had ſo done, he might have paid his ſouldiers, and reſerved money enough to have withdrawn part of his enemies forces, and then have fought with them. But this reſolution took no place; for Mon-ſieur *de Ligny* a young man, coſin germain to the King, overthrew it, not alledging a-ny reaſon to the contrary, but only for pity of the *Piſans*. The other point debated was a Matter that Monſieur *de Ligny* himſelf cauſed to be propounded by *Gaucher* of *Tintiville*, and by one of the factions of the Senois, the which deſired the ſaid Monſieur *de Ligny* for their Captain. For you ſhall underſtand, that theſe Senois are ever in diviſion, and govern their Commonwealth more fondly than any other town in *Italy* [8]. I being firſt asked mine advice ſaid, that I thought it beſt for the King to march forward, and not to buſie himſelf with theſe fooliſh offers, which could not ſtand him in ſteed one week to an end: alleadging further, that becauſe this was an Imperial Town, we ſhould by this means provoke the whole Empire againſt us. All the reſt were of the ſame opinion, yet was the clean contrary done: for the Senois received Monſieur *de Ligny* for their Captain, and promiſed him yearly a certain ſum of money, whereof he never received peny. This fooliſh matter ſtayed the King there ſix or ſeven dayes, during the which ſpace he ſo-laced himſelf with the Dames. Further, he left there three hundred of his men, di-miniſhing his force by ſo much, and then removed to *Piſa* paſſing by *Poggibonzi* a Caſtle of the Florentines. But they whom he left at *Sene* were chaſed thence within a moneth after.

I had forgotten to tell you, how *I* being, at *Florence* journeying towards the King, went with one of the Stewards of his Houſe, named *John Francoiſe*, a wiſe and diſcreet per-

[3] He arrived at *Rome* the firſt of *June* and abode there two dayes, *Annal. Franc.*

[4] For *Parma* it is better to read *Creme*, or *Bergame*: for the Venetians dominions lay not near to *Parma*; beſides that, the River *Olie* is not near *Parma*: for the *Pau* runneth between *Parma* and it, ſo that the Venetians muſt have paſſed the *Pau* after they had paſſed *Olie*, before they could have come to *Parma*.

[5] The French Corrector readeth it *Montveil* called in Italian *Monte Vetino*, which is a certain treaſure the Venetians have to pay the intereſts due unto the ancienteſt creditors of their commonwealth, as appeareth in the book of *Donato Giannotti*.

[6] What theſe *Eſtradiottes* were look after Chap. 5.

[7] They had given the King one hundred twenty thouſand ducates, as mention is made cap. 9. lib. 7.

[8] The people of of *Sene* were divided againſt the order of *Montenoue*, which held a guard of ſouldiers in the pallace. The *Montenoue*; but of the Town,

Citizens promiſed *De Ligny* twenty thouſand ducates a year, to protect them againſt the ſaid forthwith after the Kings departure, the Faction of *Montenoue* chaſed *Ligny* and his men out *Gaicciar*.

ſo

son, to visit a Frier *Jacobin* called Frier *Hieronimo*[a], a man of holy life (as all men reported) abiding in a reformed Covent, where he had remained fifteen years. The cause why I went to commune with him, was, for that he had ever preached very favourably on the Kings behalf, so far forth, that his words had stayed the Florentines from revolting from us; for never Preacher carried so great credit in any City: he had ever assured them of the Kings coming, whatsoever was said or written to the contrary; affirming that he was sent of God to chastise the Tyrants of *Italy*, and that no force should be able to withstand him. He preached further that the King should come to *Pisa* and enter into the Town, and that the self same day the Estate of *Florence* should be altered as also it hapned: for the same day was *Peter* of *Medicis* banished the Town. Divers other things also foretold he long before they hapned, namely, the Lord *Laurence* of *Medicis*: all the which, he said, he understood by revelation. He preached yet further that the Estate of the Church should be reformed by the Sword. This is not yet come to passe, but was very near, and he avoweth still that it shall be. Many found great fault with him, because he said, that God revealed these things to him; but some believed him: sure I for my part account him an holy man. *I* asked him, whether the King should passe out of *Italy* without danger of his person, seeing the great preparations the Venetians made against him? whereof he discoursed perfectlier than my self that came from thence. He answered me, that the King should have some trouble on the way, but that the honour thereof should be his, though he were accompanied but with an hundred men; and that God who had guided him at his coming, will also protect him at his return. Adding, notwithstanding that because he had not done duty in the Reformation of the Church, but had suffered his men to spoil and rob the people, as well those that took his part, and voluntarily received him into their Cities, as his enemies: God had pronounced sentence against him, and would shortly scourge him. Nevertheless he bad me tell him, that if he would have compassion on the poor people, and endeavour himself to keep his men from doing evill, and punish the offenders (as he was bound by office to do) that then God would revoke his sentence, at the least mitigate it: adding thereunto, that he ought not to think it a sufficient excuse, that he in his own person did no harme. He said moreover that himself would go and tell the King thus much, and so indeed he did, and perswaded with him to restore the Florentines places to them. When he spake thus of Gods sentence, the death of my Lord the Daulphine come suddenly to my mind, for *I* saw no other thing that could greatly trouble the King. Thus much have *I* written, to the end it may yet more manifestly appear, that his Voyage was indeed a meer miracle of God.

[a] This Friers firname was *Savanarola* who hath written many goodly homilies and sermons: he was born at *Ferrara*

CHAP. III. *How the King retained in his hands the Town of* Pisa, *and certain other of the Florentines places: and how in the mean time, the Duke of* Orleans *entred on the other side into* Novarre, *a Town of the Dutchy of* Milan.

After the King was entred into *Pisa* (as you have heard) all the Pisans both men and women besought their guests for Gods love to make intercession to the King, that they might no more return under the Florentines tyranny, who in truth handled them extreamly; but divers Cities in *Italy*, that be in subjection to others, are as evil intreated as they: besides that, the Pisans and Florentines had been in warres together, the space of three hundred years before the Florentines subdued them. These lamentable words before mentioned joyned with tears moved our men to pitty, and caused them so far forth to forget the Kings promise and oath made upon the altar of Saint *John* at *Florence*, that all sorts of men busied themselves in this matter, even the poor Archers, and the Switzers, who also threatned those, that they thought perswaded the King to perform his promise, namely the Cardinall Saint *Malo*, so often before named General of *Languedoc*, whom my selfe heard an Archer threaten. There were in like manner that gave very rough language to the Marshall of *Gie*. The President *Gannay* by the space of three dayes and more, durst not lye in his lodging. But the

Earl

Earl of *Ligny* above all the reſt favoured the Piſans cauſe, who came in troopes weeping and lamenting to the King, in ſuch ſort that we all pitied them, and would willingly have relieved them, if it had lain in us ſo to do. One day after dinner, forty or fifty Gentlemen of the Kings houſe aſſembled themſelves together, and went with their partiſans into the Kings chamber, where he was playing at Tables with Monſieur *de Piennes*, accompanied onely with two Grooms of his chamber. One of theſe Gentlemen, Son to *Sallezard* the Elder, ſpake, as the mouth of the reſt to the King, deſiring him to be a gratious Lord to the Piſans, and accuſing certain of thoſe lately named, as Traitors to him. But the King with ſo ſtout language commanded them to depart, that after, the like never hapned. The King ſpent ſix or ſeven dayes needleſly in the Town of *Piſa*; and then changed the Garriſon, and made Captain of the Citadell one *Entragues*, a man of lewd conditions, Servant to the Duke of *Orleans*, whom he thus preferred by Monſieur *de Lignys* ſute, and left with him in the ſaid Citadell certain footmen of the dutchy of *Berry*. Further, the ſaid *Entragues* procured ſuch friendſhip (I ſuppoſe by his mony) that he was alſo made Captain of *Petroſancte*, and of another place near to it called *Mirtron*[1], and in like manner of *Libreſatto*, which is near to *Luques*. The Caſtle of *Serzene*, being very ſtrong, was put, at the requeſt of the ſaid Earl of *Ligny*, into the hands of a Baſtard of *Rouſſi*, and another place called *Serzanelle* into the hands of another, being both his own Servants. In theſe places the King left a great part of his forces: notwithſtanding, that he ſhall never have ſuch need of men, as he had at that time. Moreover, he refuſed the Florentines aid and offers abovementioned, and drave them into utter deſpair. Yet was he advertiſed before his departure from *Sene*, that the Duke of *Orleans*, (whom he had left behind him in *Aſt*) [2] had taken the City of *Novarre* in the Dutchy of *Milan*, and therefore was well aſſured that the Venetians would declare themſelves his enemies: for they ſent him word, that if he invaded the Duke of *Milan*, they would aid the Duke with their whole force, according to their League lately made; and their force was great, and in readineſſe. Now you ſhall underſtand, that preſently upon the concluſion of their league, the Duke of *Milan* thought to have ſurpriſed *Aſt*, ſuppoſing to find it utterly unmanned: but my Letters had haſtened the forces that the Duke of *Bourbon* ſent thither, and the firſt that arrived were about forty launces of the Marſhall of *Gies* Company, which had tarried behind in *France*, and came thither in good time. Soon after them, arrived alſo 500 footmen, ſent thither by the Marqueſſe of *Saluce*. The coming of the which ſtayed the Dnke of *Millans* forces led by M *Galeas* of Saint *Severine*, who bearing theſe news retired to *Nom*, a Caſtle of the Dutchy of *Milan*, two miles from *Aſt*. In the neck of theſe arrived alſo three hundred and fifty men of armes and certain Gentlemen of *Daulphine*, and two thouſand Switzers, with certain frank Archers of the ſaid Country of *Daulphine*, ſo that their whole number was ſeven thouſand five hundred men taking pay. But they lingred ſo long upon the way, that they ſerved not the purpoſe they were ſent for. For the King ſent for them to come and ſuccour him, but inſtead of aiding him, he was forced to aid them. The King had alſo given commandement to the Duke of *Orleans*, and his Captains, not to attempt any thing againſt the Duke of *Milan*, but onely to defend the Town of *Aſt*, and to meet him at the River of *Theſin* to help to convey him over it, for that was the onely River to trouble him. But notwithſtanding all that the King writ to the Duke of *Orleans*, this enterpriſe of *Novarre*, (which is but ten leagues from *Milan*) liked him ſo well, that he was content to give ear thereunto, and was received into the City in great triumph, both of the Guelphs, and Gibelins, which his exploit the Marchioneſſe of *Montferrat* greatly furthered. The Caſtle held two or three days, and then yielded alſo. But if in the mean time, the Duke had gone, or ſent to *Milan* (where he had good intelligence) he had been received into the Town with greater joy, than ever he was into his Caſtle of *Blois*, as divers of the Nobleſt men of the Country have informed me. And the three firſt dayes he might have gone thither in ſafety, for when *Novarre* was taken, the Duke of *Milans* whole force lay yet at *Nom* near to *Aſt*, and returned not to *Milan* till the fourth day after. But, *I* ſuppoſe, the Duke believed not all the intelligence he received thence.

[1] The French Corrector ſuppoſeth it ſhould be *Mortara*, but the Author himſelf afterward chap. 14. calleth it *Mortron*. *Garretier* hath it *Mortier*.

[2] The Duke of *Orleans* immediately after the ſkirmiſh upon the Sea at *Rapalo*, fell ſick of an Ague and returned to *Aſt*, and paſſed no further with the King. Two Gentlemen called *Opizins* brought the Duke of *Orleans* into *Navarre*, *Gatt.*

CHAP. IV. *How King* Charles *passed divers dangerous Straights in the Mountains between* Pisa *and* Serzane. *How the Town of* Pontreme *was burned by his Almains: and how the Duke of* Orleans *behaved himself in the mean time, at* Novarre.

YOu have heard already of the Kings departure from *Sene* to *Pisa* and of all that he did at *Pisa*. Thence he removed to *Luques*, where the Citizens honourably received him, and there he abode two dayes. Afterward he marched to *Petrosancte* (which *Entragues* held) making no account of his enemies, neither himself, nor those that carried all the credit with him. He passed marvellous Straights in the Mountains between *Luques* and *Petrosancte*, which a handful of footmen might easily have defended against him: but our enemies were not yet assembled. Near to the said *Petrosancte* is the Straight of *Sejere* on the one side, and the Straight of *Roctaille* on the other, being great deep salt marishes, where we were forced to passe over a narrow way, like to a Causey in a standing pool: And this was the Straight that between *Pisa* and *Pontreme* I most feared, and which was reported to be most dangerous: for one Cart set overthwart the way with two good peeces of Artillery, and but an handful of men, might have stopped our passage, had our force been never so great. From *Petrosancte* the King removed to *Serzane*, where the Cardinall Saint *Peter ad Vincula* offered to make *Genua* revolt, and desired to have some part of the Kings forces sent thither. The matter was debated by the Kings Councill, my self being present at it, in the company of a great many wise men and good Captains: all the which concluded that no ear should be given to this enterprise, because if the King obtained the Victory, *Genua* would yield of it self; and if he were overthrown it could do him no service: and this was the first time, that I perceived any of them to doubt the battell. Report was made to the King of our resolution; yet notwithstanding thither he sent the Lord of *Bresse* afterward Duke of *Savoy*, the Lord of *Beaumont*, the Lord of *Polignac* my Brother in Law, and the Lord of *Ambeion* of the House of *Amboise*, with six-score men of Arms, and five hundred crosse-bow men newly come out of *France* by sea. But I wonder that so young a Prince had no trusty Servants about him, that durst boldly tell him, into how great danger he put himself, by diminishing his force after this sort: For as touching me, me thought, he believed not all that I said.

We had a small Army upon the Sea, returning from *Naples*, under the leading of the Lord of *Myolens* Governour of *Daulphine*, and one *Stephen de Neves* of *Montpellier*. They were in all about eight Gallies, and sailed to *Specie* and *Repalo*, where at this present they were all defeated, and led prisoners to *Genua*, in the self same place, where he had vanquished King *Alphonses* forces at the beginning of this voiage, and by the self-same men that took part with us at that battell, namely Master *John Lewis de Fliseo*, and Master *John Adorn*: but if the matter had been well ordered, they should have been with the King, and all little enough. The Lord of *Bresse* and the Cardinall abovementioned, went and lodged in the Suburbs of *Genua*, supposing that their faction within the Town would have risen in their favour. But the Duke of *Milan* and the *Adornes* that governed the Town, and Master *John Lewis de Fliseo* (a wise Knight) had given so good order to prevent this mischief, that our men were in great danger to be defeated here also, as the others were before upon the Sea: for their number was smal, and had it not been, because the Faction that ruled at *Genua* durst not issue forth of the Town, for fear lest the Fourgouses should rebell, and shut the Gates upon them, undoubtedly they had all been slain; for this notwithstanding, they were in great distresse upon the way as they retired to *Ast*: Besides that, they were not at the Battle with the King, where their service might have stood him in great stead. From *Serzane*, the King marched to *Pontreme*, through the which he was forced to passe, because it is the very entry into the Mountains. The Town and Castle were well fortified, and the seat of them marvellous strong, but within them were not above three or four hundred

dred

dred Footmen; for if they had been well manned they had been impregnable. Wherefore Frier *Jeroms* prophesie proved true, which was, that God would lead the King by the hand till he were out of danger: for it seemed that his enemies were blinded, and bereft of their wits, in that they defended not this Straight. To the said place of *Pontreme*, the King sent his Vaward led by the Marshall of *Gie*, accompanied with Master *John James* of *Trevoul*, whom the King had received into his service at *Naples* after King *Ferrandes* departure thence, with whom he was then in pay: he was a Gentleman of *Milan*, of a good House, a good Captain, a very valiant man, and great enemy to the Duke of *Milan*: for he was banished by him when King *Ferrande* received him into his service. By the said Master *John James* his means, the place yielded immediately without battery, and the Garrison that was within it departed. But a great inconvenience hapned there: for (as before is mentioned) when the Duke of *Milan* passed last thatway, they of the Town, and certain of our Switzers fell at variance (of whom about forty at that time were slain) for revenge whereof the said Switzers at this present (notwithstanding the composition) slew all the men they found in the Town, spoiled it, and burnt both victualls and all that was within it, and above ten also of themselves being drunk, neither could the Marshall *Gie*, by any means make them to retire. They besieged the Castle also, meaning to have donethe like to those that were within it, being the said Master *John James* of *Trevoules* servants, whom he had put into it, when the Garrison of the enemies yielded it neither would the said Almains depart thence, till the King himself sent to them. It was great pity that the Town was thus destroyed, both because of the dishonour we received thereby, and also because there was great plenty of victualls within it, whereof we were already in great distresse[1]: notwithstanding that the people were no where against us, save onely the people of the Country near to *Pontreme*, because of the harms we did there, Now to proceed: if the King would have followed the said Master *John James* his advice, divers places of the Dutchy of *Milan* would have yielded, and divers Gentlemen of the Country have revolted to him: for he gave him counsell to reare up in every place the young Dukes Arms, whom the Lord *Lodonick* held in his hands, being Son to *John Galeas* the Duke that last died at *Pavia*, as before you have heard. But the King refused so to do, for the favour he bare to the Duke of *Orleans*, who pretended, and doth yet pretend title to the said Dutchy. Thus marched the King beyond *Pontreme*, and lodged in a little valley near to a village, that had not ten houses in it; the name whereof I know not. There he abode five dayes upon no occasion, his Army being almost famished, and his Battle lying thirty miles beyond his Vaward, in the midst of Huge and sharp Mountains, over the which such great cannons and culverins passed then, as never had passed before. For Duke *Galeas* in his time conveyed over but four Faulcons, weighing not past five hundred pound a peece, which was a great wonder in those dayes.

[1] The cause of their lack was the barrenness of the country.

I must now return to the Duke of *Orleans*, who after he had taken the Castle of *Novarre* stayed there a few days to no purpose, and then went to *Vigesne*, near to the which were two little Towns that sent unto him, offering to receive him; but by wise advice, he refused their offer. They of *Pavia* sent also twice to him to the same end, and them he should not have refused. Moreover, he marched in order of Battell before the said Town of *Vigesne*, where the Duke of *Milans* whole force lay, being led by the two Brethren of Saint *Severin*, so often abovenamed. The Town is hardly so good as Saint *Martin-de-Cande*, which is not worth six pence. My selfe arrived there not long after, at which time the Duke of *Milan* being there with certain of his Captains, shewed me the place, where both the armies had stood in order of Battell hard by the Town and within the Town. And if the Duke of *Orleans* had marched but an hundred spaces further they had retired beyond the River of *Thesin*; for they stood hard by the River side, and had built a great Bridge of Boats over it. Moreover, I saw them at my being there, beat down a great Bulwark of earth, which they had made on the other side of the river to defend the passage; whereby it appeared, that they were fully minded, if the Duke had marched forward, to abandon both the Town and Castle, which had been much to their disadvantage. This is the place where the Duke of *Milan* useth most to reside, and sure it is seated in the pleasantest country for all kind of pastime, especially hauking and hunting, that ever I saw. But peradventure the Duke of *Orleans* thought the place strong where his enemies lodged, and himself to have passed far enough: wherefore he retired to *Trecas*, the Lord whereof (who had charge under the Duke of *Milan*) and my self com-

communed together of theſe affairs, a few dayes after. To the ſaid Town of *Trecas* certain of the principall of *Milan* ſent to the Duke of *Orleans*, promiſing to receive him into the Town, and offering, for performance thereof, to deliver their children in hoſtage. Which their enterpriſe, they might eaſily have executed, as divers of great authority being then within the Town, and acquainted with all theſe practiſes, have advertiſed me: ſaying that the Duke of *Milan* could not have found men enough to have defended the Caſtle of *Milan* for him, becauſe both nobles and people deſired the deſtruction of this Houſe of *Sforce*. The Duke of *Orleans* alſo, and his men have enformed me of theſe practiſes abovementioned; but they had no great affiance in thoſe that negotiated with them, and they lacked a man that underſtood theſe affairs better then themſelves: whereunto I alſo adde, that the ſaid Dukes Captains were not all of one opinion, as touching this enterpriſe. With the Duke of *Milans* forces joyned two thouſand Almains, whom the King of Romans ſent thither, and a thouſand Dutch horſemen, under the leading of Maſter *Frederick Capelare*, born in the County of *Ferrette*. Their arrivall ſo much encouraged Maſter *Galeas* and his Company, that they went before *Trecas* to preſent the battell to the Duke of *Orleans*, who refuſed it (notwithſtanding that his force were greater then theirs) becauſe his Captains, as I ſuppoſe, would not hazard the Battell, fearing leſt the loſſe thereof ſhould be the Kings deſtruction, of whom they could hear no news, becauſe the paſſages were all ſtopped; wherefore they retired to *Navarre*, giving no order for their proviſion of victuals, no not for the preſervation of the ſtore they had within the Town already, much leſſe for any new ſupply, whereof notwithſtanding they might plentifully have been furniſhed at that time in the country about, without money; whereas afterward they were greatly diſtreſſed, through their own folly. To conclude, their enemies came and lodged within half a league of them.

CHAP. V. *How the Kings great artillery paſſed the Mounts* Appenines, *by the* Almains *help; of the danger the Marſhall of* Gie *was in with his Vaward: and how the King arrived at* Fornove.

YOu have heard, how the King upon no occaſion lay in a Valley on this ſide *Pontreme* five dayes together, in great diſtreſſe of victuals. Our Almains did there one great peece of Service: for thoſe that commited the foul fault at *Pontreme* above mentioned, fearing that they had thereby procured themſelves the Kings indignation for ever, came and offered to paſſe the artillery over theſe monſtruous wayes in the Mountains, for ſo may I well term them, becauſe they were ſo high and ſteep, that there lay no beaten way over them. I have ſeen all the higheſt Mountains both of *Italy* and *Spain*, which undoubtedly are not comparable to theſe. The Almains made this offer upon condition that the King would pardon their fault, which he promiſed to do. We had fourteen great and maſſie pieces of Artillery, and immediately after we were out of the Valley, we mounted up ſuch a marvellous ſteep and upright hill, that our mules could hardly clime up to it. But theſe Almains coupled themſelves two and two together with ſtrong cords, and drew a hundred or two at a time, and when one company was wearied a freſh ſucceeded. Beſides this all the horſes appointed for the conveiance of Artillery helped them, and every man of the Kings Houſe, that had any train, lent a horſe to convey it over with the more ſpeed: but had it not been for the Almains, the Horſes would never have paſſed it over. To ſay the truth, they conveyed over not the Artillery onely, but the whole army: for had it not been for them, there could not a man have paſſed. But it is no marvell, if they drew with good courages, becauſe thereby they paſſed as well themſelves as us, whereof they were no leſſe deſirous then we. They did much harm I confeſſe, but their good ſervice far ſurmounted their evill deeds. The greateſt difficulty was not to draw up the artillery; for when they are at the top of the Mountain, they might behold a great deep Valley underneath, for the way is ſuch as nature hath made it, and by art it was never holpen. Wherefore undoubtedly the difficulty was much greater in conveying the Artillery down

down than in drawing it up; for both horſes and men were forced to draw countermount at the tale of every peece: beſides that, Carpenters and Smiths were continually working upon them, for when a peece fell, great trouble it was to hoiſe it up again. Many gave adviſe to break all the great artillery, but the King would in no wiſe agree thereunto.

The Marſhall of *Gie*, who lay with our Vaward thirty miles before us, preſſed the King to make haſte: but it was three days before we could joyn with him. The enemies Camp lay directly in his face, within half a league of him, who, in my opinion, ſhould have had a good booty if they had aſſailed him. Afterward he lodged in the Village of *Fournove* to keep them from aſſailing us in the Mountains, for the which purpoſe the Village ſerved well, becauſe it is at the foot of the Mountains, and the very entry into the Plain. Notwithſtanding we had a better protector than him, I mean, God, who put another conceit into our enemies heads: for ſo great was their covetouſneſſe, that they reſolved to tarry us in the plain, to the end none of us ſhould eſcape, ſuppoſing, if they had aſſailed us in the Mountains, that we would have retired to *Piſa*, and the Florentines places that we held. But therein they were much deceived, for we were too far from thoſe places; beſides that, if our forces and theirs had joyned and fought, they might have perſued, as faſt as we could have fled, eſpecially, knowing the country, better than we: hitherto in all this voiage we had no war: but now it began. For the Marſhall of *Gie* advertiſed the King that he was paſt the Mountains, and had ſent forty light horſe to give an Alarm to the enemies camp thereby to diſcover their actions, who were incontinent encountred by the Eſtradiots[2], the which ſlew a Gentleman of ours named *le Beauf*, and cut off his head and hung it at one of their launces, and carried it to their Proviſors to receive a ducat for it. Theſe Eſtradiots are ſouldiers like to the Turks Janizaries, and attired both on foot and horſeback like to the Turks, ſave, that they wear not upon their heads ſuch a great Role of Linnen, as the Turks do, called *Tolliban*. They are rough ſouldiers, for both they and their horſes keep the fields winter and ſummer. They were all Greeks, come from the places that the Venetians held there; ſome from[3] *Naples* in the Country of *Morea*; ſome out of *Albany*, and ſome from *Duras*. Their horſes are all excellent good, for they are all Turkiſh. The Venetians uſe their ſervice much and truſt them well. I ſaw them all when they landed at *Venice*, and muſtred in an Iſle, wherein the Abbey of Saint *Nicholas* ſtandeth: they were to the number of fifteen hundred, and are valiant men and trouble an Army exceedingly with their Alarms, when they are diſpoſed ſo to do. Theſe Eſtradiots followed the chaſe even to the Marſhalls lodging, and entered into our Almains camp, of whom they ſlew three or four, and carried their heads away with them, for ſuch is their manner. Becauſe, when the Venetians were in war with the Turk *Mahomet Otheman* this Turks Father, that now reigneth, he commanded his men to take no priſoners, but gave them a ducat for every head, and the Venetians did the like: which manner, I think, they now uſed the more to terrifie us, as indeed they did. But the ſaid Eſtradiots, were no leſſe daunted themſelves with our artillery: for one faulken ſhot ſlew one of their horſes, whereupon they retired incontinent, for they underſtood not the feat of artillery: but in their retreat they took a Captain of our Almains priſoner, who was mounted on horſeback to ſee if they retired. He was ſtricken through the body with a Launce, for he was unarmed. He was a wiſe fellow, and they led him to the Marqueſſe of *Mantua*, Generall of the Venetians army, being then accompanied with his Unkle the Lord *Rodolph* of *Mantua*, and the Earl of *Cajazze* Captain of the Duke of *Millans* forces, who knew this Captain that was taken very well. Now you ſhall underſtand that our enemies whole force, was abroad in order of Battell[4], at the leaſt all that was aſſembled: for all their forces were not yet come together, notwithſtanding that they had lain there eight dayes, making their muſters; ſo that the King had leaſure enough to have returned into *France* without all danger, had it not been for the long abode he made to no purpoſe in the places above rehearſed. But God had otherwiſe diſpoſed of this buſineſs.

The ſaid Marſhall fearing to be aſſailed, encamped upon the Mountain, having with him onely eight ſcore men of Arms and eight hundred Almains, as he told me himſelf: and as touching us, we could not have ſuecoured him; for it was a day and a half after, before we could joyn with him becauſe of our Artillery[5]. The King lodged by the way at two young Marqueſſes Houſes. Our Vaward lay upon the hill in great fear waiting

[2] For you heard before, how eaſily without blows they entred into *Naples*: It ſeemeth that this word is derived of the Greek, for στρατιώτης in Greek ſignifieth a ſoldier.

[3] This *Naples* is a Town in *Morea* or *Peloponneſus* under the Venetians government, called in times paſt *Nauplia*, and now *Neapolis Romaniæ*.

[4] For they were come forth of their campe with intent to have aſſailed the Marſhall.

[5] Underſtand this day and a halfe after he lodged upon the mountain, not after his firſt arrival there: for from his firſt coming it was three dayes before the King joyned with him, as he ſaid a little before.

waiting hourly when their enemies (who ſtood in order of Battle, a pretty way from them in the plain) would aſſail them; but God, who alwayes manifeſtly declared, that he would preſerve our Company, took away our enemies ſenſes from them: for the Earl of *Cajazze* aſked our Almain, who it was that led this Vaward, and how great our force was, for he knew our number better than our ſelves, becauſe he had been with us all the Summer. The Almain made the force great, and reported them to be three hundred men of Arms, and fifteen hundred Switzers: whereunto the Earl anſwered that he lied, alledging that in the whole army, were but three thouſand Switzers, and that it was unlike we would ſend the half before with the Vaward. Then this Almain was ſent Priſoner to the Marqueſſe of *Mantua*'s Pavilion, and they conſulted whether they ſhould aſſail the Marſhall or no. But the Marqueſſe, crediting the Almains report, alledged, that their Footmen were not able to match our Almains, and that part of their force was not yet arrived, without the which they ſhould do amiſſe to fight. Adding further, that if they ſhould happen to be diſcomfited, the Seniory might juſtly be diſpleaſed: wherefore he liked better to tarry for us in the plain, ſeeing we could paſſe no way but juſt before them: of which opinion were alſo the two Proviſors, againſt whoſe advice they durſt not fight: but others ſaid, that if this Vaward were defeated, the King muſt of neceſſity be taken: notwithſtanding in the end they agreed all to tarry for us in the plain, truſting that not one of us ſhould eſcape. All this I underſtood by the parties themſelves abovenamed: for after the battell we and they met together, and the Marſhall of *Gie* and my ſelf had great communication with them about theſe affairs. Thus they retired into their Camp, being well aſſured, that within a day or two the King would paſſe the Mountains, and lodge in the Village of *Fournove*. In the mean time all the reſt of their Forces arrived, and we could not paſſe, but hard before them: ſo ſtreight and narrow was the way. When we came down the Mountains, we beheld the champaign country of *Lombardy*, which is the pleaſanteſt, beſt, and fruitfulleſt ſoil in the World, But notwithſtanding I call it champaign; yet it is very troubleſome for horſemen, becauſe it is full of ditches like to *Flanders*, yea fuller *I* think; but withall it is much pleaſanter and plentifuller both of good corn, good wines, and fruits, for their grounds bear every year. We were right glad to behold it, becauſe of the great famine and penury, we had ſuſtained in our journey ever ſince our departure from *Luques*. But our Artillery tired us exceedingly as we came down the hill, ſo ſteep and painful was the way. Our enemies camp was well furniſhed of tents and Pavilions, which made it ſhew marvellous great, and ſure ſo it was: for the Venetians had performed their promiſe made to the King by me, which was that they, and the Duke of *Millan* would put forty thouſand men into the field; at the leaſt, if they performed it not fully, they failed not much thereof: For in this Army were five and thirty thouſand taking pay, four parts of five being of Saint *Marke*[6].

They were at the leaſt two thouſand men of Arms barded every one of them accompanied with four men on horſe-back, bearing croſſebows, or ſome other other weapon[7], their Eſtradiots or light horſemen were to the number of five thouſand, the reſt were footmen, and they lodged in a ſtrong place well fortified, and well furniſhed with Artillery.

The King came down the Mountain about noon, and lodged in the Village of *Fournove*, upon *Sunday*, being the fifth of *July*, the year 1495. We found in the Village great plenty of meal, wine, and provender for horſes, brought thither by the people of the Country, who received us friendly every where (for no honeſt man did them harm) and victualled us with bread and wine, and ſome fruit, whereby they ſomewhat eaſed the Army: but their Bread was little and Black, and they ſold it dear, and three parts of their wine was water. My ſelf cauſed ſome of their Victuals to be bought for me, which notwithſtanding *I* durſt not taſte of, becauſe we ſuſpected they meant to poyſon us, ſo that at the firſt no man durſt adventure to eat of them; and the ſuſpition increaſed, becauſe two Switzers were found dead in a Celler, having drunk themſelves to death, or taken cold after they had drunk But before midnight the horſes began firſt to feed, and afterwards the men and then we refreſhed our ſelves well. I muſt here ſpeak ſomewhat in the honor of the *I*talian Nation, becauſe we never found in all this voiage, that they ſought by poiſon to do us harm; yet if they would, we could hardly have avoyded it. We arrived at *Fournove* (as you have heard) upon *Sunday* at noon: the King lighted and ate and drank a little, to refreſh himſelf, but a number of Gentlemen there were, that hardly could get a morſell of bread, for there was ſmall ſtore of other victuals than ſuch as we found in the place, whereof till midnight (as before you have heard) none of us durſt taſte.

[6] That is to ſay, of the Seniory of *Venice*, which have S. *Marke* for their Patron

[7] He ſaith lib. 7 cap. 5. and ſaith alſo again in this Book cap. 15. that the Italians men of Arms were allowed no Archers: but note that this that the Venetians did here was contrary to the ancient manner of *Italy*, and that they did it to imitate the French.

Imme-

Immediately after dinner, certain of their Estradiots came and gave us a hot alarm, even within our Camp. Our men were as yet unacquainted with them, for the which cause all our Army came forth into the field in very good order, and in three battels, vaward, battel, & rereward, the one being not above a bowls cast from the other, so that each of them might with speed have succoured the other: but in the end this hot alarm proved nothing, wherefore we returned to our Lodging. We had a few tents and Pavilions, and our camp lay in length avancing it self towards theirs: besides that there was a wood through the which the enemies might come under covert almost to us[s], by means whereof twenty of their Estradiots might easily give us alarm at all times, and so *I* warrant you they did, for they lay continually at the end of our Camp. We encamped in a Valley, between two little hills, through the which ran a River, that a man might easily passe over on foot, unlesse it happen to arise as it doth often upon a sudden, in that Country, but the waters tarry not long; the Rivers name is *Taro*. All the said Valley is gravell and great stone, very troublesom for horsemen, and not above a quarter of a league broad. Upon the hill on the right hand lay our enemies (hardly halfe a league from us) so that we were forced to passe just before them, the River running between us: for notwithstanding that on the backside of the hill on the left hand (underneath the which we encamped) there lay another way that we might have taken, yet would we not so do, least we should seem to fly, but encamped in the valley, at the foot of the said hill, in the face of our enemies. Those in our Camp that were of the wiser sort began now to fear, in such sort that about two dayes before, they had desired me to go and parley with the enemies, taking one with me to view them; and to number how great their force was. *I* was loath to take this journey upon me, because without safe conduct I could not go in safety. Wherefore I answered, that both at my departure from *Venice*, and the same night also that I arrived at *Padua*, *I* was entered into good intelligence with their Provisors, so that I thought they would not refuse to commune with me in the midway between both the Armies: but if *I* should offer my self to go to them, I should thereby too much encourage them; adding further that this matter was moved too late. Notwithstanding, the self same *Sunday* that the King arrived at *Fournove*, I writ to their Provisors (one of the which was named Master *Luques Pisan*, and the other Master *Melchior Trevisan*) desiring them, that under safe conduct, one of them would come and parley with me according to their offer, made at our departure from *Padua* (as before you have heard) They answered, that they would willingly have satisfied my request, if the war had not been begun upon the Duke of *Milan*: notwithstanding they promised, that one of them (whether of the twain should be appointed) would come to some place in the midway to commune with me, if we so thought good; which answer, I received the same *Sunday* at night: but those that had all the credit with the King made no account thereof. As touching my self, I durst not take too much upon me, nor presse the matter too earnestly, lest they should charge me with cowardise: wherefore I waded no further in it that night; notwithstanding that I would withal my heart have helped the King and his Army out of that straight, if I might have done it without danger.

About midnight, the Cardinall of Saint *Malo*, whose Pavilion was hard by mine, told me, as he came from the King, that we should depart the next morning, by break of day, and that the King would command a cannon to be shot into the enemies Camp, as we passed along by them, to signifie, that he was there ready to present them battle, and so march forward without any more to do. And, I suppose, that this advice proceeded from the Cardinall himself, as a man unable to talke of the wars, neither understanding what they meant. But it had been requisite, that the King should have assembled the wisest men, and best Captains in his Army, to debate so a weighty matter, as this was: and yet perhaps that should have been but to small purpose neither; for, I saw, many matters debated in this voiage, that were executed clean contrary to the resolution. I answered the Cardinal, that, if we approached so near them, as to shoot into their camp, undoubtedly men would issue forth on both sides to the skirmish, the which could never be retired without battle: alledging further, that this was clean contrary, to that I had already begun with their Provisors, and it grieved me, that we should take this course: but such had mine Estate been ever since the beginning of the Kings Reign, that I durst not wade too far in any matter, lest I should have procured my self the displeasure of them, that were in authority about him, which was so great, where he liked, that it was but too great.

The self same night, we had two other great Alarms, all through our own fault, because we had given no order against their Estradiots, as we ought to have done, and the use is to do

[s] The Kings camp lay among fallowes & willows, *Aquat.*

[t] Of the seate of both the camps, read *Guicciar.* fol. 38 pag. 2.

do in the wars againſt light horſemen: for twenty of our men of Arms, with their archers, would have matched two hundred of them; but they were as yet ſtrange to us. There fell alſo this night a terrible rain, and ſuch lightning and thundring, as was never ſince the world began: ſo that heaven and earth ſeemed to go together, or that this foreſhewed ſome great inconvenience to enſue. For notwithſtanding, that we knew well, that the reverberation of theſe great Mountains (at the foot of which we lay) made this thunder ſeem greater than indeed it was; and further, that thunder and lightning be natural in a hot country, eſpecially in Summer; yet ſeemed they at that preſent the more dreadfull and terrible to us, becauſe we ſaw ſo many enemies encamped before us, we having none other means to paſſe through them, but by batteli, our force being ſo ſmall as it was; for we were not above nine thouſand able men good and bad; of the which, two thouſand were Noble mens ſervants of the camp; but I comprehend not in this number pages nor ſtraglers, nor ſuch kind of people.

CHAP. VI. *Of the Battel of* Fournove, *wherein the the enemies of* France *were put to flight; and how the Earl of* Petilane, *who the ſame day brake the Kings Priſon, rallied them together again.*

THe *Monday* morning about ſeven of the clock, being the ſixt day of *July*, the year of our Lord 1495, the noble King mounted on horſeback calling often for me. At my comming to him I found him armed at all peices, and mounted upon the braveſt horſe, that ever I ſaw, called *Savoy*, which ſome ſaid was a horſe of *Breſſe*. Duke *Charles* of *Savoy* gave him to the King: he was black, and had but one eye, and of a mean ſtature, but tall enough for him he carried; this young Prince ſeemed that day altogether another man, than either his Nature, Perſon, or Complexion would bear: for naturally he was, and yet is, very fearfull in ſpeech becauſe he had ever been brought up in great awe, and with men of mean eſtate: but this horſe made him ſeem great, and he had a good countenance, and a good colour, and his talke was ſtout and wiſe: whereby appeared (as I then called to mind) that Frier *Jerome* told me truth, when he ſaid, that God would lead him by the hand, and that he ſhould have ſomewhat to do upon the way, but that the honour thereof ſhould be his. His words to me were theſe; if theſe men will parliament, go and commune with them, and becauſe the Cardinall was there preſent, he named him to accompany me, and the Marſhall of *Gie*, who was out of patience, becauſe of a broil, that had hapned between the Earls of [1] *Narbonne* and *Guiſe*, the which *Guiſe* ſometime had led certain bands, and ought of right to have led the Vaward [2], as all men ſaid. I anſwered the King, that I would do his commandement, but that I never ſaw, two ſo great forces ſo near together, depart without battell.

Our whole army marched forth upon the plain in good order, the one battell near to the other, as the day before: but as touching the force it ſeemed but an handfull, to that I had ſeen with Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy*, and King *Lewis* this Kings Father. Upon the ſaid plain, the Cardinal and I withdrew our ſelves aſide, and endited a letter to the two Proviſors abovenamed, the which was written by one Maſter *Robertet* a Secretary of the Kings, and in good credit. The contents of our Letter were, that it appertained to the ſtate and office of the Cardinal to procure peace, and unto me alſo having ſo lately been an Ambaſſadour at *Venice*; for the which cauſe, I might as yet take upon me the Office of Mediator between the King and them. We ſignified further to them on the Kings behalf, that he would but paſſe forth his way without doing harm to any man: wherefore if they minded to parlament, according to the order taken the day before, we, for our parts, were willing thereunto, and would imploy our ſelves to do all the good we could. The ſkirmiſhes were already begun round about us, and after our Army had marched a while, ſoftly paſſing along before them, the River running between them and us (as you have heard) we approached ſo near to them, that we came within a quarter of a league of their Camp, within the which they ſtood all in martiall array: for their manner is, to make their Camp ſo large, that they may all ſtand in order of Battle within it.

They ſent forth incontinent part of their Eſtradiots, and croſſebowmen on horſeback, and certain men of Arms, the which came along upon the way almoſt under covert, towards the

[1] Vicount of *Narbonne*, *Ferron*.

[2] Rereward after the French Corrector, the leading whereof *Jovius* giveth to two that ſtrave for it. *Ferron*, and our Author to *Narbonne* (otherwiſe called Earl of *Foix*) alone. *Annal. Franc.* to Monſieur *de la Trimoille* Vicount *de Touars* and to Monſieur *de Guiſe*, but it appeared lib. 7. cap. 13. when the King thought to have fought with Dom *Ferrand* at Saint *Germain*, that Monſieur *de Guiſe* led the vaward, ſo that I know not, how it is beſt here to be read.

the village of *Fournove*, (out of the which we were departed) meaning there to passe this little River, and to assail our carriage, which was so great, that, I think, it laded above 6000 mules, horses, and Asses. They had set their battels in such order many days before they fought, that better they could not be ordered: for they were so placed, that their great number half assured them of the victory, because they assailed the K. and his Army on every side, in such sort that not one of us could have escaped, if we had been broken, considering the straight we were in. Those abovementioned came and assailed our carriage, and on the left hand came the M. of *Mantua*, the L. *Rodolph* his uncle, and the E. *Bernardin* of *Dalmouton*, with all the flowre of their Army, being to the number of 600 men of Arms, as themselves afterward confessed, all the which entred into the plain directly behind us. Their men of Arms were all barded, and furnished with brave plumes and goodly bourdonasses, and wel accompanied with crossebowmen on horseback, Estradiots, and footmen. Against the Marshall of *Gie* and our Vaward, marched the Earl of *Cajazze* with four hundred men of Arms (accompanied as the others abovementioned) and with a great band of footmen: with him also was another company of two hundred men of Arms, led by Master *John de Bentivoille* of *Bolonia* his son, a young man, who before had never seen the Wars, for they were, as slenderly provided of good Captains as we. This young *Bentivoille* was placed there to give anew charge upon our Vaward, immediately after the Earl of *Cajazze* had charged it. With the Marquesse of *Mantua* was also the like company of men of Arms for the same purpose, under the leading of Master *Anthony* of *Urbin* Bastard to the late Duke of *Urbin*. Besides these there remained yet in their camp two great troops of men of Arms, as I understood the next day by themselves, when they and I communed together, and I saw them also with mine eyes. And this they did, because the Venetians would not hazard all at once, nor unfurnish their Camp. Notwithstanding in my opinion it had been better for them to have adventured their whole force, seeing they meant to fight.

Bourdonasses were hollow horsemens staves used in *Italy*, cunningly painted: our Author himself in this chapter describeth them at large.

I will now tell you what became of the Letter the Cardinall and I sent to their Camp by a Trumpeter. The Provisors received it, and, immediatly after they had read it, brast forth the first Peece of our Artillery, then shot theirs, which was not so good as ours. The said Provisors incontinent sent back our Trumpeter, accompanied with a Trumpeter of the Marquesses, who brought word, that they were content to parlament, if we would cause our Artillery to cease, saying that they on their sides would do the like. I was then a great way from the King, who rid about here and there, and sent back these two Trumpetters, with answer, that he would make the Artillery to cease, and gave commandment to the Master of the Ordnance to stay the shot, and so all ceased a while on both sides. But soon after upon a sudden they discharged one of their pieces, then shot ours again freshlier than before, and we approached three of our peeces nearer to them. After the two trumpeters were arrived at their camp, they took ours and sent him to the Marquesses Pavilion, resolving to fight. For the Earl of *Cajazze* (as those that were present have informed me) said that it was now no time to parlament, seeing that we were halfe vanquished already; and one of their Provisors was of his opinion, and agreed to fight (as I have heard himselfe report) but the other would not consent thereunto. The Marquesse in like manner desired the battell, but his Unckle, who was a vertuous and wise Gentleman, and loved us well, and bare Armes against us with an evill will, withstood it to the uttermost of his power; but in the end they agreed all to fight.

Now you shall understand, that the King had put his whole force into his Vaward, in the which were three hundred and fifty men of Arms, and three thousand Switzers (the onely hope of our Army) with whom he commanded three hundred Archers of his guard to joyn themselves on foot, and likewise certain crossebowmen on horseback of the two hundreth that were also of his guard, which was a great diminishing of the safety of his Person. In our Army were but few footmen, besides these; for all that we had, were placed in the vaward. On foot with our Almains were the Lord *Englebert*, Brother to the Duke of *Cleves*, *Lornay*, and the Bailiffe of *Digeon*, the said Almains Captain, and before them marched our Artillery. Here, they whom we left in the Florentines places, and those that were sent to *Genua* would have done good service, contrary to the opinion of all men. Our Vaward had now marched almost as far as their Camp, so that all men thought they should have begun the Battell: but our two other battels were not so near it, nor so well placed to have succoured it, as the day before. Further because the Marquesse of *Mantua* (who was entered into the plain and past the River) was directly upon our backs, about a quarter of a league behind our rereward, marching with his force softly and

closse

cloſe together, which was a marvellous pleaſant ſight to behold; the King was forced to turn his back to his Vaward, and his face towards his enemies, and ſo to approach nearer to his Rereward, and retire from his Vaward. I was then with the Cardinall attending an anſwer of our Letter; but I told him, I perceived it was no time to ſtay any longer there: wherefore I departed, being hard by the Switzers, and went to the King. But before I could come to him, I loſt a Page, who was my coſin Germain, and a Groom of my Chamber, and a lackey that followed a pretty way behind me, ſo that *I* ſaw not when they were ſlain.

I had not ridden above an hundred paces, when ſuddenly a cry began to ariſe in the ſelf ſame place from whence I was departed, or but little beyond: for you ſhall underſtand, that their Eſtradiots at this very inſtant came to our carriage, and entered into the Kings Lodging, where were three or four houſes, in the which they ſlew or hurt four or five ſouldiers, but the reſt eſcaped; they ſlew alſo about an hundred of our ſtraglers, and put our carriage in great diſorder. When I came to the King, I found him dubbing of Knights, but becauſe the enemies were at hand we cauſed him to ceaſe, and then I heard the Baſtard of *Bourbon* named *Mathew* (who was in good credit with the King) and one *Philip de Moulin* (a poor Gentleman but very valiant) call the King, ſaying, Paſſe forth, Sir, paſs forth: whereupon he went into the front of his Battell, and placed himſelf before his ſtandard, ſo that (the Baſtard of *Bourbon* excepted) I ſaw none nearer the enemies than himſelf. Our enemies marched luſtily forward, in ſuch ſort that within leſſe than a quarter of an hour after my arrivall, they were come within an hundred paces of the King, who was as ill guarded, and as ill waited on as ever was Prince or Nobleman; but mauger the Devill he is well defended, whom God defends. And ſure, the Propheſies of the Reverend Father Frier *Jerome* proved true, who told me (as before you heard) that God led him by the hand. His Rereward ſtood upon his right hand being recoiled ſomewhat from him; and the neareſt Company to him on that ſide, was the Duke of *Orleans* Company, being to the number of fourſcore launces, led by *Robinet* of *Frainezelles*, and Monſieur *de la Trimoilles* Company being about forty launces, and the hundred Scottiſh Archers of his Guard, who thruſt themſelves into the preſſes as men of Arms. My ſelf ſtood upon the left hand, with the Gentlemen Penſioners, and Servants of the Kings houſe. This Rereward, was led by the Earl of *Foix*: But as touching the names of the other Captains, I paſſe them over for brevity.

Within a quarter of an hour after my arrivall, the enemies being ſo near the King, as you have heard, charged their ſtaves and began a ſoft gallop. They were divided into two troops; one of the which, charged the two companies of our horſemen, and the Scottiſh Archers ſtanding on the Kings right hand; and the other the King himſelf; ſo that both they and the King were charged almoſt at one inſtant: we that ſtood upon the left hand charged them on the flank greatly to our advantage; and undoubtedly it is impoſſible, for men to meet roughlier than we met. But the Eſtradiots who accompanied them, ſeeing our Mules and carriage fly towards our Vaward, and their Companions † get all the booty, turned their horſes that way and forſook their men of Arms, that by means thereof were unfollowed; whereby it manifeſtly appeared that God meant to preſerve us: for if theſe fifteen hundred light horſemen had broken in amongſt us, with their Cemeters (which are terrible ſwords like to the Turks) undoubtedly we had been defeated, our number being ſo ſmall. The Italian men of Arms, immediately after they had broken their ſtaves fled, and their footmen or the greateſt part ſhrunk aſide, and fled alſo. At the ſelf ſame time that they charged us, the Earl of *Cajazze* alſo gave a charge upon the Vaward, but they met not ſo roughly as we: for at the very inſtant they ſhould have couched their ſtaves, they began to faint and diſordered themſelves in ſuch ſort, that fifteen or twenty of them being ſcattered amongſt our bands, were taken and ſlain by our Almains; the reſt were but eaſily purſued: for the Marſhall of *Gie* endeavoured to keep his forces together, becauſe he ſaw yet a great troop of enemies not far from him. Notwithſtanding part of his men followed the chaſe, and part of the E. of *Cajazzes* men that fled paſſed over the place, where the Marqueſſe and we had fought, with their ſwords in their hands, for they had thrown away their ſtaves. But they that aſſailed the King fled immediately after they had charged, and were marvelloufly ſwiftly purſued, for we all followed the chaſe: part of them took the way to the Village, from whence we were departed, the reſt fled the next way to their campe, we all purſued them ſave the King, who ſtaied behind with a few men, and put himſelf in great danger, becauſe he followed not after them with us. One of the

† By their companions he meaneth the Eſtradiots that had aſſailed the Kings carriage at the firſt.

firſt

firſt that was ſlain of their ſide was the Lord *Rodolph* of *Mantua*, unkle to the Marqueſſe, who ſhould have ſent word to the abovenamed Maſter *Anthony* of *Urbin*, when he ſhould march; for they thought that this Battle would have indured as their Battels in *Italy* do; which their error ſerved the ſaid Maſter *Anthony* for a good excuſe: but, to ſay the truth, I think, he ſaw enough to ſtay him from marching. We had a great number of ſtraglers, and ſervants following us, all the which flocked about the Italian men of armes, being overthrown, and ſlue the moſt of them. For the greateſt part of the ſaid ſtraglers had their hatchets in their hands, wherewith they uſed to cut wood to make our lodgings, with the which hatchets they brake the Viſards of their head peeces, and then clave their heads, for otherwiſe they could hardly have been ſlain, they were ſo ſurely armed; ſo that there were ever three or four about one of them. Moreover, the long ſwords, that our Archers and and ſervants had, did that day a great execution. The King tarried upon the place were the charge was given, accompanied with ſeven or eight young Gentlemen, whom he had appointed to attend upon him, for neither would he follow the chaſe, neither retired to his Vaward, becauſe it was ſomewhat far off. He eſcaped well at the firſt encounter, conſidering that he was one of the formoſt, for the Baſtard of *Bourbon* was taken within leſſe then twenty paces of him[s], and led Priſoner to the enemies campe.

[s] *Annal. Franc.* write that this Baſtard *Mathen*, Monſieur *de Ligny*, and Monſieur *de Pienes*, were armed like to the King and continually about him.

The King abode in the ſaid place marvellous weakly accompanied: for he had with him not a man more then one Groom of his chamber called *Anthony de Ambus*, a little fellow, and ill armed: the reſt were ſcattered here and there, as himſelf told me at night even in the preſence of thoſe, that were appointed to wait upon him, who deſerved great reproach, for leaving their Prince in ſuch eſtate. Notwithſtanding they arrived in time, for a certain ſmall broken troop of Italian men of Arms paſſing along upon the plain (where they law no man ſtirring) came and aſſailed the King, and this Groom of his chamber: but the King being mounted upon the braveſt horſe in the world for a man of his ſtature, removed to and fro, and defended himſelf valiantly: and at that very inſtant certain of the reſt of his men being not far from him arrived, whereupon the Italians fled, and then the King followed good advice and retired to his Vaward, which had never moved out of the place they firſt poſſeſſed. Thus the King with his battel had good ſucceſſe: and if his Vaward had marched but one hundred paces further, our enemies whole Army had fled. Some ſaid, they ought ſo to have done, but others held opinion, that they did beſt to ſtay.

Our company, that followed the chaſe, purſued the Enemies hard to their Camp, which lay in length almoſt as far as *Fournove*, and not one of us received a blow ſave *Julian Bourgneuf*, whom I ſaw fall dead to the Ground with a ſtroke that an Italian gave him, as he paſſed by (for he was ill armed): whereupon certain of us ſtayed, ſaying let us return to the King, and with that word all the whole troop ſtood ſtill to give their horſes breath, which were very weary, becauſe they had chaſed a great way, and all upon ſharp ſtones. Hard by us, fled a troop of thirty men of Arms, whom we let paſſe quietly, fearing to aſſail them. When we had breathed our horſe, we rid forth a faſt trot towards the King, not knowing what was become of him, but a while after we deſcried him a far off. Then cauſed we our ſervants to light on foot, and gather up the launces, wherewith the place lay ſtrawed, eſpecially with bourdonaſſes, which where not much worth, for they were hollow, and hardly ſo weighty as a javelin, but trimmely painted, and by this means we were better furniſhed of launces then in the morning. Thus as we rid towards the King, by the way we met a broken band of the enemies footmen croſſing over the field, being of thoſe that had lain hid among the Hills, and had led the Marqueſſe of *Mantua* upon the Kings back: many of them were ſlain, and the reſt eſcaped and waded through the River, and we ſtayed not long about them. Divers of our men cried often during the whole conflict, remember *Guyenegate*, which was a battell loſt in *Picardy*, in the time of King *Lewis* the eleventh, againſt the King of Romans[t], through the felly of our men, who fell to ſpoil the enemies carriage; notwithſtanding in that battell no whit of their carriage was taken or ſpoiled: but in this their Eſtradiots took all our carriage horſes, of which notwithſtanding they led away but five and fifty, being the beſt and beſt covered; namely, all the Kings and all his chamberlains. They took alſo a Groom of the Kings Chamber called *Gabriel*, who had about him the ancient jewels of the Kings of *France*, which he then carried with him, becauſe the King was there in Perſon. True it is, that a number of Coffers were alſo loſt, but they were overthrown and ſpoiled by our own men, for we had in our camp a great many varlets and harlots, that ſtripped the dead bodies, and ſpoiled all that they could come by, but as touching the enemies, they took onely thoſe above rehearſed

[t] Of this battle he writeth, lib 6. cap. 6.

hearſed There were ſlain on both ſides, (as I have been credibly enformed, both by them, and certain of our own men) to this number. We loſt *Julian Bourgneuf*, the Serjeant porter of the Kings houſe, a Gentleman of the Kings houſe, and nine Scottiſh Archers, of horſemen of our Vaward to the number of twenty, and about our carriage three or fourſcore horſe-keepers. And they loſt three hundred and fifty men of Arms, ſlain upon the place; but not one of them was taken priſoner; which chance, I think, never hapned before in any battell. Of theſe Eſtradiots few were ſlain, for they turned all to the ſpoil, as you have heard. There dyed of them in all three thouſand and five hundred men, as divers of the beſt of their Army have informed me: others have told me more, but ſure they loſt many Gentlemen: for I ſaw my ſelf a Role, wherein were the names of eighteen Gentlemen of good Houſes, and among them four or five of the Marqueſſe's own name, which war *Gonzague*; beſides the which, the Marqueſſe loſt alſo at the leaſt threeſcore Gentlemen of his own dominions, all the which were horſemen, and not one footman among them. It is ſtrange that ſo many were ſlain with hand ſtrokes; for as touching the Artillery, I think, it ſlew not ten on both ſides. The fight indured not a quarter of an hour, for ſo ſoon as they had broken or thrown away their launces, they fled all: the chaſe continued about three quarters of an hour. Their battels in *Italy* are not fought after this ſort, for they fight ſquadron after ſquadron, ſo that a battel indureth there ſometime a whole day, neither party obtaining victory.

The flight on their ſide was great, for 300 of their men of Arms, and the greateſt part of their Eſtradiots fled: ſome to *Rege* (being far hence) and others to *Parma*, being about eight leagues off[a]. In the morning, the very ſame hour that the two Armies joyned, the Earl of *Petillane and* the Lord *Virgile Urſin* eſcaped from us. The ſaid *Virgile* went but to a Gentlemans houſe thereby, where he remained upon his word; but the Earl fled ſtraight to our enemies: and to ſay the truth, we did them both great wrong, to lead them with us after this ſort. The Earl, being a man well know among the Souldiers (for he had alwayes had charge, both under the Florentines, and under King *Ferrand*) began to cry *Petillane, Petillane*, and ran after them that fled about three leagues, ſaying that all was theirs, and calling them to the ſpoil, by the which means, he brought back the greateſt part of them, and put them out of all fear, aſſuring them upon his word, that there was no danger, ſo that had it not been for him alone, their whole Army had fled: for the word of ſuch a man newly departed from us, was no ſmall ſtay to them. The ſaid Earl (as himſelf hath ſince told me) gave advice to aſſail us again the ſame night, but they would not hearken thereunto: the Marqueſſe hath alſo ſince communed with me of theſe affairs challenging this advice as his: but, to ſay the truth, had it not been for the Earl alone, they had all fled the ſame night.

When we were come to the King, we diſcovered a great number of men of Arms, and footmen, ſtanding yet in order of Battell without their camp, whoſe heads and launces onely we could deſcry. They had ſtood there all the day, and never moved from that place, notwithſtanding they were further from us than they ſeemed: for they and we could not have joyned without paſſing the River, which was riſen, and roſe hourly, becauſe all the day it had thundered, lightned, and rained terribly; eſpecially during the battell and the chaſe. The King debated with his Captains, whether we ſhould aſſail theſe new diſcovered enemies or not: with him were three Italian Knights, one named Maſter *John James* of *Trevoul*, who is yet living; and behaved himſelf that day like a worthy Gentleman; another Maſter *Francis Secco* a valiant Knight, in pay with the Florentines, and of the age of threeſcore and twelve years; and the third, Maſter *Camilo Vitelly*, who with his three brethren was in ſervice with the King, and came unſent for, from *Civita de Caſtello*, as far as *Serzane* (which is a great journey) to be at this Battell: but perceiving, that he could not overtake the King with his Company, he came himſelf alone. Theſe two latter gave advice to march againſt theſe enemies newly diſcovered: but the Frenchmen were of a contrary opinion, ſaying, that they had done enough, and that it was late and time to make their Lodgings. But the ſaid Maſter *Francis Secco* maintained ſtoutly his opinion, ſhewing people that paſſed to and fro upon the high way, that leadeth to *Parma* (the neareſt Town that the enemies could retire into) whom he affirmed to be enemies flying thither or returning thence, and indeed he ſaid true, as we underſtood afterward; and ſure both his words and countenance ſhewed him to be a hardy and a wiſe Knight. For all their Captains confeſſed to me (yea ſome of them before the Duke of *Milan* himſelf) that, if we had marched forward, they had all fled; by means whereof, we ſhould have obtained the goodlieſt, honourableſt, and profitableſt victory, that had hapned in ten years before: for

if

[a] Underſtand not *Rege* in *Calabria*, but *Rege* near to *Parma* called in Latin *Regium Lapidi*; and I doubt me the unskillful corrector at the firſt printing of the work chopped in this parentheſis, ſuppoſing the Author to mean *Rege* in *Calabria*, wherefore I had rather leave the parentheſis out.

[b] The french corrector ſuppoſeth this number to be alſo corrupted.

if a man could have uſed it well, have made his profit of it, have behaved himſelf wiſely and entreated the people gently; the Duke of *Milan*, by the ſpace of eight dayes after, ſhould not have had any one place to hold for him in his Country, except the Caſtle of *Milan*, yea and I doubt of that too: ſo deſirous were his Subjects to rebell. The like would alſo have happened to the Venetians, ſo that the King ſhould not have needed to care for *Naples*: for the Venetians ſhould not have been able to levy a man out of *Venice*, *Breſſa*, and *Cremone*, which is but a ſmall town, becauſe all the reſt, that they held in *Italy*, would have revolted. But God had performed that which Frier *Jerome* promiſed, to wit, that the honour of the Field ſhould be ours: for, conſidering our ſmall experience, and evill government, we were unworthy of this good ſucceſſe that God gave us, becauſe we could not then tell how to uſe it: but, I think, if at this preſent, which is the year of our Lord 1497, the like Victory ſhould happen to the King, he could tell better how to make his profit thereof.

While we ſtood debating of this matter the night approached, and the band of our enemies, which we ſaw before us, retired into their Camp, and we for our part went and lodged about a quarter of a league from the place of the battle. The King himſelf lay in a Farm-houſe, being an old beggerly thing: not withſtanding the barns about it were full of Corn unthreſhed, which, I warrant you, our Army quickly found. Certain other old houſes there were alſo which ſtood us but in ſmall ſtead: every man lodged himſelf as commodiouſly as he could; for we had no lodgings made. As touching my ſelf, I lay upon the bare ground, under a vine in a very ſtraight Room, having nothing under me, no not my Cloak, for the King had borrowed mine in the morning, and my carriage was far off, and it was too late to ſeek it. He that had meat eat it, but few there were that had any, unleſſe it were a morſell of bread, ſnatched out of ſome of their Servants boſoms: I waited upon the King to his Chamber, where he found certain that were hurt, namely the Seneſchall of *Lyons* and others, whom he cauſed to be dreſſed. Himſelf was merry and made good chear, and each man thought himſelf happy that he was ſo well eſcaped: neither were we puffed up with pride and vain-glory, as before the battle, becauſe we ſaw our enemies encamped ſo near us. The ſame night all our Almains kept the watch, and the King gave them three hundred crowns; whereupon they kept the watch very diligently, and ſtrake up their drums bravely.

CHAP. VII. *How Monſieur* d' Argenton *went himſelf alone to parly with the enemies, when he ſaw that thoſe that were appointed to go with him would not go: and how the King returned ſafe and ſound with his Army to the Town of* Aſt.

THE next morning, I determined to continue our treaty of peace, deſiring nothing more then the Kings ſafe paſſage. But I could get never a Trumpeter to go to the enemies Camp; partly becauſe nine of theirs were ſlain in the battle being unknown, and partly becauſe they had taken one of ours, and ſlain another, whom the King (as you have heard) ſent to them a little before the battle began: notwithſtanding in the end one went and carried the Kings ſafe conduct with him, and brought me one from them to commune in the mid way between both the Armies, which I thought a hard matter to be brought to paſſe; but I would not ſeem to draw back nor make difficulty therein. The King named the Cardinal of Saint *Malo*, the Lord of *Gie* Marſhall of *France*, and the Lord of *Pienues* his Chamberlain, to accompany me: and they named of them, the Marqueſſe of *Mantua* Generall of the Venetians Army, the Earl of *Cajazze*, (who not long before had taken part with us, and was Captain of the forces the Duke of *Milan* had there) and Maſter *Luques Piſan*, and Maſter *Melchior Treviſan* Proviſors for the Seniory of *Venice*. We approached ſo near them that we might eaſily diſcover them four upon the plain. The River ran between us and them, which was riſen exceedingly ſince the day before: on their ſide there was not one man without their camp but themſelves onely, neither any on of ours, but only we and our watch, which ſtood over againſt them. We ſent a herauld to them to know whether they would paſſe the River, whereunto I thought it a hard matter to perſwade either party, for I ſuppoſed both parties

would make difficulty therein, as well appeared by them: for they anſwered, that the place of Communication was appointed in the mid way between both the Armies, and that they were come already more than the half way: wherefore they would not paſſe the River, nor put themſelves in ſuch danger, being all the principall of their Army. They alſo of our ſide alledged the like doubts, making no leſſe account of their perſons, than the others. Wherefore they willed me to go to them, giving me no inſtructions for my direction: I anſwered that I would not go alone, but would have ſome body with me, to teſtifie of all that ſhould be done. Wherefore being accompanied with one Maſter *Robertet* the Kings Secretary, and a Servant of mine own, and a Herault, I paſſed the River: for notwithſtanding that I well perceived, I ſhould do no good, yet thought I by this means to acquit my ſelf towards them, being come thither by my procurement. When I came to them, I told them they were not come half the way, according to their promiſe, wherefore I deſired them, at the leaſt to come to the Rivers ſide, aſſuring my ſelf, that if we were once ſo nigh together, we ſhould not depart without communication. They anſwered, that the River was ſo broad, and ran with ſo great violence and noiſe, that no talk could be heard from the one ſide to the other; wherefore they would go no nearer to Parlament, neither could I by any means bring them one foot further: but they willed me to make ſome Overture, which I had no commiſſion to do. Wherefore I anſwered, that alone I could do nothing; but if they would propound any conditions of Peace, I would make report thereof to the King. While we were in this communication one of our Heraults arrived, who brought me word that the Lords abovenamed, that had accompanied me were ready to depart, and willed me to make what Overture I thought good; which I refuſed to do, becauſe they underſtood further of the Kings pleaſure than I did: for they were nearer him than I was, and had alſo talked with him in his ear, at our departure: notwithſtanding, as touching theſe affairs which I now ſpeak of, I underſtood what was to be done in them as well as the beſt of them. The Marqueſſe of *Mantua* entered into great communication with me of the battle, and asked me (if he had been taken) whether the King would have ſlain him. I anſwered, no; but have entertained him well, alledging that he had good cauſe to love him, ſeeing the honour he had wone by his aſſailing him. Then he recommended unto me the priſoners we had, eſpecially his Unkle the Lord *Rodolph*, whom he ſuppoſed to be yet living; but I knew well the contrary: notwithſtonding I anſwered, that all the priſoners ſhould be well intreated; and recommended in like manner to him the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, whom they had taken. Small entertainment would ſerve all the priſoners we had; for we had none, which I ſuppoſe never hapned before in any battle. But the ſaid Marqueſſe loſt there of his Kinſmen to the number of ſeven or eight, and of his own company, at the leaſt ſixſcore men of Arms. This talk being ended I took my leave of them, ſaying, that before night I would return again; whereupon we made truce till Night.

At my return to the King with the ſaid Secretary, they asked me what news, and the King ſate in counſell in a poor Chamber, where nothing was concluded, but each man beheld other. The King talked with the Cardinall in his ear, and afterward bad me return again to the enemies to ſee what they would ſay. But becauſe this Communication of peace proceeded of me, the enemies looked, that I ſhould make ſome Overture and not they. Afterward the Cardinall bad me conclude nothing; but that ſpeech was needleſſe, for I was not like to conclude any thing, becauſe they gave me no direction: notwithſtanding I would not reply to the Kings commandment, nor break off my journey; for beſides that I was ſure to do no harm, I was in ſome hope to gather ſomewhat by our enemies countenances, who undoubtedly were more afraid then we, & haply might paſſe ſome ſpeeches that would turn to both the parties good. Wherefore I took my journy thitherward, & came to the Rivers ſide almoſt at night, where one of their Trumpeters met me, & advertiſed me that the four abovenamed ſent me word to paſſe no further that night, becauſe their Watch was already ſet, being altogether of Eſtradiots, who knew not one man from another. Wherefore I might happily endanger my ſelf, if I paſſed further: notwithſtanding the Trumpeter offered to tarry with me all night, to the end he might convey me thither the next morning: but I ſent him back again, ſaying, that the next morning I would return to the Rivers ſide, where I willed him to tarry for me; or if the King ſhould otherwiſe determine, I promiſed to ſend thither an Herauld to advertiſe them thereof; for I would not bring this Trumpeter into our Camp, partly becauſe I would not have him privy to our Actions there that night; and partly becauſe I knew not what the King meant to

do

do, for I saw whispering in his ear, which put me in some doubt, wherefore I returned to advertise the King what I had done.

Every man supped with what he could get, and slept upon the ground. Soon after midnight I repaired to the Kings Chamber, where I found his Chamberlains ready to mount on horseback, who told me, that the King would depart with all speed towards *Ast*, and the Marchioness of *Montferrat's* territories, willing me to stay behind to hold the parlament, according to my promise: But I made my excuse, saying, that I would not willingly kill my self, but be on horseback with the formost. Soon after the King arose and heard Masse, and mounted on horseback. Not past an hour before day a Trumpeter sounded *Bonguet*, but at our dislodging nothing was sounded, neither needed it; for every man was in a readinesse. Notwithstanding this was sufficient to have put the whole army in fear, at the least those that were acquainted with the wars: for besides this we turned our backs to our enemies, seeking wholly our own safety; which is a dangerous matter in an Army. Further, the wayes, at our departure from our lodging, were very cumbersome, in such sort that we were forced to march over Mountains, and through woods, and by-wayes, for we had no guides to lead us: My self heard the Souldiers ask the Ensign-bearers, and him that executed the office of Master of the Horse, where the guides were, who answered that there were none; to say the truth we needed none: for as God alone had guided the Army at our going forth, even so (according to Frier *Jeromes* Prophesie) meant he to do at our return. otherwise it is not to be thought, that such a Prince would have ridden in the Night without a guide, in a place where enow might have been had. But God shewed yet a manifester token, that he meant to preserve us, for our enemies understood nothing of our departure till the afternoon, but waiting for this parlamenting I had began: besides that, the River was risen so high, that it was four of the clock at afternoon before any man durst adventure over to follow us, and then passed the Earl of *Cajazze* with two hundred Italian light horse, in such danger, because of the force of the water; that one or two of his men were drowned, as himself afterward confessed. We travelled over hills and through woods, and were constrained by the space of six miles to march one by one after another in the narrow wayes, and then came we to a goodly large plain; where our Vaward, Artillery, and Carriage lay; which seemed so great a band a far off, that at the first we stood in fear of them, because Master *John James* of *Trevoul's* ensign was square and white, like to the Marquesse of *Mantua's* the day of the Battell. The said Vaward was in like manner afraid of our Rereward, which they saw a far off forsake the high way to come the next way to them, whereupon both they and we set ourselves in order of battle: but this fear soon ended, for the scouts issued forth on both sides, and discovered one another incontinent. From thence we went to refresh us at *Bourg Saint Denis*, where we our selves made an Alarm of purpose to retire our Almains out of the Town, least they should have spoiled it. Thence we removed and lodged all night at *Florensole*, the second night we encamped near to *Plaisance*, and passed the River of *Trebia*, leaving on the other side of the River two hundred launces, all our Switzers, and all the Artillery except six peeces, which the King passed over with him. For he had given this order, to the end he might be the better and more commodiously odged, thinking to command them to passe at his pleasure, because the River is commonly very shallow; especially at that time of the year: notwithstanding about ten of the clock at night it arose so high, that no man could passe over it, neither on horseback nor on foot, neither could the one company have succoured the other, which was a great danger, considering how near our enemies were to us. All that night both they and we sought to have remedied this mischief, but no help could be found till the water fell of it self, which was about five of the clock in the morning, and then we stretched cords from the one side to the other to help over the footmen, who waded in the water up to their necks: immediately after them passed also our horsemen and our Artillery. This was a sudden and dangerous adventure, considering the place where we were, for our enemies lay hard by us, I mean the Garrison of *Plaisance*, and the Earl of *Cajazze*, who was entred in thither, because certain of the Citizens practised to put the Town in the Kings hands, under the title of the young Duke Son to *John Galeas*, Duke of *Milan* that last died, as before you have heard. And undoubtedly if the King would have given ear to their practise, a great number of Towns and Noblemen would have revolted by Master *John James* of *Trevouls* means: but he refused so to do, because the favor he bore the Duke of *Orleans* his Cousin, who was already entred into *Novarre*; although to say the truth on the other side he desired not greatly to see his said

Cosin so mighty, wherefore he was well content to let this matter passe as it came. The third day after our departure from the place of the Battle, the King dined at Castle Saint *John*, and lodged all night in a Wood. The fourth day he dined at *Voghera*, and lay that night at *Pontcuron*. The fifth day he lodged near to *Tortone*, and passed the River of *Scrivia*, which *Fracasse* defended with the Garrison of *Tortone*, being under his charge, for the Duke of *Milan*. But when he understood by those that made the Kings Lodging, that he would onely passe without doing harm to any man, he retired again into the Town, and sent us word that we should have as great plenty of victuals, as we would; which promise he also performed: for all our Army passed hard by the Gate of *Tortone*, where the said *Fracasse* came forth to welcome the King, being armed, but accompanied onely with two men: he excused himself very humbly to the King, that he lodged him not in the Town, and sent out great store of victuals, which refreshed well our Army, and at night came also himself to the Kings Lodging. For you shall understand, that he was of the House of Saint *Severin*, Brother to the Earl of *Cajazze* and Master *Galeas*, and had not long before been in the Kings service in *Romania*, as you have heard. From thence the King removed to *Nice de la Paille* in the Marquisate of *Montferrat*, whereof we were right glad, because we were then in safety, and in our friends countrey. For these light horsemen, that the Earl of *Cajazze* led, were continually at our backs, and travelled us marvellously the three or four first days, because our horsemen would not put themselves behind to make resistance: for the nearer we approached to the place of safety, the more unwilling were our men to fight; and some say such is the nature of us Frenchmen. Wherefore the Italians write in their Histories, that the French men at their arrivall are better than men; but at their return worse than women. The first point undoubtedly is true: for they are the rougheſt men to encounter with in the world, I mean the horsemen: but all men at their return from an enterprise, are lesse couragious then at their departure from their houses. Now to proceed, our backs were defended by three hundred Almains, having among them a great band of harquebusiers on foot, with whom also a number of Harquebusiers on horseback were joyned: these made their Estradiots being but few in number, to retire. Further notwithstanding that their whole Army, which had fought with us, marched after us as fast as they might, yet could they not overtake us, both because they were departed from the place of the battle a day after us; and also because of their barded Horses, so that we lost not one man upon the way. The said Army never came within a mile of us; wherefore seeing they could not overtake us, and peradventure not being greatly desirous so to do, they marched straight towards *Novarre*, whither both the Duke of *Milan* and the Venetians had sent certain bands, as before you have heard. But if they could have overtaken us near to the places of our retreat, peradventure they might have sped better then in the valley of *Fornove*.

I have shewed before sufficiently in divers places, how God guided this enterprise; but yet for further proose thereof a word or two more. You shall understand therefore, that notwithstanding that from the day of the battle til our arrival at the said place of *Nice de la Paile*, the lodgings were unorderly and unequally made; yet every man lodged with patience as commodiously as he could, without strife or contention, of victuals we had great lack: notwithstanding they of the countrey brought us some, who might easily have poisoned us if they would, both in their meats and wines, and also in their wells and waters, which were dried up sometimes in a moment, because they were but small springs. If they had minded to have poisoned them, they would sure have done it; but because they did it not, it is to be thought that our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ took from them all desire to do it. I saw such thirst in our army, that a number of footmen drunk of stinking puddles in the Villages through the which we passed. Our journies were long and our drink foul standing water, which notwithstanding our men were so greedy of, that they ran into the pools up to the girdlestead to drink. For you shall understand that a number of people followed us, being no men of war, because our carriage was marvellous great. The King departed from his Lodging every morning before day, and I remember not that ever he had guide. Moreover he rod till noon before he baited; and every man made provision for himself, and looked to his own horse, and was forced to provide provender for him, and to bear it to him in his arms, as my self did twice; and two days I ate nothing but naughty black bread: yet I was none of those that stood in most need. Sure one thing was especially to be commended in this Army, to wit, that never a man complained of necessity, yet was this the miserablest voyage that ever I savv; notwithstanding, that I have been in divers

sharp

ſharp and hard voiages vvith *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*. We marched no faſter than the great Artillery, the mending vvhereof often troubled us: beſides that, we lacked horſes to dravv it; but at all times vvhen vve ſtood in need, vve borrovved of the Gentlemen in our Army, who willingly lent theirs: ſo that there was not one peece nor one pound of powder loſt. And I think never man ſaw Artillery of ſuch greatneſſe paſſe ſo ſpeedily over ſuch places as this did. All the which diſorder, both in our lodgings, and all other things, hapned not for lack of wiſe and expert men in the Camp, but it was their chance to have leaſt credit at that time; for the King was young and wedded to his own will, as before you have heard. To conclude therefore, it ſeemed that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt would that the honor of this voiage ſhould be attributed wholly to himſelf. The ſeventh day after our departure from the place of the Battle, we marched from *Nice de la Paille*, and encamped altogether hard by *Alexandria*; our watch that night being very ſtrong. The next morning before day we departed and went to *Aſt*: the King and his houſhold lodged in the Town, but the Souldiers encamped without: we found the ſaid Town of *Aſt* furniſhed of all kind of Victuals, wherewith the whole Army was well refreſhed, which undoubtedly ſtood in great need thereof, becauſe they had endured great hunger, thirſt, and heat, and lacked ſleep; beſides that, their apparell was all tattered and torn. Immediately after the Kings arrivall thither, before I ſlept I ſent a Gentleman, called *Phillip de la Condre* (who ſometime had been my Servant, and ſerved then the Duke of *Orleans*) to *Novarre*, where the ſaid Duke was beſieged by his enemies, as you may underſtand by that which is above rehearſed: but the ſiege was not yet ſo ſtraight, but that men might paſs in and out: becauſe the enemies onely endeavour was to famiſh the Town. I advertiſed the Duke by this Gentleman, of divers treaties that were entertained between the King and the Duke of *Milan*, in one of the which my ſelf negotiated by the Duke of *Ferraraes* means; wherefore I adviſed him to repair to the King, having firſt aſſured his men, whom he ſhould leave behind him; either ſhortly to return, or bring force to levy the ſiege. Within the ſaid Town were with him to the number of ſeven thouſand five hundred Souldiers, both French and Switzers, being as goodly a band, ſo many for ſo many, as ever was ſeen. The King, the next day after his arrival was advertiſed, both by the ſaid Duke of *Orleans* and others; that the two Armies were joyned together before *Novarre*: wherefore the ſaid Duke deſired aid; becauſe his victualls daily diminiſhed; for the which, they had given no order at their firſt entry into the Town. For they might then have recovered enough in the Towns about, eſpecially Corn; and if their proviſion had been made in time and well looked to, they ſhould never have been forced to yield the Town: for if they could have held it but one moneth longer, they had come forth with honour, and their enemies departed with ſhame.

CHAP. VIII. *How the King ſent Ships to the Sea to ſuccour the Caſtles of* Naples, *and why the ſaid Caſtles could not be ſuccoured.*

AFter the King had repoſed himſelf a few dayes in *Aſt*, he removed to *Thurin*, diſpatching, at his departure from *Aſt*, one of the Stewards of his Houſe called *Peron de Baſche*, with a commiſſion to arm certain ſhips to the Sea[1], to ſuccour the Caſtles of *Naples*, which held yet for us. The ſaid *Peron* did as he was commanded, andappointed Monſieur *d' Arban* Admirall of that fleet, which ſailed as far as the City of *Pruce*[2], where (our men being within the view of our enemies) a ſudden tempeſt aroſe, which would not ſuffer the two Armies to joyn, by means whereof this Navy did no ſervice: for the ſaid *d' Arban* returned to *Ligorn*[3], where the moſt part of his men fled to land, and abandoned their ſhips. But the enemies Navy came to the Haven of [4] *Bougen* near to *Plambin*, whence it departed not the ſpace of two moneths, ſo that our men might without all danger have ſuccoured the ſaid Caſtles: for the nature of this Haven of *Bougen* is ſuch, that a ſhip cannot come forth of it, but with one wind

[1] This *Peron* was ſent to *Nice*, being a Haven Town in *Provence* to prepare this Navy.

[2] I ſuppoſe this to be ſome Haven Town not far from *Naples* or rather think it ſhould be read the Ile of *Pruſſe*, vvhereof mention is made *cap.* 14.

vvhich *Guicciar* calleth the Iſle of *Poreze*, or the Iſle of *Procida*, vvhich as *Boccace* vvriteth vvas near to the Iſle of *Iſchia*. 3. To the Iſle of *Elbe*, *Guicciar*. [4] The place is corrupted, for this Haven is aftervvard called *Bongon*: vvherefore the French Corrector readeth it (as *Blondus* and the deſcription of *Italy* led him) *Porto Barato pres Piombino*.

which bloweth ſeldome in winter. The ſaid *d' Arban* was a valiant ſouldier, and a very good Sea man[1].

[1] *Guicciar* ſaith, *Arban* was unſkilfull on the Sea, & I doubt this place to be corrupted here, and that we ſhould read for *et experimente*, *mais peu experimente*.

While the King lay at *Thurin*, divers treaties were entertained between him and the Duke of *Milan*: in one of the which the Dutcheſſe of *Savoy* was a dealer, ſhe was daughter to the Marqueſſe of *Montferrat* and a widdow, and Mother to the young Duke of *Savoy* then living. Others negotiated alſo as well as ſhe: and amongſt the reſt my ſelf laboured for concluſion of the peace, as before I have made mention, and the Confederates, that is to ſay, the Captains that were in the enemies Camp before *Novarre*, deſired to deal with me, and ſent me a ſafe conduct. But envy ever reigneth in Princes Courts; for the Cardinall ſo often abovenamed, overthrew all that I did, and would that the Dutcheſſe of *Savoyes* negotiation ſhould go forward, which was committed to the ſaid Cardinals Hoſte; who was treaſurer of *Savoy* a wiſe man and a faithfull ſervant to his Miſtreſſe. This treaty endured ſo long without effect, that in the end all hope of peace ceaſing, the Bailiffe of *Digeon* was ſent Ambaſſadour into *Switzerland* to levy there five thouſand men.

I have made mention already, how the Kings Navy that departed from *Nice* in *Provence* to ſuccour the Caſtles of *Naples*, could not ſuccour them for the reaſons there rehearſed. Wherefore the Lord of *Montpenſier* and the other Gentlemen, that were with him in thoſe Caſtles, underſtanding of this misfortune, eſpied a convenient time, when the Army, that the King left behind him in divers parts of the Realm, lay near to the ſaid Caſtles, and by help thereof ſallied forth (leaving within force ſufficient for their defence according to the proportion of their victuals, which was very ſmall) and departed themſelves, with two thouſand and five hundred Souldiers, appointing *Ognas*, and two other Gentlemen Captains of the Caſtles. The laid Lord of *Montpenſier*, the Prince of *Salerne*, The Seneſchall of *Beaucaire*, and the reſt that were with them departed to *Salerne*, for the which cauſe King *Ferrand* ſaid, that he might lawfully put to death the Hoſtages delivered to him a few dayes before; whoſe names are theſe, the Lord of *Alegee*, one called *de la March d' Ardaine*, the Lord *de la Chappelle de Anjou*, one named *Roquebertin Catelane*, and one *Genly*: for you ſhall underſtand that not paſt three months before, the ſaid King *Ferrand* was entered into *Naples* by intelligence, or rather through the negligence of our men, who underſtood of all their practiſes in the Town, and yet never ſought to countermine them But hereof *I* will write no further, becauſe I ſpeak but upon report: for notwithſtanding that I had my intelligence from the principal of thoſe that were there, yet do I not willingly diſcourſe long of any matter, that I have not been preſent at my ſelf. The ſaid King *Ferrand* being in *Naples*, was advertiſed that the King was ſlain at the Battle of *Fournove*, as were our men alſo within the Caſtle by the Duke of *Milans* Letters, to the which credit was given: notwithſtanding that they reported nothing but lies. And thereupon the Coulonnois (whoſe manner is alwaies to turn with the ſtrongeſt) revolted incontinent from us, though ſundry wayes bound to the King, as before you have heard. Wherefore our men (partly through theſe untrue reports, but eſpecially becauſe a great number of them were retired into the Caſtle, being utterly unfurniſhed of Victuals, and partly alſo becauſe they had loſt their horſes, and all their goods within the Town:) made a compoſition, the ſixth day of *October*, in the year one thouſand four hundred, ninety and five, after they had been beſieged three months and fourteen dayes, promiſing if they were not ſuccoured within a certain ſpace, to depart into *Provence*, and yield the Caſtles without making further war either by Sea or Land, upon the Realm of *Naples*; for the performance of which conditions, they delivered theſe Hoſtages above named: and yet within twenty dayes after the compoſition, departed as you have heard: for the which cauſe King *Ferrand* ſaid, that they had broken the compoſition, in that they departed without leave: and notwithſtanding that our men maintained the contrary yet were the hoſtages in great danger and not without cauſe. For although I will not deny, but that our men did wiſely to depart notwithſtanding the compoſition; yet had they done much better, if the day of their departure, they had yielded their Caſtles for their Hoſtages ſafety, and received again the ſaid Hoſtages. For the Caſtles held but twenty dayes after they were departed; partly for lack of victuals, and partly becauſe they deſpaired of ſuccours. To conclude, the loſs of the Caſtle of *Naples* was the loſs of the whole Realm.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX. *Of the great Famine and Misery the Duke of* Orleans *and his men were in at* Novarre: *of the Marchioness of* Montferrats *death, and likewise of Mounsieur* de Vendosmes: *and how after long deliberation the King enclined to peace, to save those that were besieged.*

THE King being at *Thurin* (as you have heard) and at Quiets, (whither he went sometime to solace himself) attended daily for news of the Almains, whom he had sent for, and travelled to recover the Duke of *Milan*; whose friendship he much desired, neither cared he greatly for the Duke of *Orleans* successe; who began now to be sore distressed for victuals, and wrote daily for succours, because the enemies were approached nearer the Town; besides that, their force was increased with a thousand Almain horsemen, and eleven thousand footmen, called launce Knights, levied in the King of *Romans* dominions: the horsemen being led by Master *Frederic Capelare* of the County of *Ferrette* (a valiant Knight, who had been long trained up both in *France* & *Italy*) and the Footmen by a couragious Knight of *Austrich*, called Master *George d' Abecsin*[1], the very same that took Saint *Omer* for the King of *Romans*. The King therefore seeing his enemies forces daily to increase, and that no honourable end could be made, was advised to remove to *Verceil*, there to devise some way to save the Duke of *Orleans* and his company; who (as before you have heard) had given no order at all for their victuals at their first entry into *Novarre*. And sure the Duke should have done much better, in following the advice I gave him at the Kings return to *Ast*, as before is mentioned; which was to depart out of *Novarre*, putting all that were unable to do service out of the Town, and to repair himself to the King: for his presence would much have furthered his affairs; at the least, those that he had left behind him should not have suffered such extream famine, as they did: for he would have made a composition sooner, when he had seen no remedy. But the ArchBishop of *Roven*, who had been with him in *Novarre* from the very beginning; and for the furtherance of his affairs was come to the King, and present at the debating of all matters; sent him word dayly not to depart, because shortly he should be succoured, grounding himself wholly upon the Cardinal Saint *Malo*'s promise, who had all the credit with the King: good affection caused him to write thus, but I was well assured of the contrary. For no man would return to the Battell, unlesse the King went in person; and as touching him he desired nothing lesse: for this was but a private quarrell for one Town; which the Duke of *Orleans* would needs retain, and the Duke of *Milan* needs have restored, because it is but ten leagues from *Milan*; so that of necessity one of them must have had all. For there are in the Dutchy of *Milan* nine or ten great Cities, the one near to the other. Further, the Duke of *Milan* said, that in restoring *Novarre*, and not demanding *Genua*, he would do any thing for the King. We sent meal oftentimes to *Novarre*, whereof the halfe was ever lost upon the way; and once threescore men of Arms were defeated going thither, being led by a young gentleman of the Kings House named *Chastillon*: some of them were taken, and some entred the Town, and the rest hardly escaped. It is impossible to expresse the great misery of our men within *Novarre*: for every day some died of famine, and two parts of them were sick, so that pittious Letters came from thence in cyphers, though with great difficulty. They received ever fair promises, and all was but abuse. But those that governed the Kings affairs desired the Battle, not considering that no man was of that opinion but themselves: for all the best men of war in the Army; namely, the Prince of *Orenge* lately arrived, and to whom the King gave credit in martiall affairs, and all the other captains desired to make a good end by treaty. For winter approached, we were unfurnished of money, the number of French was small, and many of them were sick; so that they departed daily some with the Kings leave, and some without leave: but notwithstanding all these inconveniences all the wise men in the Camp could not diswade those abovementioned, from sending word to the Duke of *Orleans* not to depart the Town; whereby undoubtedly they greatly indangered him. And this they did, because they trusted upon the great force of Almains

[1] All the Italians name him *Georgio di Pietrapiana*. The Author himself also afterward nameth him *Petroplane*, which variance ariseth, because the one is his firname, the other the name of his Seniory.

Almains, whereof the Bailiffe of *Digeon* assured them: to whom also certain of them sent word to bring as many as he could levy. To be short, their company was divided, and every man said and writ what him listed.

Those that would have no peace, nor meeting to treat thereof, alledged that the enemyes ought to make the first overture, and not the King: but they on the other side said, that they would not first break the ice: in the mean time the misery of our men in *Novarre* daily increased, in such sort that now their letters made mention only of those that died daily for hunger, and that they could hold the Town but ten dayes, and afterward but eight dayes, yea and once they came to three dayes, but they had first passed their day before prefixed. To be short, so great extremity hath not been seen of long time, no I am sure that an hundred years before we were born, never men sustained so great famine as they did.

In the mean time died the Marchioness of *Montferrat* (a great friend to the French) whereupon some strife arose in that country for the Government, the which on the one side the Marquesse of *Saluce* demanded, and on the other side the Lord *Constantine* uncle to the said *Marchionesse*, who was a Greek and she a Greekesse, Daughter to the King of *Servia*, but the Turk had destroyed them both. The said Lord *Constantine* had fortified himself in the Castle of *Casal*, and had in his hands the late Marquesses two Sons begotten of this wise and beautifull Lady, the which died the nine and twentieth year of her age, her eldest Son being but nine years old. Other particular men also aspired to the Government, so that great part-taking arose about that matter in our Camp. The King commanded me to go thither, and determine the controversie for the childrens safety, and to the contentation of the greatest part of the people. For he feared that this variance would make them call the Duke of *Milan* into their Country, greatly to our discontentment: for the friendship of this House of *Montferrat* stood us in great stead. I was loath to depart before I had brought into better tune those that contraried the peace: for I considered both the inconveniences above rehearsed, and also that winter approached, and feared lest these Prelates should perswade the King to adventure another battle, whose power was smal, unless great force of Swissers hapned to come, & though so many came as they vanted of; yet seemed it to me a dangerous case to put the King and his estate into their hands. Further, our enemies were mighty and lodged in a strong place, and well fortifyed. Wherefore all these points being well weighed, I adventured to perswade the King not to hazard his person and estate for a trifle. I desired him to remember the great danger he was in at *Fournove*, which could not then be avoided; because necessity forced him to fight: but now (I said) there was no such necessity. I advised him further, not to refuse a good end, because of this fond objection, that he ought not first to break the ice, for if it so pleased him, I would find means, that Overtures should be made in such sort that the honour of both parties should be saved. He bad me repair to the Cardinall; and so I did: but the Cardinall gave me strange answers, and desired the battle, assuring himself of the Victory: and further alledging that the Duke of *Orleans* had promised him ten thousand Ducats of yearly revenues for one of his Sons, if he obtained the Dutchy of *Milan*. The next day, as I went to take my leave of the King to depart to *Casal* (being distant from thence about a dayes journey and a halfe) I met with Monsieur *de la Trimoille* by the way, whom I advertised of my communication had with the King: and because he was near about him, I asked his advice whether I should presse forward the matter; whereunto he earnestly perswaded me, for all men desired to repair home. The King was in a Garden: and when I came to him, I began to perswade with him (as the day before) in presence of the Cardinall, who answered me, that it appertained to him being a Church man to be the first mover of the King to peace: whereunto I replied, that if he would not, I would. For I perceived wel, that both the King and those that were neareſt about him desired to return home. Then I took my leave, and at my departure told the Prince of *Orenge* (who had the principall charge of the Army) that if I entred into any communication of peace, I would addresse my self wholly to him. This being done I took my journey toward *Casall*, where I was well received by the whole kindred of this House of *Montferrat*, and found the greatest part of them inclined to the Lord *Constantine*; whose government was thought by them all most convenient for the childrens safety, because he could pretend no title to the succession as the Marquesse of *Saluce* did. I assembled by the space of certain dayes both the Nobles of the Country, the Spirituall men, and the Burgesses of the good Towns, and at the request of them, at least the greatest part of them, declared the Kings pleasure to be,

that

that the Lord *Conſtantine* ſhould remain Governor. For I was ſure, they would not withſtand the Kings commandement, both becauſe of the force he had then on that ſide of the Mountains, and alſo becauſe of the good affection the whole Country beareth to the Houſe of *France*.

About three dayes after my arrivall at *Caſal*, the Marqueſſe of *Mantua* the Venetians Generall, ſent the Steward of his Houſe thither to condole the late deceaſed Marchioneſſe death: for the ſaid Marqueſſe was of Kin to this Houſe of *Montferrat*. The ſame Steward and I entred into communication, how we might agree theſe two Armies, without battell: for both the parties diſpoſed themſelves to fight, and the King lay in Camp near to *Verceil*; but, to ſay the truth, he did but paſſe the River onely [a] and lodge his Camp, which was utterly unprovided of Tents and Pavilions: for our men had brought forth but few with them, and thoſe few alſo were loſt. Moreover the ground was wet, both becauſe winter approached and becauſe the Country lieth low, the King lodged in his camp but one night, and the next day returned to the Town: but the Prince of *Orenge* abode ſtill with the Army; ſo did the Earl of *Foix*, and the Earl of *Vendoſme*, who fel into a flux there, whereof he died, which ſure was great pitty: for he was a goodly gentleman, young, and wiſe, and was come thither in poſt, becauſe the bruit run that there we ſhould fight. For you ſhall underſtand, that he had not been with the King in this voiage into *Italy*. Beſides theſe the Marſhall of *Gie* abode alſo in the Camp, and divers other Captains, but the greateſt force were the *Almains*, that had been with the King in this voiage: for the Frenchmen would by no means lodge abroad, the Town being ſo near; beſides that divers of them were ſick, and many returned home, ſome with leave, and ſome without leave. *Novarre* was diſtant from our Camp ten great Italian miles, containing ſix french leagues at the leaſt, the way is cumberſome: for the ground is tough and ſoft as in *Flanders*, becauſe of ditches that are on both ſides of the way, much deeper than the ditches of *Flanders*. In winter the wayes there are very foul, and in Summer marvellous duſty. Moreover, between our Camp and *Novarre*, there was a little place which we held called *Bourg*, about a league from us, and another that they held about a league from their Camp called *Camarian*. But the waters were riſen ſo high, that a man could hardly paſſe between us and them.

[a] This River is called *Sexao*, *Guicciar* nameth it *Stefi*.

The Marqueſſe of *Mantua's* Steward abovementioned, that was come to *Caſall*, and my ſelf continued ſtill our communication of peace, and divers reaſons I alledged to him to perſwade his Maſter to ſhun the Battle. Firſt, I put him in mind of the great danger he had been in at *Fournove*: Secondarily, I told him that he fought for them that never had advanced him, notwithſtanding the great ſervices he had done them: wherefore his beſt way ſhould be to incline to peace, which I for my part promiſed to further on our ſide, as much as in me lay. He anſwered, that his Maſter deſired nothing more then peace, but that we muſt make the firſt motion thereof, as word had been ſent me heretofore; conſidering that their league, that is to ſay, that the Pope, the Kings of *Romans*, and *Spain*, the Venetians, and the Duke of *Milan*, were more worthy than the King alone. I anſwered, that to make ſuch a Ceremony about ſo ſmall a trifle, was a meer folly: notwithſtanding, if any ceremony were to be obſerved, that the King ought to have the prehemineence and honour thereof, conſidering that himſelf was there in perſon, and the others had but their Lievtenants there. But to avoid all ſuch fond cavillation, I offered, that he and I jointly as Mediators (if he ſo thought good) would break the yce, ſo that *I* were ſure his Maſter the Marqueſſe of *Mantua* would agree thereunto and proceed accordingly. Whereupon we concluded, that the next day *I* ſhould ſend a Trumpeter to their Camp, by whom I ſhould write to Maſter *Lucas Piſan*, and Maſter *Melchior Treviſan* the two Venetian Proviſors, the which are Officers appointed to conſult with their Captains, and to provide things neceſſary for their Army. According to the which reſolution, the next morning *I* writ unto them, the effect of that *I* had ſaid before to the Steward: for *I* had good colour to continue ſtill a Mediator, becauſe *I* had promiſed ſo to do at my departure from *Venice* Beſides that *I* was ſure the King deſired peace, and me thought alſo our affairs required it. Laſtly, there are ever men enough to break off a good appointment, but few that have skill and will withall to travell for the pacification of ſo great a controverſie, nor that will endure ſo many hard ſpeeches as are uſed of them that deal in ſuch affairs: for in great Armies all are not in one humour. The ſaid Proviſors were glad of theſe news, and promiſed that *I* ſhould ſhortly have anſwer of my letters: whereof forthwith they ſent word to *Venice* in Poſt, and received anſwer with great expedition from the Seniory, and not long

long after ſent an Earl, that ſerved the Duke of *Ferrara*, to our Camp. The ſaid Duke had men in their Army; for his eldeſt Son was in pay with the Duke of *Milan*, but another of his Sons with the King our Maſter. This Earls name was *Albertin*, and he pretended openly, that the occaſion of his arrivall was to viſit Maſter *John James* of *Trevoul*, with whom he had a Son in ſervice[4]. He addreſſed himſelf to the Prince of *Orenge*, according to the Stewards agreement and mine, at our departure from *Caſſall*, and adverti-ſed him that he had a commiſſion from the Marqueſſe of *Mantua*, the Proviſors, and the other Captains of their Army, to demand a ſafe conduct, for the ſaid Marqueſſe and others to the number of fifty horſes, to come and treat with ſuch, as it ſhould pleaſe the King to appoint; for they acknowledged that it was reaſon, they ſhould firſt come to the King and his Commiſſioners, and declared alſo that they would do him that honour. Afterward the ſaid Earl deſired to commune with the King apart: which his requeſt being granted; he then counſelled him not to make peace, reporting our enemies army to be in ſo great fear, that ſhortly they would raiſe their ſiege and depart: by which words he ſeemed rather deſirous to break off the treaty than to further it; notwithſtanding that his commiſſion openly were ſuch, as you have heard. At this communication Maſter *John James* of *Trevoul* was preſent; who, becauſe he was great enemy to the Duke of *Milan* would alſo gladly have broken off the treaty. But above all others, the Duke of *Ferrara* the ſaid Earl *Albertins* Maſter (being newly arrived at the Duke of *Milans* Camp, who had married his Daughter) deſired war; for he was great enemy to the Venetians, becauſe they witheld from him divers Countries, namely, the *Poleſan*, and others. After the King had communed with this Earl he ſent for me, and debated with his councell, whether he ſhould grant this ſafe conduct or not. Thoſe that would gladly have broken off the treaty, as Maſter *John James* and others (who ſpake in favor of the Duke of *Orleans*, as they pretended) deſired the battle, ſaying, that they were ſure, that their enemies would ſhortly diſlodge, becauſe they ſtarved for huuger: but the greateſt part of thoſe that gave this advice were Clergy men, who would not have been at the Battle themſelves. Divers others and my ſelf among the reſt, were of the contrary opinion, ſaying that we ſhould ſooner ſtarve for hunger than they, being in their own country. And as touching their diſlodging, we anſwered that their force was too great to flie for fear of us, and by that means to caſt themſelves away. Wherefore theſe words (we ſaid) proceeded of men, that would have us fight and hazard our lives for their particular quarrels. To be ſhort, the ſafe conduct was granted and ſent, and promiſe made, that the next day, by two of the clock in the afternoon, the Prince of *Orenge*, the Marſhall of *Gie*, the Lord of *Piennes*, and my ſelfe, ſhould meet the Marqueſſe and his colleagues between *Bourg* and *Camarian*, near to a Tower where they kept their watch, to the end we might there commune together. According to the which appointment the next day thither we went, accompanied with a great band of Souldiers: and there the ſaid Marqueſſe of *Mantua*, and a Venetian that had charge of their Eſtradiots met us[5], and gave us very courteous language; ſaying, that for their parts they deſired peace. Further, we there concluded, that to the end we might the more conveniently commune together, they ſhould ſend certain of their Commiſſioners to our Camp, and afterward the King certain of his to them: whereunto they agreed, and ſent unto us the next day on the Duke of *Milans* behalf Maſter *Franciſco Bercardin* Viſcomte, and with him one of the Marqueſſe of *Mantua's* Secretaries; with whom we above named, and the Cardinall of Saint *Malo* began to negotiate. They demanded *Novarre*, where the Duke of *Orleans* was beſieged, and we *Genua*, ſaying that it was held of the King by homage, and that the Duke of *Milan* had taken it by Confiſcation[6]. Then they made their excuſes, ſaying that they had attempted nothing againſt the King, but onely in their own defence that the Duke of *Orleans* had taken the ſaid City of *Novarre* with the Kings forces, and had firſt moved this war: and further, that they thought their Maſters would never agree to ſuch conditions, but willingly do any other thing to content the King. They were with us two dayes, and afterward returned again to their Camp, whither the Marſhall of *Gie*, Monſieur *de Piennes*, and my ſelf were ſent after them, to demand the ſaid City of *Genua*; and as touching *Novarre* we offered to deliver it to the King of Romans men, that were in their Camp, under the leading of Maſter *George de Pietreplane*, and Maſter *Frederick Capelare*, and one named Maſter *Haunce*. For we could not ſuccour it but by battle, and that we deſired not: wherefore this offer we made to diſcharge ourſelves of it with honor; for the Dutchy of *Milan* is held by homage of the Emperor. Divers Meſſengers ran to and fro between our Camp and theirs, but nothing was concluded. Notwithſtanding, I

lodged

[4] His eldeſt Sons name was *Alfonſe Guic.*

[5] This Venetians name was *Bernarde Contaren, Guicciar.*

[6] Seeing it was forfeited it ought of right to have been forfeited into the Kings hands, of whom it was held, but not to the Duke of *Milan.*

[4] He uſed this colour openly, becauſe the Venetians would not ſeem firſt to ſeek peace.

lodged every night in their Camp; for the Kings pleaſure was that I ſhould ſo do, becauſe he would break off no overture. In the end all we abovenamed returned again to them, being accompanied with the Preſident of *Gannay*, and *Morvilliers* Bailiffe of *Amiens*, which two went with us to open the Articles in Latin; for hitherto I had negotiated with them in ſuch bad Italian as I had. Our order of proceeding was this. When we arrived at the Dukes lodging, he and the Dutcheſſe came forth to receive us at the end of a Gallery, and then we entred all before him into his Chamber, where we found two long ranks of Chairs, ſet near together the one before the other; in the one of the which they ſate down, and we in the other. They ſate in this order; firſt one for the King of the Romans, then an Ambaſſador of *Spain*, then the Marqueſſe of *Mantua*, and the two Proviſors of *Venice*, and an Ambaſſadour of *Venice*, then the Duke of *Milan* and his wife, and laſt of all the Ambaſſadour of *Ferrara*: on their ſide none ſpake but the Duke alone, and of our ſide but one. But our manner is not to proceed ſo calmly nor ſo orderly as they: for we ſpake ſometimes two or three together; but then the Duke uſed to reclaim us, ſaying, ho, one to one When we came to pen the Articles, all that was agreed upon, was written by one of our Secretaries, and likewiſe by one of theirs; which alſo, at our departure the two Secretaries read, the one in Italian, the other in French, and likewiſe at our next meeting, as well to the end, that nothing ſhould be altered, as alſo for the more expedition: and ſure it is a good manner of proceeding in great and weighty affairs. This treaty endured about fifteen dayes or more: but it was agreed the firſt day, that the Duke of *Orleans* might depart out of the Town, and the ſelf ſame day we made truce, which continued from day to day till the peace was concluded. Moreover the Marqueſſe of *Mantua*[1] put himſelf in hoſtage into the Earl of *Foix* his hands, rather for his own pleaſure, than for any doubt we had of the Duke of *Orleans* perſon. But they made us firſt ſwear, that we would proceed in the treaty of peace uprightly and ſincerely without diſſimulation, only to deliver the ſaid Duke.

[1] The Marqueſs of *Mantua* put himſelf in hoſtage, becauſe the Duke of *Orleans* was to paſs thorough the Italians camp, *Guic.*

CHAP. X. *How the Duke of* Orleans *and his company were delivered by compoſition out of their great miſery in* Novarre, *where they were beſieged: and of the Switzers arrivall that came to ſuccour the King and the ſaid Duke of* Orleans.

THe Marſhall of *Gie*, accompanied with certain of the Duke of *Milans* ſervants, went to *Navarre*, and cauſed the Duke of *Orleans* with a ſmall train to come forth of the Town, whereof he was right glad. They within the Town were ſo miſerably perſecuted with famine and ſickneſſe, that the ſaid Marſhall was forced to leave his Nephew called Monſieur *de Romefort* in hoſtage with them, promiſing, that within three days they ſhould all come forth. You have heard before how the Bailiffe of *Digeon*, was ſent into *Switzerland* to levy five thouſand men among their Cantons, the which were not yet arrived, when the Duke of *Orleans* came forth of *Navarre*, for if they had, undoubtedly in my opinion we had fought. But notwithſtanding, that we were certainly advertiſed, that there came a much greater number than we ſent for: yet could we not tarry their comming, becauſe of ours mens great diſtreſſe in *Novarre*, where there died at leaſt two thouſand of famine and ſickneſſe: the reſt alſo being ſo poor and miſerable, that they ſeemed rather dead carkaſes than living creatures. And I think verily (ſetting the ſiege of *Jeruſalem* aſide) that never men ſuſtained ſuch hunger, as they did. But if at their firſt entry into the Town, they had made good proviſion of Corn (whereof they might have recovered plenty in the villages thereabout) they ſhould never have been brought to ſuch extreamity: but on the otherſide, their enemies have been forced to depart with great diſhonour.

Three or four dayes after the Duke of *Orleance* departed out of *Novarre*, it was agreed by both the parties, that all the ſouldiers ſhould likewiſe be permitted to come forth, and the Marqueſſe of *Mantua*, and Maſter *Galeas* of Saint *Severine*, Captains, the one of the Venetians, the other of the Duke of *Milans* forces, were appointed to convey them in ſafety and ſo they did. Further as touching the Town of *Novarre*, it was put into the Citizens hands, who were ſworn to receive into it neither French nor Italian, before the

treaty

treaty of peace were fully concluded. Moreover thirty of our men remained ſtill in the Caſtle, whom the Duke of *Milan* permitted to have victuals for their money from day to day. Undoubtedly a man would never believe the great miſery they were in, that came forth of the Town, unleſſe he had ſeen them. Horſes they brought forth but few, for they were in a manner all eaten, and there were hardly 600 men among them able to do ſervice, notwithſtanding there came forth 5500. A great number lay by the waies whom the enemies themſelves relieved. I for my part, for the value of a Crown ſaved fifty of them, as they lay ſuccourleſſe in a Garden near to a little Caſtle, that the enemies held, called *Cammarian*, where I cauſed porridge to be given them, which ſo well refreſhed them, that in the ſaid Garden there died but one, and afterward upon the way about four, for it was ten miles from *Novarre* to *Verceil*; whither when they arrived, the King beſtowed his charity upon them, and commanded eight hundred franks to be divided among them, and paid them alſo their wages, as well the dead as the living, and the Switzers in like manner, of whom about four hundred died in *Novarre*: but notwithſtanding all this their good cheriſhing three hundred of them died, at *Verceil* after their return, ſome by feeding too greedily after their long famine, and ſome by ſickneſſe; ſo that a great number lay dead upon the Dunghills of the Town. About this preſent, after all our men were come forth of the Town except thirty that remained in the Caſtle, (ſome of the which alſo daily ſallied forth) arrived the Switzers, eight or ten thouſand of the which came and lodged with us in our Camp, where were already two thouſand, that had been with the King in this voyage of *Naples*: the reſt of their Company being likewiſe to the number of ten thouſand encamped near to *Verceil*. The King was adviſed not to ſuffer theſe two bands to joyn together, in the which were to the number of 22000 men: ſo that, I think ſo many Souldiers of their Country were never together before. For the opinion of all thoſe that knew their country was, that they left but few able men behind them, and ſure the greateſt part of theſe came, whether we would or not, in ſuch ſort that their wives & children would have come with them, had not the ſtreights, at the entry into *Piemont* been defended to ſtop them. A man may doubt whether this their coming proceeded of good affection or no, becauſe the late King *Lewis* had beſtowed great benefits upon them, and was the cauſe of the great honour and renown they have won in the world. True it is, that there were ſome old men among them, that had born great good will to King *Lewis*: for there came a number of Captains above ſeventy two years of age, the which had ſerved againſt Duke *Charls* of *Burgundy*: but the chief cauſe of their coming was covetouſneſſe and poverty. To ſay the truth, all the able men they could levy came, and ſuch a number of tall fellows they were and ſo goodly a band, that me thought it unpoſſible to diſcomfit them, otherwiſe than by famine, or cold, or ſome ſuch diſtreſſe.

Let us now return to the principal matter, to wit, the treaty. The Duke of *Orleans* (after he had well refreſhed himſelf eight or ten dayes, being accompanied with men of all ſorts) ſuppoſing his honour to be ſtained, becauſe ſuch a number of men as were with him in *Novarre*, had ſuffered themſelves through meer folly to be brought to ſo great neceſſity, began to wiſh that we might fight and talkt very ſtoutly of the battle, and one or two more of his followers. Further, Monſieur *de Ligny*, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Roven* (who governed the ſaid Dukes affairs) and two or three other mean perſonages, ſuborned certain Switzers to come and offer themſelves to fight. But no reaſon could be alledged why we ſhould ſo do: for the Duke of *Orleans* had no men in the town, more then the thirty remaining in the Caſtle, ſo that there was no cauſe why we ſhould adventure the battle; for the King had no quarrel neither meant to fight, but only for ſaving the ſaid Dukes perſon: and his Servants, Beſides this our enemies were mighty, and it was impoſſible to aſſail them in their Camp, as well becauſe they were entrenched round about, and their trenches full of water, as alſo becauſe of the ſtrong ſeat thereof. Moreover they had no enemies to invade them, but us onely, for they ſtood now in no more fear of the Town. They were above 2800 men of Arms barded, and five thouſand light horſemen, and 11500 Almains led by good Captains, to wit, Maſter *George* of *Pietreplane*, Maſter *Frederick Capelare*, and Maſter *Haunce*, beſides great force of footmen of their own Countries ſo that they ſeemed to ſpeak but upon a bravery, that ſaid we might take them in their Camp, or that they would fly. Beſides all this, another thing there was greatly to be feared, to wit, leſt theſe Switzers if they joyned all together ſhould take the King, and the Noblemen of the Army, being but a handfull in reſpect of them, and lead them priſoners into their Country; for ſome appearance there was, that they meant ſo to do, as you ſhall hear at the concluſion of the peace.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI *How the peace was concluded between the King and the Duke of Orleans on the one side, and the enemies on the other: and of the conditions and Articles thereof.*

WHile theſe matters were thus debated to and fro among us, in ſuch heat, that the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Orenge*, fell at variance about them, ſo far forth that the Duke gave him the lye: the Marſhall of *Gie*, the Lord of *Piennes*, the Preſident *Gannay*, the Lord *Morvillier*, the Vidaſme of *Chartres*, and my ſelf, returned to the enemies Camp, and concluded peace: which, notwithſtanding, that we perceived by manifeſt tokens to be unlike long to endure: yet neceſſity forced us to conclude it, both becauſe of divers reaſons above alledged, becauſe the winter conſtrained us thereunto, becauſe we lacked mony, & alſo to the end we might depart with an honorable peace, which ſhould be ſent abroad into the world in writing, as the King had concluded with his Councill, the Duke of *Orleans* being there preſent. The Articles of the peace were theſe, That the Duke of *Milan* ſhould bear the King his Faith for *Genua* againſt all men: and that in reſpect thereof he ſhould arm two ſhips to the ſea at his own proper coſts and charges, to ſuccour the Caſtles of *Naples* which held yet for the King. And further that the next year, he ſhould furniſh the King with three ſhips, and ſerve him in perſon in the conqueſt of the ſaid Realm, if the King himſelf happened to return to conquer it again. That he ſhould give paſſage to the Kings forces. And if the Venetians would not accept the peace within two moneths, but continue to defend the houſe of *Arragon*, that then he ſhould take part with the King againſt them, and imploy his perſon and ſubjects for the Kings ſervice; under this condition, that all that ſhould be conquered of their dominions ſhould be his. That he ſhould releaſe to the King fourſcore thouſand ducats, of the hundred and four and twenty thouſand that he had lent him in his voyage. That for performance of theſe conditions, he ſhould deliver to the King two Hoſtages of *Genua*. That the Caſtle of *Genua* ſhould be put into the Duke of *Ferraras* hands, as neuter for two years, and that the Duke of *Milan*, ſhould pay the one half of the Garriſon within it, and the King the other: and further, if the ſaid Duke of *Milan* ſhould refuſe to do ſuch ſervices to the King for *Genua*, as he was bound to do by this Treaty; that then it ſhould be lawfull for the Duke of *Ferrara* to put the ſaid Caſtle into the Kings hands. Laſt of all, that the ſaid Duke of *Milan* ſhould deliver to the King two other Hoſtages of *Milan*. Theſe he delivered, and ſo would he alſo the others of *Genua*, if the King had not departed ſo ſuddenly; but ſo ſoon as he ſaw him gone, he made delayes.

This Treaty of *Veruel* was concluded the 9. of October.

After we were returned from the enemies camp, and had advertiſed the King that the Duke of *Milan* had ſworn the treaty, and the Venetians taken two months reſpite to accept or refuſe it (for more they would not condeſcend unto) the King ſware it alſo, and the ſecond day after determined to depart, being very deſirous both he and all the company to return into *France*: but the ſelf ſame night the Switzers that were in our Camp aſſembled together each Canton a part and ſtrake up their drums; ſtanding in order of battel by their Enſigns, as their manner is in their conſultations. All the which I write upon the report of *Lornay*; who was then, and long time before had been one of their Captains, and underſtandeth well their Language, and lodged that night in their Camp, and came and advertiſed the King of all theſe their actions.

Some of theſe Switzers gave advice to take the King and all his company, that is to ſay, the principal of the Army; others would not agree thereunto, but gave counſell to demand payment for three months, ſaying, that the King his Father had promiſed them this payment, as often as they ſhould depart out of their Country with Enſign diſplaied: others were of opinion to take the principall of the Army, not touching the Kings perſon. This laſt opinion took place, ſo far forth that they begun to diſpoſe themſelves to execute it, a great number of their men being ready withiu the Town: but before they had fully concluded, the King departed and went to *Trin*, a Town in the Marquiſſate of *Montferrat*. Sure they did us great wrong, to demand three months payment (whereas King *Lewis* had promiſed them but one;) eſpecially having done no ſervice. To be ſhort, in the end we made an agreement with them; but they that had been with us at *Naples*, had firſt taken the Bailiffe of *Digeon*, and *Lornay*, (who had ever been their Captains) demanding payment of fifteen dayes for their departure. But the others had three months pay, amounting to five hun-

dred thousand franks; for the which sum they were contented to take Pledges and Hostages. All this disorder happened by practise of certain of our own men, who moved them thus to do, because they misliked the peace, as one of their Captains came and told the Prince of *Orenge*, who advertised the King thereof.

When the King arrived at *Trin*, he sent the Marshall of *Gie*, the President *Ganray*, and me, to the Duke of *Milan*, to desire him to come and speak with him. We alledged many reasons to perswade him thereunto, saying that by this means the peace should be fully confirmed: but he gave forth divers reasons to the contrary and refused so to do; excusing himself upon certain speeches uttered by Mounsieur *de Ligny* (who had advised to take him prisoner, when he was with the King at *Pavia*) and likewise by the Cardinall, who had all the credit with the King. But notwithstanding, that many foolish words were indeed spoken, I know not by whom; yet sure I am, that at this present the King greatly desired his friendship. He was in a place called *Bly*, and agreed to speak with the King, so that a grate might be between them built upon a bridge over a River. Upon the return of which answer the King departed to *Quiers*, where he stayed but a night or two, and then took his journey to passe over the Mountains, and sent me again to *Venice*, and others to *Genua*, to cause the two ships to be manned, which the Duke of *Milan* was bound to lend him: but he performed no whit of what he promised; for after the King had been at great charges in arming of men to the said ships, the Duke would not let them depart; but on the contrary side sent two to our enemies.

CHAP. XII *How the King sent the Lord* Argenton *to* Venice *with certain osnaitions of peace which they refused: and of the Duke of* Milans *false dealings.*

MY ambassage to the Venetians was to know, whether they would accept the Peace, and agree to these three Articles. First to restore *Monopoly* to the King, which they had lately won from us. Secondarily to revoke the Marquesse of *Mantua*, and the forces they had in the Realm of *Naples*, from King *Ferrandes* service. Lastly, to declare King *Ferrand* to be none of their confederates, because none were comprehended in their League, but the Pope, the King of *Romans*, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Milan*. When I arrived at *Venice*, they received me very honourably, though not so honorably as at my former being there, and no marvell; for then we were in peace, but now in hostility. I did my message to the Duke, who welcomed me and told me, that shortly I should receive my answer, but that he would first consult with the Senate. Three dayes they commanded generall Processions and publike Sermons; and dealt great alms, desiring God of his Grace to direct him into the wisest course; which manner of proceeding (as I was there informed) they use ordinarily in such like cases. Wherefore I must needs confesse, that this City seemed to me the most devout, as touching matters of Religion, that ever I came in, and their Churches the best decked and trimmed; so that herein I count them equall with the ancient Romans, and am fully perswaded, that thereof springeth the greatness of their Seniory: which sure is worthy rather to increase than diminish. But to return to mine Ambassage, I abode there fifteen dayes before I was dispatched. The answer I received was a flat refusall of all my demands, with this excuse, that they were not in war with the King, neither had done any thing, but in defence of their Confederate the Duke of *Milan*, whom the King sought to destroy. Afterward, they caused the Duke to commune with me apart, who offered me a good composition, to wit, that King *Ferrand*, by the Popes consent, should hold the Realm of *Naples* of the King by homage, and pay him yearly fifty thousand ducates for tribute, and a certain sum of money presently, the which they offered to lend, meaning to have in gage for it the places, which they now hold in *Poville*, namely *Brandis*, *Otraute*, *Trani*, and the rest. And further, that for performance of these conditions, the said Dom *Ferrand* should deliver to the King, or leave in his hands certain Towns in *Poville*, they meant *Tarente* which the King yet held, and one or two more, that the said *Ferrande* should have delivered, which Towns they offered us on that side of *Italy*, because it was the furthest from us, notwithstanding that they pretended the offer to be, because they stood commodiously to invade the Turke: whereof the King had put men in great hope at his first entry into *Italy*, saying, that he attempted this conquest of *Naples*, to the end he might with the more expedition transport his forces

The Venetians having sent aid to King *Ferrand* had vvon *Monopoly*, and *Polignane*.

forces againſt the ſaid Turk, which was a wicked device, and a meer lye; for he meant nothing leſſe, but from God no man can hide his thoughts. Moreover the Duke of *Venice* offered me, that if the King would attempt any thing againſt the Turke, he ſhould have free acceſſe to theſe places above named, that all *Italy* ſhould be contributaries to the wars; that the King of *Romans* ſhould invade alſo on the otherſide, and that the King and they would govern *Italy* in ſuch ſort, that no man ſhould refuſe to pay, that he ſhould be rated at: and further that they for their parts would aid him upon their own proper coſts and charges, with an hundred gallies upon the Sea, and five thouſand horſes upon the land.

I took my leave of the Duke and the Seniory, ſaying, that *I* would make report of their anſwer to the King. Then returned I to *Milan*, and found the Duke at *Vigeſue*, and the Kings Ambaſſador with him, who was one of the Stewards of his Houſe named *Rigan Dorelles* The D. came forth himſelf to meet me, under colour of going a hunting: for they uſe there to receive Ambaſſadors with great reverence, and lodged me in his Caſtle very honourably. I deſired to commune with him apart & he promiſed that I ſhould ſo do, though half againſt his will as it ſeemed. The Caſtle of *Naples* held yet for the K. wherefore I meant earneſtly to preſſe him for the two ſhips promiſed us by the treaty of *Verceil*, the which were ready to depart, he in outward appearance ſeemed willing thereunto: But *Peron* of *Baſche* Steward of the Kings houſe, and *Stephen de Neves* (who were at *Genua* for the King) ſo ſoon as they underſtood of my arrivall at *Vigeſue*, wrote unto me, complaining of the Duke of *Milans* falſehood, who would not ſuffer the two ſhips to depart, which he had promiſed us, but on the contrary ſide had ſent two to aid our enemies. They advertiſed me further, that one day the Governour of *Genua* made them anſwer, that he would not ſuffer the ſaid ſhips to be manned with any French men, and another day that he would put into each of them but five and twenty at the moſt, with divers ſuch like diſſimulations, dallying and delaying the time till the Caſtle of *Naples* were yielded, which the Duke knew well to be victualled but for a moneth or little more; and as touching the Army, that the King levied in *Provence*, it was not able to ſuccour the Caſtle without theſe two ſhips: for the enemies lay before it with a great Navy, as well of their own as of the Venetians, and the King of *Spains*. Three dayes I abode with the Duke, and one day he ſate in Councill with me, ſeeming to be diſcontented, that I miſliked his anſwer touching the ſaid ſhips, and alledged, that by the treaty of *Verceil* he had promiſed to ſerve the King with two ſhips, but not that they ſhould be manned with French men. Whereunto I anſwered, that it ſeemed to me a very ſlender excuſe: for if he ſhould lend me a good mule to paſſe the Mountains withall, and afterwards make me lead her in my hand, and not to ride upon her, but look upon her onely, What pleaſure did he me? After much debating, he and I withdrew ourſelves into a Gallery; where I declared unto him, what great pains, both I and others had taken to conclude this treaty of *Verceil*, and into how great danger he brought us, by contrarying thus his promiſe, and cauſing the King by that means to loſe the Caſtle of *Naples*, and conſequently the whole Realm, whereby he ſhould alſo ingender perpetuall hatred between the King and him. Further, I offered him the Princedome of *Tarrente*, and the Dutchy of *Bary*, the which Dutchy he had already. Laſtly, I ſhewed him the danger he put both himſelf, and the whole eſtate of *Italy* into, by ſuffering the Venetians to hold theſe places in *Poville* [a]. And he confeſſed, that I ſaid true, eſpecially touching the Venetians: but his laſt reſolution was, that he ſhould find no faith nor aſſurance with the King.

[a] For King *Ferrand* ſince King *Charles* his departure had ingaged to the Venetians ſix Townes in *Poville* under certain conditions which are rehearſed hereafter, *cap.* 14.

After this communication, I took my leave of him, he accompanied me upon the way about a league. But even at our very departure, he deviſed yet a cunninger ly than all the reſt (if a man may uſe ſuch terms of a Prince) for becauſe I ſeemed to depart ſad and melancholick: he ſaid unto me (as a man ſuddenly altered) that he would do me a friendly turn; to the end, the King might have good cauſe to welcome me: for the next day he would ſend Maſter *Galeas* to *Genua* (more I could not wiſh when he named him to me) to cauſe the two ſhips to depart, and joyn with our Army, by means whereof he would ſave the King the Caſtle of *Naples*, and conſequently the whole Realm; as he ſhould indeed, if he had done as he promiſed. He ſaid further, that immediately after their departure he would advertiſe me thereof with his own hand; to the end, I might be the firſt man, that ſhould bring news to the King of this great ſervice that I had done him, adding alſo that the Courrier ſhould overtake me with his letters before my arrivall at *Lyons*. In this good hope departed I, and took my journy to paſſe the Mountains, thinking every Poſte, that came after me, to be the ſame that ſhould have brought me theſe letters. Notwithſtanding I doubted ſomewhat thereof, knowing the nature of the man ſo well as I did. But to proceed in my voyage: I came to

Chambery, where I found the Duke of *Savoy*, who honourably intreated me, and ſtaied me with him a day. Afterward I arrived at *Lyons* (without my Courrier) to make report to the King of all that I had done, whom I found banketing and juſting and wholly given to ſport and paſtime. Thoſe that had miſſed this treaty at *Verceil* were glad that the Duke of *Milan* had thus deluded us: for their credit increaſed thereby; but me they potted at, as in ſuch caſes is uſuall in Princes Courts, greatly to my grief and diſcontentment.

I made report to the King by mouth and ſhewed him alſo in writing, the Venetians offers above rehearſed, whereof he made ſmall account, and the Cardinall, who governed all, much leſſe. But that notwithſtanding, I moved it to him afterward again: for I thought it better to accept this offer, than to loſe all. Beſides that, the King had no men about him able to deal in ſo weighty an enterpriſe: for thoſe that were able and of experience, they that had all the credit, never or very ſeldome were called to counſell in any matter. The King would gladly they ſhould oftner have been called, but he feared to diſpleaſe thoſe that were of authority about him, eſpecially thoſe that governed his treaſure, namely, the ſaid Cardinall, and his Brethren, and Kinſmen. Wherefore let all other Princes learn by the example of this, how fit and convenient it is for themſelves to take pains in the governing of their own affairs; at the leaſt ſometimes, how requiſite it is to call more then one or two to counſell according to the variety of the Matters that are debated; and how neceſſary it is to hold their Counſellers almoſt in equall authority: for if one of them be ſo great, that the reſt fear him, (as one was both then, and ever ſince about King *Charls*) he is King and Lord in effect, and the Prince himſelf is evill ſerved; as this King was by his Governours, who ſought onely their own profit and little regarded his, whereby himſelf was the leſſe eſteemed and the worſe thought of.

: He meaneth the enterpriſe of ſuccouring the Caſtle of *Naples*.

CHAP. XIII. *How the King after his return into* France *forgot thoſe that he left behinde him in the Realm of* Naples: *and how the Daulphine died, whoſe death the King and Queen much lamented.*

REturned to *Lyons* the year 1495. the twelf of *December*, where the King was already arrived with his Army, a year and two moneths after his dedarture out of his Realm. The Caſtles of *Naples* held yet for him, as before you have heard, and Monſieur *de Montpenſier* his Lievtenant there, was yet at *Salern* in the Realm of *Naples*, with the Prince of *Salerne*: likewiſe Monſieur *d' Aubigny*, was yet in *Calabria*, where he had done great ſervice, notwithſtanding that he had been ſickalmoſt ever ſince the Kings departure. M. *Gracian des Guerres* was yet alſo in *l' Abruzzo*, Dom *Julian* at *Mont Saint Ange*, and *George* of *Sully* at *Tarente*: But they were all in greater diſtreſſe than was credible. Beſides that, they could hardly receive any news or letters out of *France*, and thoſe few they did receive, were but abuſes and fair promiſes without effect. For the King, as you have heard, diſpatched nothing himſelf: and if they had been furniſhed in time but of the ſixth part of the mony that was ſpent after ward, they had never loſt the Realm. But in the end when all was yielded, they received 40000 ducats only, for part of a years pay already paſſed: and yet if this ſmall ſum had come but one moneth ſooner, the miſeries and diviſions they afterward fell into, and the diſhonor they received, had never chanced. All the which inconveniences happned becauſe the King diſpatched nothing himſelf, neither would give the Meſſengers audience that came from them. And as touching his ſervants, to whom he committed the Government of his affairs: they were men of ſmall experience, idle, and negligent, and ſome of them, I think, had intelligence with the Pope, whereby it manifeſtly appeared, that God had now altogether withdrawn his grace from the King, which at his going to *Naples* he had poured down ſo plentifully upon him.

After the King had ſojourned in *Lyons* about two moneths, word was brought him, that the Daulphine his Son lay at the point of death, and within three dayes after that he was dead, which news he took heavily as nature would: notwithſtanding his ſorrow ſoon ended. But the Queen of *France*, and Dutcheſſe of *Brittain* called *Anne* lamented the death of her Son, a long time, as much as was poſſible for a woman to do. And I think verily that beſides the naturall grief, that women uſe to conceive in ſuch caſes, her mind gave her, that ſome greater evill hung over her head. The King her Husband (as I have ſaid) mourned not long but ſought to comfort her, by cauſing certain young Gentlemen, to daunce before her

her, of which the Duke of *Orleans* was one, being of the age of four and thirty years, who ſeemed to rejoyce at the Daulphines death, becauſe he was apparent to the Crown next after the King: for the which cauſe, the King and he ſaw not one another in a long time after. The Daulphine was about three years old, a goodly Child, bold in ſpeech, and no whit fearing thoſe things, which commonly Children uſe to fear. Wherefore (to be plain with you) his Fathers ſorrow ſoon ended: for he began already to doubt, if this child grew to years, and continued in his noble conditions, that happily he might diminiſh his eſtimation and authority: for the King himſelf was a man of very ſmall ſtature, and of no great ſenſe, but of ſo good a nature that it was impoſſible to find a gentler creature.

Hereby you may perceive in how miſerable eſtate Kings and Princes live, who ſtand in fear of their own Children. King *Lewis* the eleventh, who was ſo wiſe and vertuous a Prince, ſtood in fear of this King *Charles* his Son, but he provided well for it, and afterward died, leaving his ſaid Son King, being but fourteen years of age. The ſaid King *Lewis* alſo had put King *Charles* the ſeventh his Father in fear of him: for beingb ut thirteen years of age, he moved war againſt him, with certain Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Realm, that miſliked thoſe that bare the ſway in Court, and governed the eſtate; as King *Lewis* himſelf hath oftentimes told me, but this broil ſoon ended. Afterward alſo being come to mans eſtate, he fell at great variance with his Father, and retired himſelf into *Daulphine*, and from thence into *Flaunders*, leaving the Country of *Daulphine* to the ſaid King his Father, as I have made mention about the beginning of this Hiſtory written of King *Lewis* the eleventh. Wherefore it is manifeſt, that no creature is exempt from trouble, but that all men eat their bread in travell and ſorrow, as God promiſed us that we ſhould, ſoon after he had created man, the which promiſe he hath truly performed to all ſorts of men. But great diverſitie there is of troubles and ſorrows: for thoſe of the body are the leſs, and thoſe of the mind the greater: the ſorrows of wiſemen are of one ſort, and the ſorrow of fools of another; but much greater grief and paſſion endureth the fool then the wiſeman, and leſſe comfort receiveth he in his ſorrows, though many ſuppoſe otherwiſe. The poor man, that travaileth and toileth his body to get food to ſuſtain himſelf and his children, and payeth cuſtomes and Subſidies to his Prince, ſhould live in too great diſcomfort and deſpair, if Princes and great men had nothing but pleaſure in this world, and he nothing on the contrary ſide but travell and miſery. But God hath otherwiſe diſpoſed thereof; for if I ſhould take upon me, to rehearſe the ſundry griefs, ſorrows, and paſſions that I have ſeen divers great Perſonages ſuſtain, as well men as women within theſe thirty years onely, a great volume would hardly contain them. I mean not ſuch great perſonages as *Boccace* writeth of in his Book [1], but ſuch as we ſee abound with wealth, and live in health and proſperity; yea ſuch, as thoſe, that have not been converſant with them, as I have been, would account in all reſpects happy: but I have often ſeen their ſorrows and griefs ariſe on ſo ſmall occaſions, that they that were unacquainted with them would hardly believe it; the moſt part being grounded upon jealouſies and reports, which is a diſeaſe, that lurketh ſecretly in great Princes Courts, and traineth with it infinite miſchiefs, both to their own perſons, their ſervants, and all their ſubjects, and ſo much ſhorteneth their lives, that hardly any King of *France*, ſince *Charles* the great, hath paſſed the age of ſixty years. For the which cauſe, when King *Lewis* the eleventh approached near to that age (being ſick of this diſeaſe) he accounted himſelf a dead man. His Father King *Charles* the ſeventh, who had done ſo many noble acts in *France*, conceived an imagination in his ſickneſſe, that his ſervants went about to poiſon him, and therefore refuſed to receive ſuſtenance. Likewiſe his Father King *Charles* the ſixth was troubled with ſo many ſuſpicions, that he loſt his wits, and all by reports. And ſure this is a fault greatly to be blamed in Princes, that in theſe caſes, they cauſe not ſuch matters as concern themſelves (be they never of ſo ſmall importance) to be ripped up: which if they did, they ſhould not ſo often be troubled with falſe tales. For if they would examine the parties the one before the other, I mean the accuſer, and him that is accuſed, no man durſt report any thing to them that were untrue. But ſome Princes there are of ſo doltiſh diſpoſition, that they will promiſe and ſwear to the accuſers never to diſcloſe their reports, whereby they are often troubled with theſe anguiſhes before mentioned, and hate, and injure their truſtieſt and faithfulleſt ſervants and ſubjects, at the pleaſure and upon the complaint many times of lewd and naughty perſons.

[1] Of unfortunate Noblemen.

CHAP. XIV. *How the King was advertiſed of the loſſe of the Caſtle of* Naples: *and how the Florentines places were ſold to divers men: Of the Treaty of* Atelle *in* Poville, *to the great dammage of the French: And of the death of King* Ferrande *of* Naples.

THE Daulphin the Kings onely Son dièd, about the beginning of the year 1496, which was the greateſt misfortune, that ever happened or could happen to the King: for he never had Child after, that lived. But this miſchief came not without company: for at the very ſame time received he news, that the Caſtle of *Naples* was yielded, by thoſe that the Lord of *Montpenſier* left within it, who were forced thereunto; partly by famine, and partly to recover the Hoſtages, delivered by the ſaid *Montpenſier* to King *Ferrand*, whoſe names were Mounſieur *d' Alegre*, one of the Houſe of *de la Marche-d'Ardain*, one called *de la Capelle de Loudonnis*[1], and one named *John Roquebertin Catelan*. They that were within the Caſtle returned by Sea into *France*. Another great diſhonour and loſſe received the King alſo, at the ſame time, which was this. *Entragues*, who held the Citadell of *Piſa* (being the Fort, that keepeth the Town in ſubjection) delivered the ſaid Citadell to the Piſans, contrary to the Kings oath[2], who had twice ſworn to the Florentines to reſtore unto them the ſaid Citadel, and their other places, namely *Serzane*, *Serzanelle*, *Pietreſancte*, *Librefacto*, and *Mortron*, which they had lent him in his great neceſſity, at his firſt comming into *Italy*: at which time alſo they gave him ſixſcore thouſand ducats, whereof there remained unpaid to us, but thirty thouſand, at our return home, as before you have heard. To be ſhort, all theſe the Florentines places abovenamed were ſold: the Genuois bought *Serzane*, and *Serzanelle* of a Baſtard of Saint *Paul*[3], *Pietreſancte Entragues* ſold to the *Luquois*[4], and *Librefacto* to the Venetians[5], to the great diſhonour both of the King and all his Subjects, and to the utter loſſe of the Realm of *Naples*. The firſt Oath the King ſware for the reſtitution of theſe places (as before you have heard) was at *Florence* upon the high Altar of the Cathedrall Church of Saint *John*: the ſecond in *Aſt*, at his return, at which time the Florentines lent him thirty thouſand ducats (in his great need) under condition, that if *Piſa* were reſtored to them, he ſhould repay no part nor parcel of this ſum: but they would make reſtitution of the jewels engaged to them for it, and lend him 60000 ducats more, which they promiſed to cauſe to be paid then preſently in the Realm of *Naples*, to the Kings forces there. They offered further, to entertain continually in the ſaid Realm, at their proper coſts and charges, three hundred men of Arms to do the King ſervice till the ſaid conqueſt were fully atchieved: of the which conditions none were performed, becauſe of this evill dealing abovementioned. Beſides that, we were forced to reſtore the thirty thouſand ducats, that they lent us, all the which inconveniencies happened through diſobedience, and privy whiſpering in the Kings ear, for ſome of thoſe that were neareſt about him, encouraged *Entragens* to ſell theſe places.

1496

[1] Before cap. 8. he named him *de la Capelle d'Anjou*, but if *Loudonnois* be in *Anjou* the places be reconciled.

[2] The Venetians paid the mony, for the Piſans were not able to redeem it: but after the Citadel delivered, the Piſans put themſelues into the Venetians protection, who razed the Citadell, *Guicciar.*

[3] This Baſtards name was *de Bracc*, *Guic.*

[4] *Mortron* was alſo ſold to the *Luquois*. *Guic.*

[5] *Librefacto* was ſold to the Piſans, but the Venetians paid the mony, *Guicciar.*

[6] This *Virgil Urſin* is he above mentioned, who after the Coulonnois revolt from King *Charles*, turned to him, and of his foe became his friend and ſervant.

At the ſelf ſame time, within two months over or under, in the beginning of this year 1496 the Lord of *Montpenſier*, the Lord *Virgil Urſin*[6], Maſter *Camelly Vitelly*, and the reſt of the French Captains, ſeeing all thus loſt put themſelves into the field, & took certain ſmall places. But King *Ferrand*, Son of King *Alphonſe*, who was entred into Religion (as before you have heard) accompanied with the Marqueſſe of *Mantua*, brother to the ſaid *Montpenſiers* wife, and Generall of the Venetians, marched againſt them. They found the ſaid *Montpenſier* lodged in a Town called *Atelle*, a place very commodious, for proviſion of Victuals, and ſeated on a Hill, upon the which our enemies fortifyed their Camp, as men fearing the Battel, becauſe the ſaid King *Ferrand*, and his forces had been diſcomfited in all places, as was alſo the Marqueſſe of *Mantua* at *Fornove*, where we fought with him. The ſaid Marqueſſe the Venetians had lent to King *Ferrand*, with a certain ſum of money, but of ſmall value in reſpect of the places they had in gage for it. which were theſe ſix Towns in *Poville* of great importance; *Brandis*, *Trany*, *Galipoli*, *Crana*, *Otrante*, and *Monopoly*, the leaſt of the which ſince the Kings departure they had won from us. Moreover in the ſaid ſumm of money they comprehended the wages of their ſouldiers, that ſerved the ſaid *Ferrand*, ſo that they hold theſe places for two hundred thouſand ducats; yea, and now they require the charges they have been at in the fortification and defence of them, ſo that I am fully perſwaded, they mind never to reſtore them: for they uſe not ſo to do, when Townes lie commodiouſly for them, as

theſe

theſe do, being ſcituated upon the Adriatick Gulf, ſo that by means of them they are Lords of the ſaid Gulf, which is one of the things they principally deſire; and no marvell, for it is from *Otrante* (which is the very point of the ſaid Gulf) to *Venice*, at the leaſt nine hundred miles. And notwithſtanding that the Pope held certain places alſo upon the ſaid Gulfe interminglied among theſe Venetian Towns: yet were all paſſengers forced to pay Cuſtome to *Venice*: wherefore the poſſeſſion of theſe places is more beneficiall to them than the world weeneth, for they receive yearly from thence great plenty of Corn and Oil, which are two neceſſary things for their proviſion.

At the ſaid place of *Atelle* abovementioned, our men fell at variance, as well for their victuals, which began now to diminiſh as alſo for their pay: the Souldiers were unpaid for eighteen months and more; by means whereof, they had lived in great miſery. To the Almains alſo much was due, but not ſo much: for all the money, that Monſieur *de Montpenſier* could levy in the Realm was paid to them, yet notwithſtanding, they were unpaid for a year, or more, but they had ſpoiled divers ſmall Towns, whereby they were marvellouſly inriched. If the forty thouſand ducats promiſed them had been ſent in time, or if they had known, they ſhould have had received them at *Florence*, this variance had never hapned, but now they remained altogether in deſpair: divers of our Captains informed me, that if our men would have agreed to fight, they were like enough to have obtained the victory: and if they had been diſcomfited, yet ſhould not their loſſe have been ſo great, as by the ſhameſull compoſition they made. *Montpenſier* and *Virgil Urſin*, who were the beſt men of war among them, would have fought, and evil hap it was to them that they did not: for King *Ferrand* brake the compoſition, and put them both in priſon, where they miſerably ended their lives. They laid the blame, that they fought not upon Mounſieur *de Perſi* a young gentleman of *Auvergne*, whom they acurſed as a mutinous Knight, and diſobedient to his Captain. You ſhall underſtand, that in this Army were two ſorts of *Almains*; the firſt were Switzers to the number of fifteen hundred, whom the King left there at his depature from *Naples*, the which ſerved faithfully even till the hour of death, ſo that it was impoſſible for men to ſerve more valiantly than they did. The other ſort were thoſe whom we call commonly Lands Knights (that is to ſay Servants of the Country) the which hate naturally the Switzers. They are of all parts of *Germany*; as for example, of the Countries lying upon the *Rhine*, and of *Swobland*, ſome there were alſo of the Country of *Vaulx* in *Senony* [7], and ſome of *Guelderland*. Theſe were to the number of eight hundred, newly ſent thither with two months pay, the which being ſpent before they came thither, and at their arrival there no new pay being found, they ſeeing themſelves in this diſtreſſe, declared that they bare us no good will, as the Switzers do; for they practiſed with our enemies, and turned to King *Ferrand*, for the which cauſe partly, and partly for the diviſion, that was among our own Captains, our men made a ſhamefull appointment with our enemies, the which King *Ferrand* ſware to keep and obſerve, being forced ſo to do by the Marqueſſe of *Mantua*, who thought thereby to aſſure the perſon of his brother in law Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, yet notwithſtanding the ſaid *Ferrand* brake the treaty, as afterward mention ſhall be made more at large.

By the ſaid compoſition they yielded both themſelves, and all the Kings artillery to their enemies, promiſing further, to cauſe to be rendred all the places that the King held in the Realm, as well in *Calabria* where Monſieur *d'Aubigny* was, as in *L'Abruzzo* where M *Gratian des Guerres* was, together with the Towns of *Cajette* and *Tarente*; under this condition, that King *Ferrand* ſhould ſend them by Sea into *Provence*, with bag and baggage, which was not much worth: but notwithſtanding the Compoſition, King *Ferrand* commanded them all to be led to *Naples*, being to the number of five or ſix thouſand perſons or more. So ſhamefull a compoſition hath not been made in our time, neither do I remember, that ever I read of the like; ſave that which the two Conſuls of *Rome* made (as rehearſeth *Titus Livius* [8]) with the Samnites (whom I ſuppoſe to be thoſe of *Benevent*) at a place called then *Furculæ caudinæ*, which is a certain ſtreight in the Mountains: notwithſtanding the Romans would not agree to the compoſition, but ſent the two Conſuls priſoners to their enemies.

If our force had fought and been diſcomfited, yet ſhould not their loſſe have been ſo great, as by this Compoſition: for two parts of them died either of famine, or of the plague in their ſhips in the Iſle of *Pruſſe* [9], whither they were ſent from *Naples* by King *Ferrand*: and namely, there died Monſieur *de Montpenſier* himſelf, ſome ſay of poiſon others of an Ague, which I rather believe. And I think verily that of all this Company never returned fifteen hundred: for of the Switzers, which were thirteen hundred, returned but three hundred and fifty, all extream ſick. Their faith and loyalty were greatly to be commended: for they all thoſe

[7] The French corrector readeth it *Stony* meaning the Country called in Latin *Valeſia Sedaſiorum*, whereof *Sedunum* called in French *Stoy*, is the chief town: or elſe he ſuppoſeth it ſhould be *Vaulx* in *Savoy*, whereof our author maketh mention *lib. 5. cap. 1.*

[8] *Decade 1. lib. 9.*

[9] *Procida* it is named by *Columella*, other Italians name it *Pouze*. I ſuppoſe it to be that, which *Pliny lib. 3. cap. 6.* calleth *Prochita* or *Prochinta*, ſaying that it lieth in *Sinu Puteolano*, not far from *Naples*, nor from the Iſle of *Iſchia*. *Boccace* alſo *Decamer. nov. 6.* reporteth both *Procida* and *Pouze* to be near to *Naples*. *Guicciar.* hath *Pozzuole*.

choſe rather to dy, than to ſerve King *Ferrand*, and ſo a number of them did in the ſaid Iſle of *Pruſſe*; ſome of heat, ſome of ſickneſſe, & ſome of famine: for they were held there a long time in their ſhips, in ſuch penury and lack of victuals as is almoſt incredible. I ſaw them all that returned, eſpecially the Switzers, who brought back with them all their enſigns: and ſure it well appeared, that they had endured great miſery; for they were all ſo extream ſick, that when they came forth of their ſhips to take the air, they were fain to be ſtayed up from falling. It was alſo agreed by the ſaid compoſition, that the Lord *Virgil Urſin* ſhould return home to his Country in ſafety, and his Son, and all the Italians that ſerved the King: yet notwithſtanding the enemies detained him ſtil, and his ſaid legitimate Son alſo, for he had but one: and as touching his baſe ſon called the Lord *Charles* (who was a very valiant gentleman) certain Italians of their Company ſpoiled him, as he repaired homewards. If this miſery had fallen but upon them only, that made this compoſition, they had not been greatly to be moaned: Immediately after King *Ferrand* had received this honour abovementioned, and married King *Ferrand* his Grandfathers Daughter, being a young maid of thirteen or fourteen years of age, begotten of the King of *Caſtiles* ſiſter, that now reigneth (ſo that his wife was ſiſter to his own father King *Alphonſe*) he fell into a continuall ague, whereof ſoon after he died, and the Crown of the Realm deſcended to King *Frederick* (the ſaid King *Ferrands* Unkle) now preſently raigning. It abhorreth me to write of ſuch a marriage as this, notwithſtanding divers ſuch have been contracted in this houſe of *Arragon*, within theſe thirty years. King *Ferrand* died immediately after the Compoſition abovementioned, made in the Town of *Atelle*, the year of our Lord 1496. The ſaid *Ferrand* during his life, and Dom *Frederick* alſo after he came to the Crown, excuſed the breach of this Compoſition, becauſe Monſieur *de Montpenſier* had not performed the Conditions thereof, nor rendred the places promiſed, which he could not to ſay the truth, *Cajetta* and divers others being out of his power. For notwithſtanding, that he were the Kings Lievtenant, yet were not they, that held theſe places for the King, bound to yield them at his commandment. Although all things well conſidered, the King ſhould have ſuſtained no great loſſe, if they had then been yielded; for he ſpent afterward great treaſure in defending and victualling them, and yet loſt them in the end. My ſelf was preſent, three or four times at the diſpatch of thoſe, that were ſent to victuall and ſuccour, firſt the Caſtles of *Naples*, and thrice after the Town of *Cajetta*. And I think, I ſhould not lye, if I ſaid, that theſe four Voiages coſt the King above three hundred thouſand franks: and yet all to no purpoſe.

CHAP. XV. *How certain practices entertained by divers Noblemen of Italy on the Kings behalfe, as well for the Conqueſt of* Naples, *as of the Dutchy of* Milan, *failed for lack of ſending thither: and how another enterpriſe againſt* Genua *ſped ill alſo.*

THE King after his return from *Naples* abode at *Lyons* a long time (as before you have heard) holding juſts and tournies. It greived him to loſe the places in *Italy* abovementioned, which he yet held; neither cared he what treaſure he ſpent in defence of them, but he would take no pains himſelf in governing his own affairs. Moreover he was advertiſed daily of divers practiſes entertained on his behalf in *Italy*; which, notwithſtanding that they were both dangerous and chargeable yet was he of power ſufficient to have atcheived them, becauſe his Realm is populous, and plentifull of grain in *Provence* and *Languedoc*, and hath alſo a number of other wealthy Countries, where money might have been levied. But if any other Prince beſides the King of *France* ſhould attend to theſe Italian practiſes, and adventure to entermeddle in their enterpriſes, he ſhould but undo himſelf, ſpend his treaſure and effect nothing. For the Italians neither do, nor can ſerve, but for money, except it be a Duke of *Milan*, or one of the greateſt Seniories: but a poor captain, be he never ſo well affectioned to the ſervice of the King of *France* pretending title to the Realm of *Naples*, or the Dutchy of *Milan*, be he never ſo faithful and truſty, yet ſhall he not be able to do him ſervice any long time after his paiment faileth, becauſe his men will forſake him, and the poor Captain ſhall be utterly undone: for the greateſt part of them live onely upon the credit they win by the ſervice of their ſouldiers, who are paid by their Captain, and he of him whom he ſerveth, which is the cauſe, why they deſire in *Italy* nothing but factions and civill

civill wars. But as touching the practiſes abovementioned, you ſhall underſtand, that they began before the Town of *Cajetta* was loſt, to wit, immediately after the King perceived that the Duke of *Milan* would not perform the conditions of the Treaty of *Verceil*, and continued after the loſſe of the ſaid Town, the whole ſpace of two years after the Kings return home. As touching the ſaid Duke of *Milan*, he brake not his promiſe altogether upon malice and treachery, but partly for fear: for he doubted that the King would deſtroy him, if he obtained the Realm of *Naples*: beſides that, he accounted the King a Prince in whom was no conſtancy nor aſſurance. But to proceed, one of theſe enterpriſes abovementioned was to invade the Dutchy of *Milan* after this ſort. Order was given that the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould go to *Aſt* to enter with a good band of men on that ſide, whom I ſaw once ſo near his departure, that his Train was already gone. We were ſure of the Duke of *Ferrara's* friendſhip, for he had promiſed to aid us (notwithſtanding that he were the D. of *Milans* Father in law) with five hundred men of Arms, and two thouſand footmen, which his promiſe undoubtedly he would have performed, to the end he might have delivered himſelf of the danger he was in, lying juſt in the midſt between the Venetians and the ſaid Duke: for not long before (as I have already made mention) the Venetians had taken from him the *Poleſan*, and ſought wholly his deſtruction: wherefore he would have preferred his own ſafety, and his childrens, before his Son in laws friendſhip; yea, and peradventure he thought, that the Duke of *Milan*, ſeeing himſelf in this extremity would make ſome Appointment with the King[1]. Moreover, by the ſaid Duke of *Ferrara's* means, the Marqueſſe of *Mantua* was become our friend: who lately had been and yet was Generall of the Venetians, but held in great jealouſie of them, and he likewiſe being diſcontented with them, ſojourned with three hundred men of Arms with his Father in law the Duke of *Ferrara*: for you ſhall underſtand, that he then had, and yet hath to wife, the Dutcheſſe of *Milans* ſiſter, Daughter to the ſaid Duke of *Ferrara*. Maſter *John Bentivoille*, who governed *Bolonia*, and is as it were Lord thereof, promiſed to aid us with a hundred and fifty men of Arms, and a good band of Footmen, and to ſend to the Kings ſervice, two of his Sons, who were Captains of certain Companies of horſmen, and ſuch was the ſeat of his Country, that he might have done great ſervice againſt the Duke of *Milan*. The Florentines, who ſaw themſelves utterly undone (unleſſe by large expences they recovered their loſſes) fearing to be diſſeized of *Piſa*, and the other places abovementioned[2], would have furniſhed eight hundred men of Arms, and five thouſand footmen, upon their own proper coſts and charges, and had already provided their paiments for ſix moneths. The *Urſins* and the Præfect of *Rome* brother to the Cardinall Saint *Peter ad Vincula* (ſo often before named) being in pay with the King, would have furniſhed a thouſand men of Arms: but you ſhall underſtand that their men of Arms are not accompanied with archers as ours be, but their wages and ours are much alike: for a years pay of one of their men of Arms amounteth to a hundred ducats, and the wages of one of ours is double as much, becauſe of his Archers. Theſe mercenary Souldiers the King ſhould have paid, but as touching the Florentines, they ſhould have paid their forces themſelves. The Duke of *Ferrara* alſo, the Marqueſſe of *Mantua*, and *Bentivoille*, offered this aid upon their own charge: for they hoped to conquer in the Dutchy of *Milan*, as much as ſhould countervail their coſt. And if the Duke of *Milan* had been ſuddenly invaded by the Duke of *Orleans*, and all theſe above rehearſed at one inſtant, his Confederates (namely the Venetians) could not have ſuccoured him (though they would have ſpent all their treaſure in his defence) before he muſt have been forced to revolt to the King, who would have kept theſe Italians in the field a long time. And the Dutchy of *Milan* being once won, the Realm of *Naples* would have yielded of it ſelf.

The ſtay of this goodly enterpriſe proceeded of the Duke of *Orleans*, who ſuddenly altered his mind, the night before he ſhould have departed: for he had already ſent before him all things neceſſary for his perſon, and none remained to depart but himſelf onely: for the Army was in a readineſſe, their wages paid them, and they all gone before to *Aſt*, being to the number of eight hundred men of Arms French and ſix thouſand footmen: among the which were four hundred Switzers. But the ſaid Duke of *Orleans* being thus ſuddenly altered beſought the King twice to propound this matter again to his Council, and ſo he did, my ſelf being preſent at the debating of it both times, and the whole Councill concluded, that he ſhould go, not one man ſpeaking to the contrary: notwithſtanding, that there were preſent at each time ten or twelve Counſellors at the leaſt. And ſure ſo had it been moſt convenient, conſidering that we had thereof aſſured our friends in *Italy* above named: all the which had been at great charges, and were in a readineſſe. But the Duke of *Orleans* being preſent at the debating of this matter himſelf, made anſwer (either by the advice of ſome one, or

[1] Underſtand againſt the Venetians by the which means he might have recovered the *Poleſan*, and the reſt that they withheld from him.

[2] For you muſt underſtand that the practiſes began before their places were ſold.

for that he ſhunned this enterpriſe, becauſe he ſaw the King evill diſpoſed of his body, whoſe heir he ſhould be if he died) that he would never take upon him this Voyage for his own particular quarrel, but willingly by the Kings commandment, as his Lievtenant, with the which anſwer the Councill aroſe. The next day and many dayes after the Ambaſſadors of *Florence*, and divers others preſſed the King earneſtly to command the Duke to depart. Whereunto the King anſwered, that he would never force him to the wars againſt his will. Thus was this Voyage daſhed to the Kings great grief, both becauſe of the great charges he had ſuſtained, and alſo becauſe he was in good hope (if it had proceeded) to have been revenged on the Duke of *Milan*, conſidering what intelligences he had already, and what other intelligences he might have had at that time, by means of Maſter *John James* of *Trevoul*, Lievtenant General for him, and the Duke of *Orleans* in theſe Italian wars, who was a Milanois born, and very well beloved and friended in his Country, where he had good intelligence with many both of his Kinſmen and others. This enterpriſe thus failing another ſucceeded, yea two or three at a clap againſt *Genua*: where the people are ever inclined to diviſion; one of theſe enterpriſes was managed by Maſter *Baptiſte de Campefourgouſe*, who was chief of one of the factions in the Town; but baniſhed, and his faction of no authority at that time, neither yet the Houſe of *Ory*, who are gentlemen, and thoſe of *Fourgouſe* none. The ſaid *D' Ories* take part with the *Fourgouſes*, but none of them may be Duke, becauſe they are Gentlemen, for no Gentleman may be Duke of *Genua*: but this *Baptiſte* had been Duke not long before, and loſt the government by the treachery of his Unkle the Cardinall of *Genua*, who of late years put the Seniory of *Genua* into the D. of *Milans* hands. So that at this preſent the *Adornes* governed *Genua*, who in like manner are no Gentlemen, but have often been made Dukes by help of the *Spinoles*, who are gentlemen, ſo that the Gentlemen make the Duke of *Genua*, but cannot be Dukes themſelves. This *Baptiſta* truſted that his faction would riſe in his favour both in the Town and Country, and that the Town being recovered, the ſoveraignty thereof ſhould remain to the King, but he and his faction govern and baniſh their enemies. The other enterpriſe was this, divers of *Savonne* addreſſed themſelves to the Cardinall Saint *Peter ad Vincula*[a], and promiſed to yield the Town to him, hoping thereby to recover their liberty; for they are under the Genuois government & pay tribute to them. If we had entred into this place, *Genua* ſhould have been greatly diſtreſſed, the Country of *Provence* being in ſubjection to the King, and *Savoy* wholly at his devotion. Wherefore the King being advertiſed of all theſe enterpriſes, wrote to Maſter *John James* of *Trevoul* to aid Maſter *Baptiſte de Campefourgonſe* with force to conveigh him to the gates of *Genua*, to ſee whether his faction would ariſe in his favour. And on the other ſide, he was ſo earneſtly preſſed by the Cardinall Saint *Peter ad Vincula*, that he ſent other letters at the ſelf ſame time to the ſame Maſter *John James*, commanding him to lend the ſaid Cardinall men to conveigh him to *Savonne*: and the like Comandement ſent he him alſo by mouth by the Lord of *Sernon* in *Provence*, who was great friend to the ſaid Cardinall and a ſtout talker. Beſides theſe two Commandments came yet a third; which was that the ſaid Maſter *John James* ſhould retire into ſome place, where he might conveniently aid both theſe parties abovementioned, and yet attempt nothing againſt the Duke of *Milan*, nor the treaty of Peace made the Summer before with him, which commandment was clean contrary to the two former.

[a] This Cardinal was born at *Savonne*.

Thus you ſee how great Princes affairs are governed, when they underſtand them not themſelves, but command Letters and diſpatch men upon a ſudden, before they hear matters well debated. For as touching the demands of Maſter *Baptiſte de Campefourgouſe*, and the ſaid Cardinall, it was impoſſible to ſatisfie them both at once: for *Baptiſte* durſt not go to the walls of *Genua* without great force, becauſe the Town is very populous, and the people well armed, and hardy and valiant Souldiers: wherefore if Maſter *John James* ſhould at the ſame time have lent men alſo to the Cardinall, his Army had been divided into three Companies; for part of the force muſt have remained with himſelf. In the mean time, divers bands arrived at *Genua* and at *Savonne*, ſent thither by the Duke of *Milan* and the Venetians, who both feared greatly the revolt of *Genua*, as did alſo Dom *Frederick* and the Pope.

Beſides theſe two enterpriſes, the ſaid Maſter *John James* had yet a third in his head, of his own deviſe, which was this, he would have broken off both theſe other enterpriſes, and have marched with his whole force ſtraight againſt the Duke of *Milan*, and undoubtedly if he had not been countermanded, he would have done ſome great exploit. His enterpriſe he was already entred into, and had advertiſed the King thereof, pretending that he could not otherwiſe aid them that ſhould go to *Genua* or *Savonne* to the enterpriſes abovementioned. Wherefore under colour thereof, he led his Army into the high way between *Alexandria*

and

and *Genua*, (which was the onely way the Duke of *Milan* could send to invade our Lands, that should go to *Genua* and *Savonne*) and three or four small Towns he took, which voluntarily received him, advertising the King, that this notwithstanding, he made no war upon the Duke of *Milan*, seeing he was forced of necessity (for the safety of those that should go to the other enterprises) to do as he did: adding, that the King could not be said to make war upon the Duke of *Milan*, for seeking to conquer *Genua* or *Savonne*, because they were held of him, and forfeited to him; but this enterprise was dasht by the Kings commandment. Further, to satisfie the Cardinall, the said Master *John James* lent him part of the Army to convey him to *Savonne*; but he found the place manned, and thereupon gave over his enterprise and returned. He lent men also to Master *Baptiste* to convey him to *Genua*, who assured him, that his enterprise should take effect: but when he was three or four leagues upon the way, they that accompanied him began to be jealous of him, as well the Almains as the French, wherein, notwithstanding that they did him wrong, yet sure their company being but small, should have put themselves in great danger, if they had gone to *Genua*, and his faction had not happened to arise. Thus all these enterprises sped evil, and the Duke of *Milan*, who had been greatly distressed, if Master *John James* had been suffered to invade him with the whole force, was now strong; for the Venetians had sent divers bands to his aid. Whereupon our Army retired, our footmen were dismissed, and these little Towns that were taken abandoned: and thus ended these wars smally to the Kings profit, who consumed infinite treasure therein.

CHAP. XVI. *Of certain controversies between King* Charls *and* Ferrand *King of* Castile; *and of Ambassadours, that were sent to and fro to pacifie them.*

WHat happened from the Kings return out of *Italy* (which was about three or four months before the end of the year 1495) till the beginning of the year 1498, I have already rehearsed: for all that space I was resident in the Court, and present at the debating of most part of those affairs. The King rode about from *Lyons* to *Moulins*, and from *Moulins* to *Tours*, holding tourneys and justs in all places, and minding nothing else. Those that were of the greatest authority about him, were so divided that more they could not be; for some of them would that the Conquest of *Naples* should still continue; because their profit and credit depended thereupon; namely, the Cardinall [1], and the Seneschall [2], who governed all the Kings affairs: on the other side the Admirall, who before this Voyage had born all the sway with the young K. would in any wise that these Italian enterprises should cease, and travelled to overthrow them, knowing that the quailing of them would turn greatly to his profit, & be a means whereby he might recover his former credit, and authority, and the others fall into disgrace.

Thus passed the Kings affairs about a year and a half, during the which space he sent Ambassadors to the King and Queen of *Castile*; who were in war with him and whose friendship he greatly desired, because they were mighty both by Sea and Land. And notwithstanding that they did no great exploit upon the Land, yet had they sent great aid by Sea to King *Ferrand*, and King *Frederick* of *Naples*: for the Isle of *Sicily* is distant from *Reges* in *Calabria*, but a league and a half, so that some hold opinion, it was once firm land with *Italy* [3], and that the Sea breaking in, make this straight [4] now named the *Far* [5] of *Messine*. The said Isle of *Sicily* was then, and yet is, in subjection to the King and Queen of *Castile*, who sent from thence great aid to *Naples*, as well of great ships called Caravels that came out of *Spain*, as also of men. Moreover, in the Isle of *Sicily* it self a Company of men of Arms was levied, the which passed into *Calabria* with a certain number of gennetaries [6], and made war upon the Kings forces there. Besides this, their ships were continually with the Confederates Navy, by means whereof, when all their forces were together, the King was much too weak for his enemies upon the Sea, but otherwise the King of *Castile* endammaged him not much. True it is, that once a great company of horsemen entred into *Languedock*: and spoiled the Country and lodged in it three or four dayes; but other exploit did they none. Then the Lord of Saint *Andre* in *Bourbonnois*, who defended those frontiers for the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Kings Lievtenant in *Languedock*, attempted to take *Sanssis* a little Town in the Country of *Rous-*

[1] *Guicciar* reporteth that the Cardinall indeed was an enemy to the Voyage of *Naples*, and stayed all dispatches and payments of money, whereby it was thought, that he had intelligence with the Pope, though outwardly he seem'd a friend to the enterprise.

[2] The Seneschal came by Sea out of the Realm of *Naples* into *France* to demand aid, but before he could return the Realm was lost.

[3] As *Virgil Æneid. lib.* 3.

[4] This straight was called in times past *Fretum Siculum*, in the which are the famous Rock of *Sylla*, and Gulf of *Charibdis*. [5] *Pharus* here named *Far*, is a Tower upon the Promontory *Pelorus*, ten miles from *Messina*, upon the very straight between *Reges* and *Sicily*, to give light to those that passe in the night through the straight: of this Tower, the straight is now named *Far*. [6] These be Spanish horsemen, so named of their ginnets.

sillon,

ſillon, becauſe on that ſide they had invaded the Kings dominions about two years be-
fore: for you ſhall underſtand that the King had reſtored unto them the ſaid Country of *Rouſſillon*,
whereof the territory of *Parpignan* is parcell, in the which this little Town of *Salſes* is ſcu-
tuate. His enterpriſe was great and dangerous; for the Town was well manned, though it
was but ſmall, and a great number of Gentlemen of the King of *Caſtiles* Houſe were within
it; beſides that, their Army, being ſtronger then ours, lay abroad in the fields, encamped
within a league of the place: yet notwithſtanding, the ſaid Lord of Saint *Andre* ſo wiſely and
cloſely guided his enterpriſe, that within ten hours he took the Town by Aſſault, as my ſelf
can witneſſe, and at the breach was ſlain thirty or forty Spaniſh Gentlemen of mark, among
whom was the Arch-Biſhop of Saint *James* his Son, beſides three or four hundred common
Souldiers. They thought not that the Town could have been taken ſo ſuddenly; for they
underſtood not the fear of our Artillery, which undoubtedly is the beſt in the world.

This is all the exploit, that was done between theſe two Princes, whereof though the
effects were but ſmall: yet great was the ſhame and diſhonour the King of *Caſtile* receiv-
ed thereby, his Army being ſo ſtrong as it was: but where God is diſpoſed to puniſh, com-
monly ſuch ſmall ſcourges run before. For the ſaid King and Queen of *Caſtile* were ſhortly
after otherwiſe puniſhed, and ſo were we alſo. But ſure, as touching them, they much ſtain-
ed their honour in violating their Oath given to the King, who had dealt ſo bountifully with
them, by reſtoring them the Country of *Rouſſillon*, the fortification and defence whereof had
been ſo chargeable to his Father, who had it in pawn for three hundred thouſand Crownes,
which ſum alſo the King forgave them, all to the end, they ſhould not impeach nor hinder
his Voiage to *Naples*. Moreover, they renued the ancient League between *France* and *Ca-
ſtile*, which is between King and King, Realm and Realm, and Man and Man of their Sub-
jects, and promiſed not to hinder his ſaid Conqueſt, nor marry any of their daughters into
Naples, *England*, or *Flanders*, which ſtraight offer of marriage proceeded of themſelves: for a
Frier Franciſcan called Frier *John de Maulcon* made this Overture on the Queen of *Caſtiles*
behalf. Yet all this notwithſtanding, ſo ſoon as they ſaw the war begun, and heard that the
King was at *Rome*, they ſent Ambaſſadours round about to enter into a League againſt him,
and namely to *Venice*, I being there preſent, where the League abovementioned was conclu-
ded between the Pope, the King of Romains, them, the Seniory of *Venice*, & the Duke of *Mi-
lan*: immediately whereupon they invaded the Kings dominions, alleadging that ſuch a pro-
miſe was not to be performed, meaning the marriage of their Children (being four daugh-
ters and one Son) into the Houſes abovementioned, which Overture notwithſtanding pro-
ceeded of themſelves, as before you have heard.

But to return to the matter. After theſe wars in *Italy* were ended, and all loſt in the Realm
of *Naples* ſave *Cajetta*, which the King yet held, when theſe treaties of Peace began between
him and the King and Queen of *Caſtile*: but ſoon after loſt alſo, and the wars in the Conntry
of *Rouſſillon* being in like manner ended, ſo that none ſought to endammage other; but each
party to defend their own: they ſent to K. *Charls* a gentleman accompanied with certain Monks
of *Montſerrat*, for all their affairs, they governed by ſuch men, either to ſave charges there-
by, or to diſſemble by ſuch inſtruments with the leſſe ſuſpition, as for example they did by
John de Maulcon the Frier Franciſcan abovenamed. who perſwaded the King to reſtore un-
to them the Country of *Rouſſillon*. Theſe Ambaſſadours, at their firſt Audience, beſought the
King to forget the great wrong the King and Queen had done him. I name alwayes the
Queen, becauſe the Crown of *Caſtile* moved by her, and becauſe her authority was greater
there, than her husbands: and undoubtedly this was a very honorable marriage, between the
King her Husband and her. Then theſe Ambaſſadours began to treat of Truce, deſiring to
have all their League comprehended therein. The Overtures they made, were theſe: that the
King ſhould keep the poſſeſſion of *Cajetta*, and the other places he yet held in the Realm of
Naples, and that during the Truce, he might victuall them at his pleaſure. Further, that there
ſhould be a place aſſigned, where all the Princes of the League ſhould ſend their Ambaſſadors
(at the leaſt, as many as would) to treat of Peace: the which being concluded, the ſaid King
and Queen meant to continue their Conqueſt or enterpriſe againſt the Moors, and to paſs the
Sea out of *Granado* into *Africk*, there to invade the K. of *Feſſa*, who was their next neighbour
on that ſide. Notwithſtanding ſome were of opinion, that they meant rather to hold themſelvs
contented with that they had already conquered, I mean the Realm of *Granado*, which undou-
btedly was the greateſt and honorableſt conqueſt as hath been obtained in our time[s]; yea ſuch
as their Predeceſſors was never able to atcheive. And I wiſh with all my heart for the honor
I bear them, that they had never moved other war than this, but had faithfully perform-

ed

[s] They conquered *Granado*, *Anno* 1486, which the Sarracens had held 760 years.

ed their promise to the King. The King sent the Lord of *Clerieux* in *Daulphine* back into *Castile* with their Ambassadours, and sought to conclude a peace or truce, wherein their Confederates should not be comprehended: notwithstanding, if he had accepted their offer made by these their Ambassadors, he had saved *Cajetta*, which had been sufficient for the recovery of the whole Realm of *Naples*, considering the great favor he had there. The said *de Clerieux* at his return brought a new overture (for *Cajetta* was lost before he entered into *Castile*) which was that the King and they should renew their former ancient League, and attempt between them at equal charges the conquest of all *Italy*, whereat the two Kings should be together in person: but they said, they would first conclude a generall Truce, wherein all their League should be comprehended, and then assign a diet at some place in *Piemont*, whither every of their Confederates, should send their Ambassadors, to the end, they might honourably depart from their said League. All this Overture, as we suspected then and understood perfectly afterward, was but meer dissimulation to win time, to the end King *Ferrand*, while he lived, and afterward Dom *Frederick* newly crowned King might repose themselves: notwithstanding, I think, they wished with all their hearts the said Realm of *Naples* to be their own, and sure they had better Title to it, then they that possessed it[a]. And undoubtedly the House of *Anjous* right, which the King had, was the best; although to say the truth, considering both the seat of the Country, and the disposition of the People that inhabit it, I think, he hath best right to it that can get it, for they desire nothing but alteration. The King afterwards sent the abovenamed *de Clerieux* back again into *Castile*, and one *Michael* of *Grammont* with him, with certain other overtures. This *de Clerieux* bare some affection to these Princes of *Arragon*, and hoped to obtain of them the Marquisat of *Cotron* in *Calabria*, which the K. of *Spain* conquered in the last Voiage that his men made thither. The said *de Clerieux* pretended title to it, & he is a good plain dealing man, & one that wil easily give credit, especially to such Personages as these were. At his second return he brought with him an Ambassador from the K. and Queen, and made his report to the K. which was, that they would hold themselves contented with that part of the Realm of *Naples*, that lies next to *Sicily* (to wit *Calabria*) for the right they pretended to the said Realm, and that the King should hold the rest: and further, that the said King of *Castile* would be in person at this Conquest, and bear equall charges in all things with the King, and indeed he held then, and yet holdeth four or five strong places in *Calabria*, whereof *Cotron* is one, which is a good and well fortified City. I was present at this report, which seemed unto most of us but meer abuse and dissimulation. Wherefore it was determined that some wise man should be sent to them to sound the bottom of this Overture, and thereupon the Lord of *Bouchage* was joyned in commission with the former Ambassadors: he was a man of deep judgement, and one that had bin in great credit with King *Lewis*, and so is he also at this present with King *Charls* his Son. The Spanish Ambassador that came with *de Clerieux* would never avow his report, but answered that he thought the said *de Clerieux* would not make the report, if the King his Master, and the Queen had not willed him so to do; which answer caused us so much the more to suspect their dissimulation: besides that no man would believe, that the King of *Castile* would go in person into *Italy*, or that he either would or could bear equall charges with the King.

After the said Lords of *Bouchage*, *Clerieux*, and *Michael* of *Grammont* with the rest of their Colleagues were come to the King and Queen of *Castiles* Court, they lodged them in a place where no man could come to commune with them, for the which purpose also certain were appointed to watch their lodgings. But they themselves spake thrice with them: and when the said *de Boachage* advertised them of the Report abovementioned made to the King by *de Cierieux*, and *Michael* of *Grammont*: they answered that they would willingly endeavor to conclude a peace for the Kings honour and profit. And as touching the said report, they confessed, that indeed such speech had passed them by way of Communication, but not otherwise, with the which answer *de Clerieux* being discontented, and not without cause, advowed his report to be true for them both, in the presence of the said L. of *Bouchage*, who with the rest of his Companions concluded a Truce (the K. having two months respite to accept it or refuse it) wherein their Confederates where not comprehended, but their Sons in law and the Fathers of their Sons in Law, namely the Kings of *Romans*, and *England* (for the Prince of *Wales* was at that time very young) were comprehended therein. They had four Daughters, the eldest of the which was a Widow, and had been married to the K. of *Portugales* Son, that last died, who brake his neck before her, as he passed a carreer upon a Ginnet within three moneths after their marriage. The second and the third were married, the one in *Flanders*, and the other in *England*, and the fourth is yet to marry. After the Lord of *Bouchage* was

[a] How they had better title, and how the House of *Anjou* had the best, the pedegree in the end of the book will declare.

[b] Their eldest daughter married first *Alphonse* Prince of *Portugal*, Son to *Alfonse* the second, King of *Portugal*, who brake his neck falling a tarret, as here is mentioned in this chap. And afterward she married *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, as is mentioned in the next chapter; and died in childbed. *Philip* Duke of *Austrich* Son and heir to *Maximilian* King of *Romans* married the second daughter: and *Arthur* Prince of *Wales* Son to King *Henry* the seventh the third and the fourth, whom our Author here reporteth to be at that time unmarried, was afterward married to the Lord *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, the eldest sisters husband; so that the said King married two sisters both Daughters to the King of *Castile*. The eldest Daughters name was *Isabel*, the second *Joan* the third *Katherine*, and the fourth *Ma-*

returned, and had made his report, the King perceived that *de Clerieux* had been too credulous, and that he had done wisely in sending *de Bouchage* thither, because he was now assured of that, which before he stood in doubt of. The said *de Bouchage* advertised him further, that he could effect nothing but the conclusion of the Truce, the which he had liberty either to accept or refuse at his pleasure. The King accepted it, and sure it served him to good purpose: for it was the breach of their League, which so much had troubled his affairs, and which hitherto he could by no means dissolve, notwithstanding that he had attempted all wayes possible. Thirdly the said *de Bouchage* informed the King, that the King and Queen of *Castile* had promised him at his departure to send Ambassadours immediately after him, with full authority to conclude peace. Lastly, he told him, that at his departure he left the Prince of *Castile* their only Son extream sick.

CHAP. XVII. *A Discourse of the misfortunes, that happened to the House of* Castile, *in the Lord of* Argentons *time.*

THE said *de Bouchage*, about ten or twelve dayes after his return, received news from one of the Kings heraulds, whom he left behind him in *Castile* to convey the Ambassage that should come into *France*; that the sending of the said Ambassadors was deferred for a time, because the Prince of *Castile* was departed this life, whose death the King and Queen lamented above all measure, especially the Queen; who seemed more likely to dy, then to live; and undoubtedly, never was such solemn mourning for any Princes death, as for his, throughout all their Dominions. For all men of occupation ceased from their labour forty dayes, as their Ambassadours afterwards advertised me, and every man was clothed in thick black cotton; so that the Noblemen and Gentlemen covered their Mules therewith down to the knees, in such sort, that only their eyes appeared. Moreover black banners were set upon the Gates of every Town. When these pitifull news came to the ears of the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter to the King of Romans, Sister to the Arch Duke of *Austrich*, and Wife to the said Prince: she suddenly fell in travell being gone six moneths with child, and was delivered of a Daughter dead born. Were not these grievous tydings to these Princes? yes undoubtedly, and so much the more grievous, because they had hitherto reigned with such honor, and lived in such felicity, that God seemed wholly bent to advance them, and the world to honour them, more then any other Prince living. For they possessed larger and ampler dominions than any Prince in Christendome (I mean of inheritance[1]) they had brought their subjects to due obedience, and were in perfect health, as touching their persons. Moreover they had obtained this goodly Conquest of *Granado*, and caused a King renowned through the whole world, to depart out of *Italy* and fail of his Enterprise, which they accounted a great matter, as did the Pope himself also; who, under colour of the said Conquest of *Granado*, would have given them the title of *Most Christian*, and taken it from the King of *France*, so far forth that divers letters he sent them with that Superscription. But perceiving many of his Cardinals to gainsay it, he gave them another to wit, the title of *Most Catholick*, which continueth yet, and is still like to continue at *Rome*. But in the midst of all these their good successes, hapned this their Sons death, which so much tormented them, that it seemed fully to countervail all their former honour and felicity.

[1] This he seemeth to adde, because the Empire was greater, but it was not the Emperors inheritance.

Yet was not this their last trouble, for their eldest Daughter whom they loved above all their children next to their son the Prince of *Castile* lately deceased, was forced to depart from them, being affianced a little before the said Princes death, to *Emanuel* K. of *Portugal*, a young Prince lately come to the Crown by succession, after the death of the bloody King of *Portugal* last deceased, who cruelly caused to be beheaded his wives Father, and slew afterwards her brother, being elder Brother to this King of *Portugal* now reigning, whom also he held in great fear. He murthered likewise with his own hand, his own Brother as he sate at dinner with him, in the presence of his Wife, to the end he might make a Bastard that he had his Heir. But having committed these two cruel murthers[2], he began to live in great fear and suspition, and soon after lost his onely Son, who brake his neck as before you have heard, in passing a carreer upon a gennet: which Son was this Ladies first Husband now mentioned, who married at this present the King of *Portugal* now reigning, so that she hath been twice married into *Portugal*. She is a Lady, as the Report goeth, worthy to be compared in wisdome and vertue, with the worthiest in the World. But to proceed in the rehearsall of the miseries

[2] Understand, the two first murthers, of his Wives Father and Brother: for his Son was dead before he slew his own Brother.

that

that happened to this House of *Castile* in short space, you shall understand that this King, and Queen of *Castile* (who had lived in such glory and felicity till this present, that is to say till the fiftieth, and she till the two and fiftieth year of their age) had given their Daughter in marriage to the King of *Portugal* for divers respects: first, to the end they might have no enemy in *Spain*, which is all under their subjection save *Navarre*, whereof also they dispose at their pleasure; for they hold four of the strongest places in it: secondarily, to pacifie by that means the contention, that was about the said Ladies dowry and her marriage mony[a]: thirdly to benefit thereby certain Noblemen of *Portugall* their friends. For you shall understand that divers Lords and Gentlemen were banished the Realm, and had lost all their lands by attainture, at the same time that the King that last died put to death the two Lords abovementioned, the which attainture stood yet in full force: notwithstanding that the onely cause of their attainture was, for that they had attempted to make him King of *Portugal* that now raigneth. These Lords therefore and Gentlemen were by means of this marriage recompensed in *Castile* by the King and Queen, and their lands which they had forfeited in *Portugal* by attainture, assigned to the Queen of *Portugal*, (now mentioned) Daughter to the said King and Queen of *Castile*. But, notwithstanding all these considerations, the said King and Queen repented them of this marriage: for you shall understand, that there is no Nation in the World that the Spaniards hate more than the *Portugals*; so far forth, that they disdain and scorn them: wherefore the said King and Queen lamented much, that they had bestowed their Daughter upon a man, that should not be beloved in the Realm of *Castile* and their other dominions: and if the marriage had been then unmade, they would never have made it, which undoubtedly was a great corrosive to them, yet nothing so great as this, that she should depart from them. Notwithstanding, after all their sorrows ended, they led their said Daughter and Son in Law through all the chief Cities of their Realm, and made the said King of *Portugal* to be received for their Prince, and their Daughter for Princesse, and proclaimed them their successors after their death. Some comfort they received after all these sorrows, for they were advertised, that the said Lady Princesse of *Castile* and Queen of *Portugal*, was great with Child; but this joy proved in the end double grief, so that, I think, they wished themselves out of the world: for this Lady whom they so tenderly loved, and so much esteemed, died in travel of the said Child, not past a month agone, and we are now in *October* in the year 1498, but the child liveth[b], and is called *Emanuel* after his Fathers name. All these great misfortunes happened to them in the space of three months.

Now to return to the estate of *France*. You shall understand, that about four or five months before the said Ladies death, a great misfortune happened also in this Realm: I mean the death of King *Charles* the eighth, whereof hereafter you shall hear at large. It seemed therefore that God beheld both these houses, with an angry countenance, and would not that the one Realm should scorn the other. For although the death of a Prince seem but a trifle to many, yet it is sure far otherwise: for the change of a Prince never happeneth in any Realm, but it traineth with it great sorrows and troubles; and notwithstanding that some gain by it, yet an hundred fold more lose, because at an alteration men are forced to change their manner and form of living: for that that pleaseth one Prince, displeaseth another. Wherefore (as before I have said) if a man well consider the sharp and sudden punishments that God hath laid upon great Princes within these 30 years in *France*, *Castile*, *Portugal*, *England*, *Naples*, *Flanders*, & *Britain*, he shall find, they have been heavier & grievouser, then hapned in 200 years before: and whosoever would take in hand to discourse upon all the particular misfortunes that my self have seen, and in a manner known all the persons, as well men as women, to whom they have hapned, should make thereof a huge volum, & that of great admiration, yea though it contained only such as have chanced within these ten years. By these punishments the power of God ought to be the better known. for the plagues he powreth down upon great Personages are sharper, grievouser, and endure longer then those he sendeth to the poorer sort. To conclude therefore, I think all things wel weighed that Princes are in no better estate in this world than other men, if they consider by the miseries they see happen to their neighbors what may happen to themselvs: for as touching them they chastise their subjects at their pleasures, & God disposeth of them at his pleasure, because other than him they have none over them: but happy is the Realm, that is governed by a Prince that is wise, and feareth God and his commandements.

I have breifly rehearsed the misfortunes, that happened in three months space to these two great and mighty Realms, which not long before were so enflamed the one against the

[a] Understand her dowry for her first marriage.

[b] But the child died also afterward, and the Crown of *Spain* descended to *Jane* the second daughter, wife to *Philip* Duke of *Austrich*, and Mother to the Emperor *Charls* the fifth. Further, you shall understand that our Authors memory failed him here: for this Princes name was not *Emanuel* as *Comines* here writeth, but *Michael* according to all good Authors and Pedegrees both of *Spain* and *Portugal*.

other, so busied in enlarging their dominions, and so little contented with that they already possessed. And notwithstanding that alwayes some (as before I said) rejoyce at changes and gain by them: yet at the first (even to them) the death, especially the sudden death of their Prince is very dreadfull and dangerous.

CHAP. XVIII. *Of the sumptuous building King* Charles *began a little before his death; of the great desire he had to reform the Church and himself, to diminish his revenues, and to redresse the processes of the Law: and how he died suddenly in this good mind in his Castle of* Amboise.

I Will here cease further to discourse of the affairs of *Italy* and *Castile*, and return to our own particular sorrows and troubles in *France*, which notwithstanding were pleasant news happily to those that gained by them. I will write of the sudden death of King *Charles* the eighth. Who being in his Castle of *Amboise*, had begun the sumptuousest building both in the Castle and the Town, that any King took in hand these hundred years, as appeareth by the Towers, up to the which men rid on horseback, and by the foundation laid in the Town, the platformes whereof were drawn of such exquisitnesse, that they well declared it to be a work of marvellous charge, and that could not have been finished in long time. For you shall understand, that the King had brought with him from *Naples*, many excellent workmen in all kind of Arts, especially Gravers and Painters, and sure it seemed by the foundation an enterprise of a young King, that thought not to die, but hoped of long life: for he joyned together all the goodly things that were commended to him, were they in *France*, *Italy*, or *Flanders*. Further, he continued still desirous to return into *Italy*, and confessed, that he had committed many errors in his voiage thither, and oftentimes rehearsed them, determining if his fortune were to return again and recover his losses; to give better order for the defence of the Country. The recovery also whereof (because he had great intelligence in all places) he purposed to attempt, and to send thither fifteen hundred men of Arms, Italians under the leading of the Marquesse of *Mantua*, the *Ursins*, the *Vitellies*, and the Præfect of *Rome* brother to the Cardinall Saint *Peter ad Vincula*. Moreover Monsieur *de Aubigny*, who had done him so great service in *Calabria*, was ready to take his journey towards *Florence*; for the *Florentines* offered to bear the half of these charges for six months, to the end the King with these forces abovementioned, might first take *Pisa*[1], at the least the small places about it, and then altogether enter into the Realm of *Naples*, from whence Messengers came daily to him. *Alexander* the Pope that now is, practised with him, and offered to become his perfect friend; for there was a breach between him and the Venetians; so far forth, that he sent a secret Messenger into *France*, whom my self conveyed into the Kings Chamber a little before his death. The Venetians were ready to practise against *Milan*: as touching *Spain*, you have heard how it was affected to him. The King of Romains desired nothing so much as his friendship, and that they two might joyn their forces together, to recover that which appertaineth to them in *Italy*: for the said *Maximilian* was great enemy to the Venetians, because they with-hold divers things, both from the House of *Austrich* (whereof he is heir) and also from the Empire[2].

Moreover, the King was well disposed a little before his death to lead his life according to the commandments of God, to reform all abuses in the Law and the Church, and to diminish his Receits and Revenues, purposing to levy of his people only twelve hundred thousand franks over and above his demains, which sum the three Estates granted him by way of subsidy at *Tours*, at his first comming to the Crown; and this money he meant to imploy upon the defence of the Realm. But as touching himself he would have lived upon his demeans, according to the manner of the ancient Kings of *France*, and so might he well have done: for the demeans are great; yea, so great, if they were well ordered, that they surmount a million of Franks, certain customes and subsidies being annexed to them. If this his determination had taken effect, he should thereby much have eased his people, who pay at this present above two millions and a halfe of Franks, by way of subsidy. Moreover he took great pains in reforming the abuses of the order of Saint *Benet*, and

[1] Understand, to the end he might deliver it to the Florentines.

[2] They withhold from the House of *Austrich* a part of *Istria* & *Furly*, and from the Empire, *Padua* and *Verone*.

and other Orders of Religion : he called near about him holy and Religious men, and often heard them preach : he would willingly have brought to passe, if he could, that a Bishop should have had but one Bishoprick, and a Cardinall but two, and that the Clergy should have been resident upon their Benefices : but it had been a hard matter to reform the Churchmen. He gave great Alms to poor people a little before his death, as his Confessour the Bishop of *Angiers* (who was a worthy Prelate) enformed me. Lastly, he had built a publick Audience, where himself heard the suites of all men, especially of the poor, and dispatched many matters : my self saw him in this place two hours together, but eight dayes before his death, which was the last time, that ever I saw him : no matters of great importance were dispatched there ; but by this means he held men in fear, especially his Officers, some also of the which he displaced, for extortion and bribery.

But the eighth day of *April*, in the year 1498. upon Palme Sunday even, the King being in this glory, as touching the world, and in this good mind towards God, departed out of the Chamber of Queen *Anne* Dutchesse of *Britain* his wife, leaving her with him to see the tennice players in the trenches of the Castle, whither he had never led her before, and they two entred together into a Gallery, called *Haquetbacs* Gallery, because the said *Haquetbas* had in times past held watch and ward in it. It was the uncleanest place about the Castle, for every man made water there, and the entry into it was broken down : Moreover, the King as he entred knocked his brow against the door, notwithstanding that he were of very small stature. Afterward, he beheld a great while the tennice playing, talking familiarily with all men. My self was not present there, but his said Confessor, the Bishop of *Angiers*, and those of his Chamber, that were nearest about him, have informed me of this I write : for as touching my self, I was gone home eight dayes before to my house. The last word he spake being in health was, that he hoped never after to commit deadly sin, nor venial if he could : in uttering of which words he fell backward and lost his speech, about two of the clock at afternoon, and abode in this Gallery till eleven of the clock at night. Thrice he recovered his speech, but it continued not with him, as the said Confessor told me, who had shriven him twice that week, once of ordinary, and once for those that came to be cured of the Kings evill. Every man that listed entred into the Gallery, where he lay upon an old mattresse of straw, from the which he never arose till he gave up the Ghost, so that nine hours he continued upon it. The said Confessor, who was continually by him, told me, that all the three times he recovered his speech he cryed ; My God, and the glorious Virgin *Mary*, Saint *Claude*, and Saint *Blase* help me. Thus departed out of this world this mighty and puissant Prince in this miserable place, not being able to recover one poor Chamber to dye in : notwithstanding he had so many goodly houses, and built one so sumptuous at that present. These two examples above rehearsed declare the greatnesse of Gods power, and the shortnesse and misery of mans life, which traineth with it great cares for the purchasing of worldly goods and honours, and shew withall that death is common to all men, the which a Prince can no more avoid then a poor plowman.

CHAP. XIX. *How the holy man, Frier* Hierome *was burned at* Florence *by the procurement of the Pope, and of divers Florentines and Venetians his enemies.*

I Have told you before in this discourse of our Voyage to *Naples*, that there was at *Florence*, a Frier *Jacobin* called *Hierome*, who had been resident there the space of fifteen years, being a man famous for his holy life, and whom myself saw and communed with, in the year of our Lord 1495. The said Frier, as above is mentioned, foretold divers things, and affirmed alwayes, that the King should passe over the Mountains into *Italy*, and preached so openly ; saying, that he understood both this and all the other things whereof he spake by revelation. He said further, that the King was chosen of God to reform the estate of the Church with the Sword, and to chastise Tyrants. But because he affirmed that he understood these things by revelation, many murmured against him, and he procured himself the displeasure of the Pope, and of divers others in the Town of *Florence*. He led the holiest life, that any man could lead, as appeared both by his conversation and also by his sermons, wherein he preached against all kind of vice, so that he reformed the

loose

looſe lives of many of the ſaid City. But in this year 1498, about the ſelf ſame time that King *Charles* ended his life, died alſo this Frier *Hierome*, within four or five dayes the one of the other. The cauſe why I write this unto you, is, for that he preached alwayes openly, that the King ſhould return again into *Italy*, to execute the Commiſſion, that God had given him, which was to reform the Church by the Sword, and to chaſe Tyrants out of the Country; and that in caſe he did it not, God would puniſh him cruelly; and all his former Sermons, and all that he made at this preſent, he put forth in print, and they are to be ſold. This threatning, that he uſed againſt the King; ſaying, that God would puniſh him cruelly unleſſe he returned: the ſaid Frier writ alſo divers times to him before his death, and the like he told me with his own mouth, when I ſpake with him at our return out of *Italy*, ſaying that God had pronounced ſentence againſt the King in Heaven, unleſſe he executed that which he commanded him, and reſtrained his men from ſpoil. Now you ſhall underſtand, that about the time of the Kings death, the Florentines were at great variance within the City: ſome deſired the Kings return, and waited daily for it, becauſe of the great hope Frier *Hierom* gave them thereof: but in the mean time, they conſumed themſelves and waxed marvellous poor, by reaſon of the great charges they ſuſtained in hope to recover *Piſa*, and the other places that they had put into the Kings hand, whereof the Venetians held *Piſa*. But otherſome gave advice to take part with the League, and utterly to abandon the King, ſaying, that they were abuſed, that it was folly to look for his return, and that Frier *Hierom* was an Heretick, and a whoremaſter, and that it were Almes to put him into a ſack, and throw him into the River; but he was ſo befriended in the Town, that they durſt not attempt it. The Pope alſo, and the Duke of *Milan* writ often againſt this Frier, offering the Florentines to cauſe *Piſa*, and their other places to be reſtored them, if they would depart from their League with the King, and take Frier *Hierome*, and puniſh him. And by chance at that preſent a new Seniory was choſen in *Florence*, whereof many were enemies to this Frier. For you ſhall underſtand, that the ſaid Seniory changeth at every two months end. Wherefore the ſaid *Hieroms* enemies ſuborned a Frier Franciſcan to pick a quarrell to him and called him Heretick, affirming, that he abuſed the people, in ſaying, he underſtood any thing by revelation: for proof whereof, He offered himſelf to the fire, and theſe words he ſpake before the Seniory. Frier *Hierome* would not preſent himſelf to the fire, but a Companion of his ſaid, that he would enter into the fire for him: and then another Companion of the Frier Franciſcan preſented himſelf on the otherſide: whereupon a day was aſſigned, when they ſhould enter into the fire. Upon the which they both came accordingly, accompanied each of them with his Covent: but the *Jacobin* brought the Sacrament in his hand, which the Friers Franciſcan and the Seniory alſo commanded him to lay down, which he refuſed to do: wherefore they returned again to their Covents. Then the People moved by the ſaid Frier *Hieromes* enemies, went with the Seniories commiſſion and took him, with two others of his Companions in his Covent, and at the very firſt racked him cruelly; they ſlue alſo the chiefeſt Citizen in the Town called *Francis Vallory*, becauſe he was the Friers great friend. Moreover, the Pope ſent his commiſſion, whereby he authoriſed them to make their proceſſe; and in the end, they burned them all three. They charged him with theſe two points onely; firſt that he raiſed diſcord in the Town: and ſecondarily that he underſtood by his friends of the Councill all that he vaunted to know by Revelation. For my part I will neither accuſe them, nor excuſe them for this deed; neither know I whether they did well or evill, in putting him to death: but ſure he told many things, that proved true, which he could not receive from the Councill of *Florence*. And as touching the King, and the evils he ſaid ſhould happen to him, they came to paſſe as he propheſied: for firſt he told him of the Daulphin his Sons death and after of his own, as my ſelf can witneſſe. For I have ſeen the Letters he writ thereof to the King.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX. *Of the Obſequies and Funerals of King* Charles *the eighth, and of the Coronation of King* Lewis *the twelfth, his Succeſſor, with the Genealogies of the Kings of* France *continuing to the ſaid* Lewis.

THE Kings diſeaſe was a Catarrhe or an Apoplexy : his Phyſitians hoped it would have fallen down into one of his Arms, the loſſe whereof they ſomewhat doubted, but feared no whit any danger of death : notwithſtanding the contrary to their expectation happened. He had four Phyſitians, but gave credit only to the worſt of them, and that ſo great, that the others durſt not utter their minds : for they would gladly have purged him four dayes before he died, becauſe they ſaw in his body the occaſions of his death. Every man ran to the Duke of *Orleans*, who was to ſucceed him as next heir to the Crown. But King *Charles* his Chamberlains cauſed him to be richly buried, and immediately after his death, began ſolemne Service for him, which continued both day and night : for when the Cannons ended, the Friers Franciſcans began, and when they ended the *Bons-Hommes* [1], which was an Order founded by himſelf : his body remained at *Amboiſe* eight dayes, partly in his Chamber, which was richly hanged, and partly in the Church. All ſolemnities belonging to his funerals, were more ſumptuous than ever were any King of *France* : for his Chamberlains, Officers, and thoſe that were near about him, never departed from his body till it was laid in the ground, which was about a moneth after his death, all the which ſpace this ſolemne ſervice continued ; ſo that the charges of his funerals amounted to five and forty thouſand franks, as divers of the Receit have informed me. I arrived at *Amboiſe* two dayes after his death, and went to ſay my prayers over his body, where I abode five or ſix hours. And to ſay the truth, I never ſaw ſo great mourning, and lamentation, nor that continued ſo long for any Prince, as for him : and no marvel ; for he had beſtowed upon thoſe that were near about him, namely his Chamberlains, and ten or twelve Gentlemen of his privy chamber, greater Offices and gifts, then ever did King of *France*, yea, too great to ſay the truth. Beſides that, he was the mildeſt and courteouſeſt Prince that ever lived ; for, I think, he never gave foul word to any man : wherefore in a better hour could he not dye, both to leave his fame behind him in Hiſtories, and to be bewailed of thoſe that ſerved him. And I think verily, that my ſelf am the man, whom of all other he uſed roughlieſt, but becauſe I knew it to be the fault of his youth, and not to proceed of himſelf, I could never love him the worſe for it.

[1] This was an Order of Religion deviſed by the King.

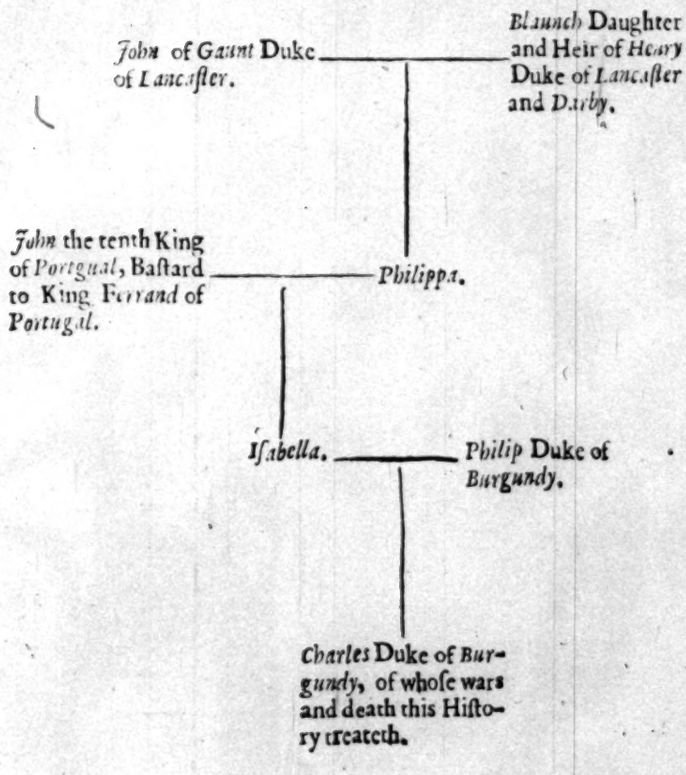
After I had ſtayed one night at *Amboiſe*, I went to the new King, with whom I had been more familiar than any man : and further for his ſake had ſuſtained all my troubles and loſſes, which now he ſeemed little to remember : Notwithſtanding with great wiſdome he took poſſeſſion of the Crown, for he changed no penſions that year, though half the year were yet to come, neither diſplaced many Officers, but ſaid, that he would mantain every man in his eſtate ; whereby he won great honour. Moreover, with all ſpeed poſſible he went to his Coronation, whereat my ſelf was preſent. And theſe that follow repreſented the Peers of *France*. The firſt was the Duke of *Alencon*, who repreſented the Duke of *Burgundy* ; the ſecond the Duke of *Bourbon*, who repreſented the Duke of *Normandy* ; the third the Duke of *Lorrain*, who repreſented the Duke of *Guienne*. The firſt Earl was *Philip* Lord of *Ravaiſtain*, who repreſented the Earl of *Flaunders* ; the ſecond *Engilbert* of *Cleves*, who repreſented the Earl of *Champaine* ; the third the Earl of *Foix*, who repreſented the Earl of *Thorouſe*. and the ſaid King *Lewis* the twelfth now raigning, was crowned at *Reims* 27 of *May*, the year 1498, and is the fourth that hath come to the Crown by collaterall line. The two firſt were *Charls Martell*, or *Pepin* his Son, and *Hugh Capet*, who were both of them Maſters of the Pallace, or Governors of thoſe Kings, whom they depoſed from the Crown, which afterward themſelves uſurped ; the third was King *Philip* of *Valois* ; and the fourth, the King that now raigneth : but theſe two latter came to the Crown by juſt and lawfull title. The firſt Genealogy of the Kings of *France* begin-neth at *Meronee* : two Kings had raigned in *France* before the ſaid *Meronee* ; namely *Pharamond*, who was firſt choſen King of *France* (for his Predeceſſors were called Dukes or Kings of *Gaule*) and his Son *Claudio*. The ſaid *Pharamond* was choſen King the year of Grace 420, and reigned ten years, and his Son *Claudio* eighteen ; ſo that theſe two Kings

raigned

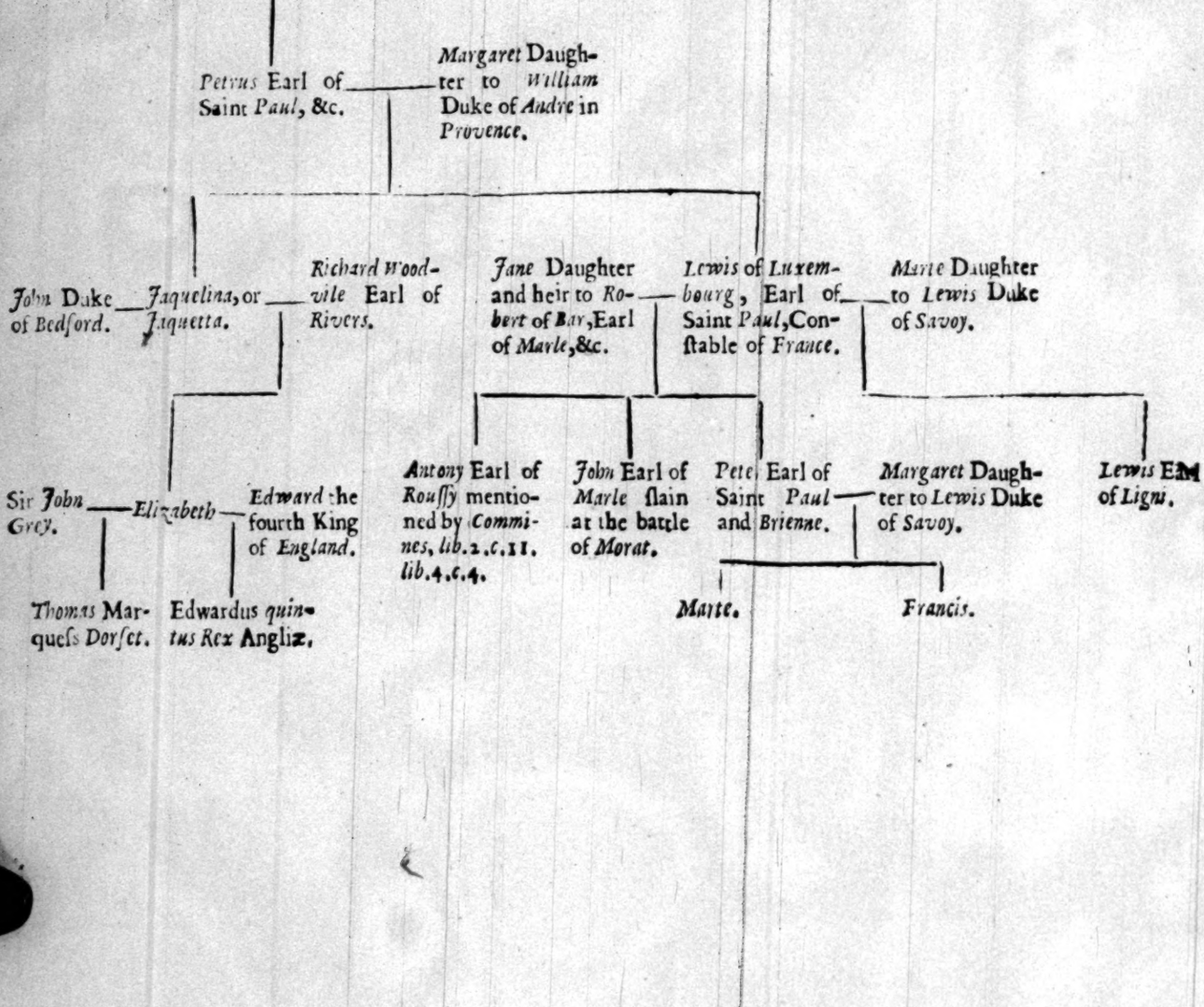
raigned eight and twenty years: and *Meronee* who succeeded next after was not Son, but Colen to the said *Claudio*. Wherefore it seemeth, that the right line of the Kings of *France* hath failed five times: notwithstanding (as before I said) men begin the first line at *Meronee*, who was crowned King in the year of our Lord 448, from the which time to the Coronation of King *Lewis* the twelfth, are numbred 1050 years. But if you reckon from *Pharamond*, you must adde eight and twenty more, which make 1078 years, since there was first King of *France*. From *Meronee* to the Reign of *Pepin* (when the line of the said *Meronee* failed) are numbred 333 years. From *Pepin* to *Hugh Capet* raigned the true line of the said *Pepin*, and *Charlemain* his Son, the space of 237 years. The right line of *Hugh Capet* raigned 339 years, and ended in King *Philip* of *Valois*: and the right line of the said King *Philip* of *Valois*, continued till the death of King *Charles* the eighth, which happened in the year of our Lord 1498. The said King *Charles* was the last of this line, the which had continued 169 years, during the which space, these seven Kings raigned in *France*, *Philip* of *Valois*, King *John*, *Charles* the fifth, *Charles* the sixth, *Charles* the seventh, *Lewis* the eleventh, and *Charles* the eighth, in whom the right line of *Philip* of *Valois* ended.



How *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* was of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, as *Commines* mentioneth *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. and in other places.

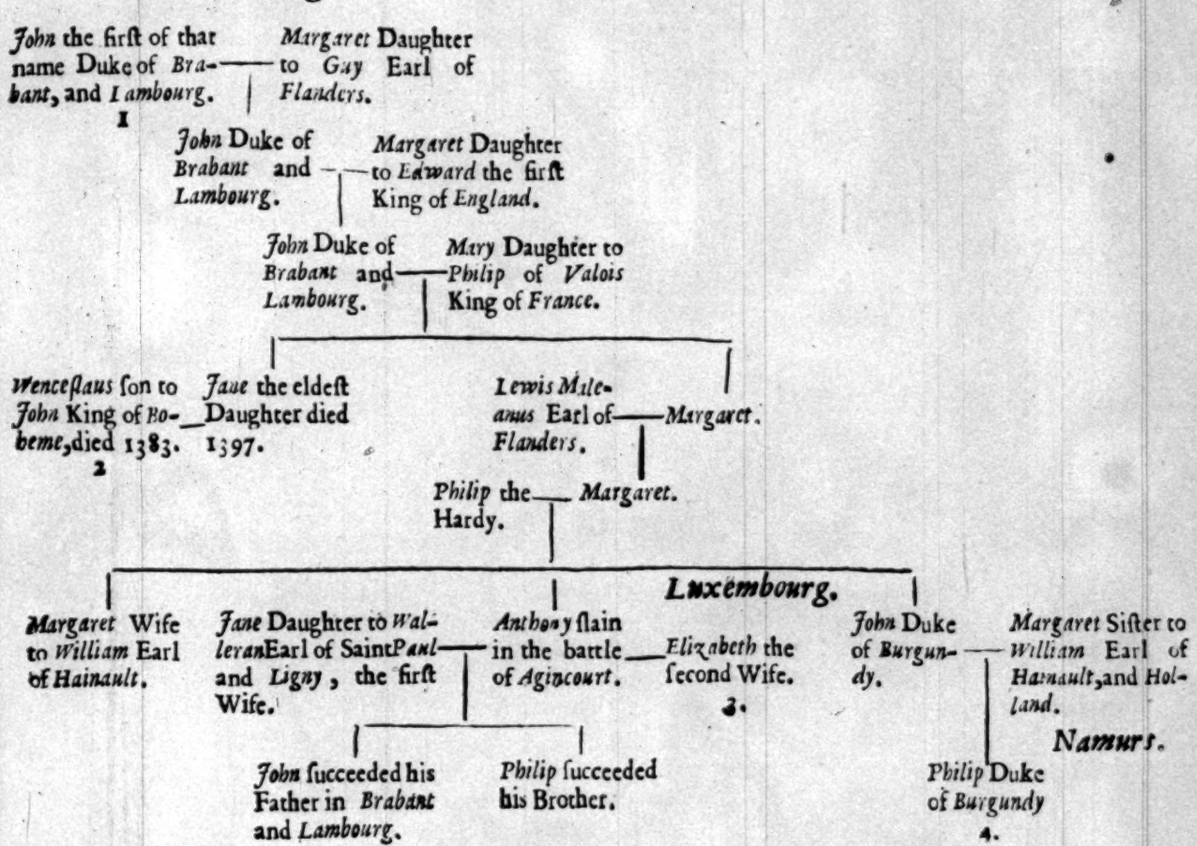


How *Elizabeth* wife to King *Edward* the fourth, was Neece to the Constable of *France*, as mentioneth *Commines*, *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 15.



How

How *Brabant*, *Lambourg*, *Luxemburg*, and *Namurs*, came to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, as mentioneth *Commines*, *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 13.



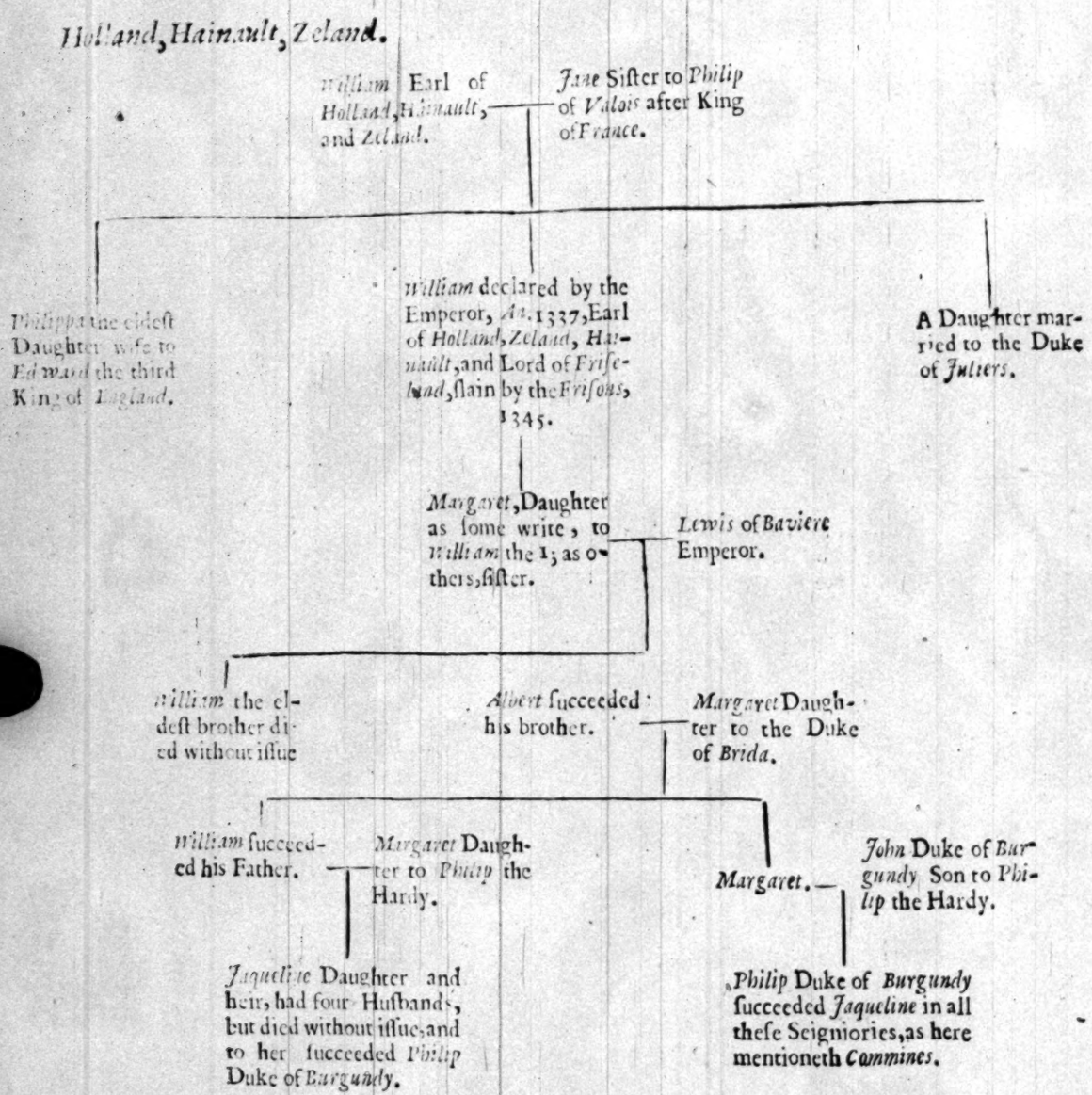
1. *Lambourg* was erected into a Dutchy 1172, and *Henry* the last Duke thereof (who died without issue 1293) sold it to *John* the first of that name Duke of *Brabant*. But *Henry* Earl of *Luxembourg* Father to *Henry* the Emperor, and the Bishop of *Colyn*, and one called the Earl *Ghelric* invaded the Dutchy of *Lambourg*, with them Duke *John* fought near to the Castle of *Voronc*, and took the Earl *Ghelric* (who pretended title to *Lambourg*) and the Bishop of *Colyn* prisoners: the Earl of *Luxembourg*, with two of his brethren was slain, the Castle of *Voronc* razed, since the which time, *Lambourg* hath remained quiet under the Dukes of *Brabant*.

2 *Wenceslaus* succeeded *John* Duke of *Brabant*, but he died 1383, without issue and after his Wife dying, *Anno* 1397, left *Brabant* and *Lambourg* to *Anthony* second Son to *Philip* the Hardy, the said *Janes* grand Nephew, by *Margaret* her younger Sister; after whose death and his two Sons *John* and *Philip*, *Brabant* and *Lambourg*, descended to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, as mentioneth *Commines* in the place above rehearsed.

3. *Elizabeth* second Wife to *Anthony* Duke of *Brabant*, was Daughter to *John* Duke of *Gorlic*, Brother to the Emperors *Wenceslaus* and *Sigismundus*, who partly in respect of this marriage, partly for money gave to Duke *Anthony* this Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, but after his death, they and *William* Duke of *Saxony*, who had married *Sigismundus* Daughters Daughter, sought to dispossesse her of it: but Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy* ever defended her, and after her death succeeded her as well, by her gift, as also as Heir to Duke *Anthony* (his two Sons being dead) who had paid money to *Wenceslaus* and *Sigismund* for it: afterward also *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* bought the title of *Isabella* (Wife to *Cassimirus* King of *Polonia*, and Neece to the Emperour *Sigismund*) to the Dutchy of *Luxembourg* to hold it without quarrel.

4. As touching *Namurs*. Duke *Philip* bought it for his mony of divers, that pretended title to it, especially of *John* Earl of *Namur*, who sold it to Duke *Philip* under condition to hold it during his life, which hapned 1428.

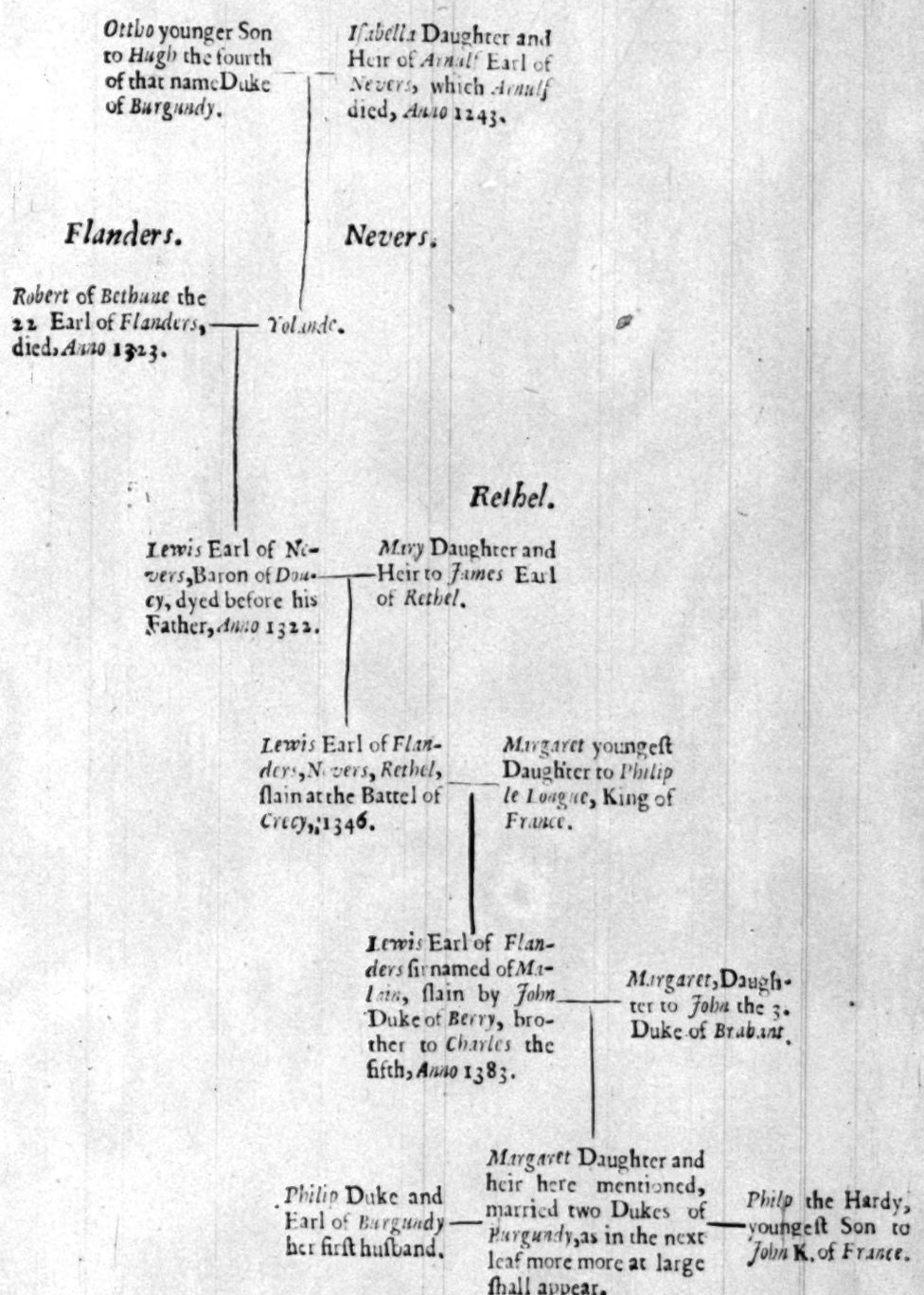
How *Holland*, *Hainault*, and *Zeland*, came to Duke *Philip*, as mentioned *Commines*, *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 13. where also the Queens Majesties title to the said Countries is somewhat touched:



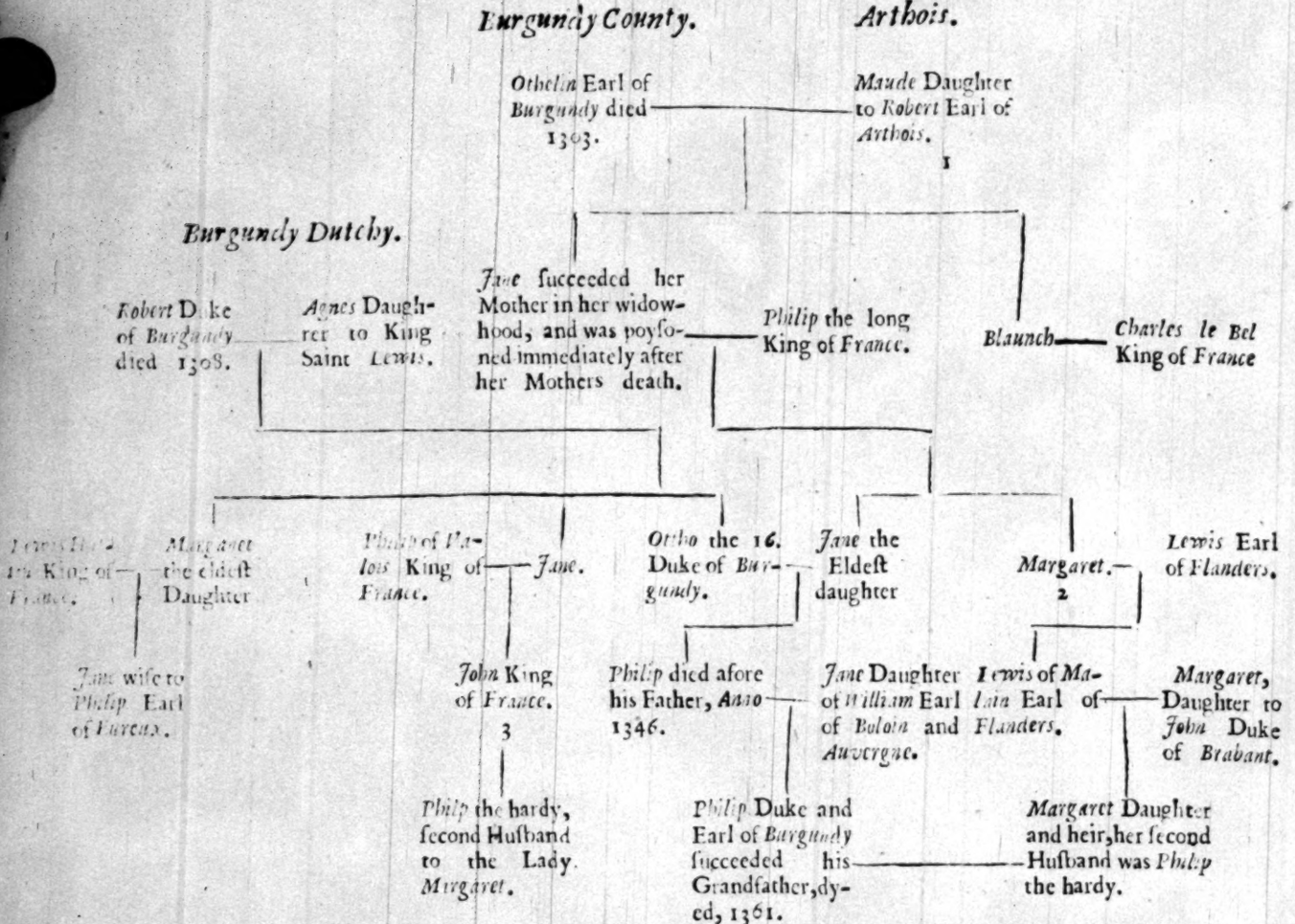
1 This *Margaret*, *Guicchiardin* writeth to have been Daughter to *William* the younger, Earl of *Hainault*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*; but *Annales Genealogique Franciæ* say, that she was Sister not Daughter to *William*, as do also other most approved Authors. And if she were but Sister, then the Queens Majesty being descended of *Philippa* the said *Williams* eldest Sister, is right heir of all these Countries. *Meyerus lib.* 12. *fol.* 140. *pag.* 2. and *fol.* 147 *pag.* 1. saith, that *Margaret* was Sister not Daughter to Duke *William*, which also is the more manifestly proved, because the Wife of this *William* was *Jane*, the eldest Daughter to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, who overlived her Husband, and after married *Wenceslaus* Brother to the Emperor *Charls* the fourth: which woman never had issue; yet finde we no mention of any other Wife that *William* the younger Earl of *Hainault* had.

How

How *Margaret* of *Flanders* was Heir of *Flanders*, *Nevers*, and *Rethel*, as is mentioned, *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 13. *&* *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 11. the which *Margaret* married with *Philip* the Hardy, youngest Son to *John* King of *France*.



How *Arthois* and the County of *Burgundy* descended to the said Lady *Margaret* abovementioned, and how she married two Dukes of *Burgundy*; and how *Philip* the Hardy her second Husband obtained the Dutchy of *Burgundy* after the death of *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* her first Husband.



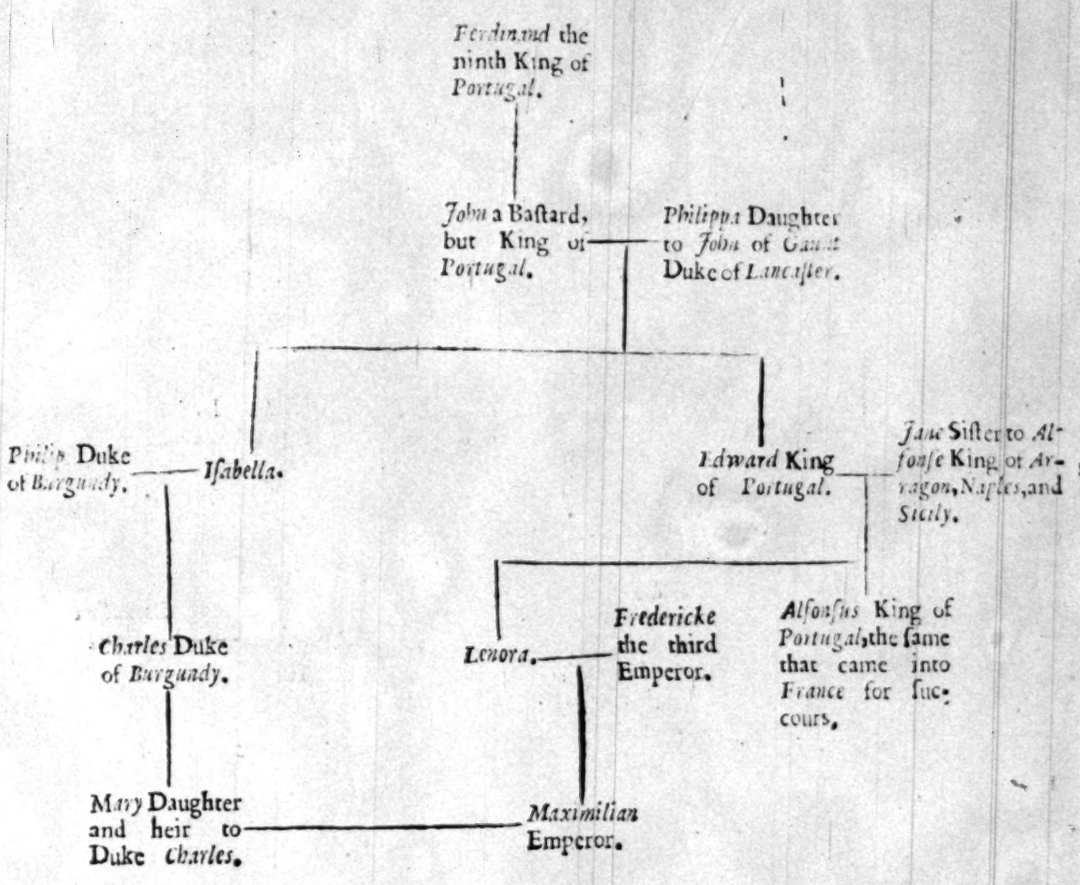
1 Touching the title of *Arthois* this is to be observed, that *Robert* Earl of *Arthois* Father to *Maude*, had a Son named *Philip*, who died before his Father, and left behinde him a Son, named *Robert* Earl of *Beaumont*, who after his Grandfathers death demanded the Country of *Arthois*: but this *Maude* by favour of the French King obtained it, because she was adjudged nearer heir to the Earl *Robert* being his Daughter, than the Earl of *Beaumont* being his Sons Son: for spite whereof, the Earl of *Beaumont* revolted to the King of *England*, of him are descended the Earls of *Eu*.

2 This *Margaret* being in her widdowhood, succeeded in *Arthois* and the County of *Burgundy* to *Philip* her Sister *Janes* Sons Son, and Husband to *Margaret* her Sons Daughter, to whom after her death the said Seigniories descended.

3 Touching the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, Note that after the death of *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, Nephew to *Otho* the 16. Duke of *Burgundy*, King *John* of *France*, being Son to *Jane* the said *Othos* younger Sister, seized the Dutchy of *Burgundy* into his hands, excluding *Jane* Daughter to *Margaret* the eldest Sister, as suspected of Bastardy, and after gave the said Dutchy to his youngest Son *Philip* the hardy, for his advancement in marriage with the Lady *Margaret* of *Flanders*.

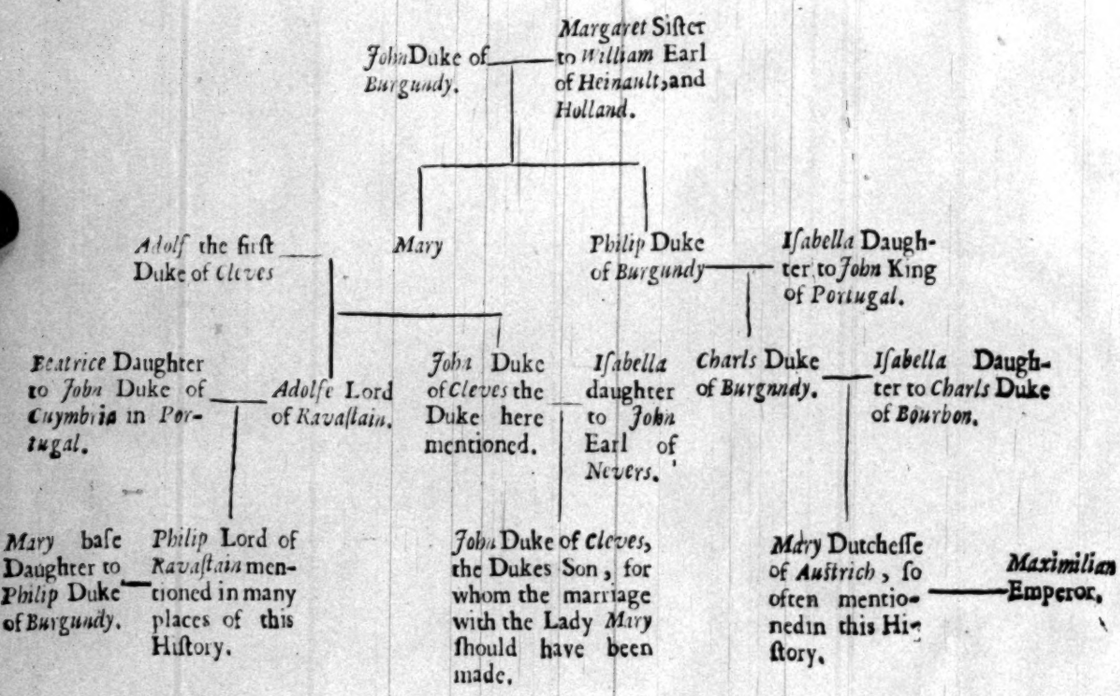
How

How the King of *Portugal* was Couſin germain to the Duke of *Burgundy*, as is mentioned *Lib. 5. cap. 7.*



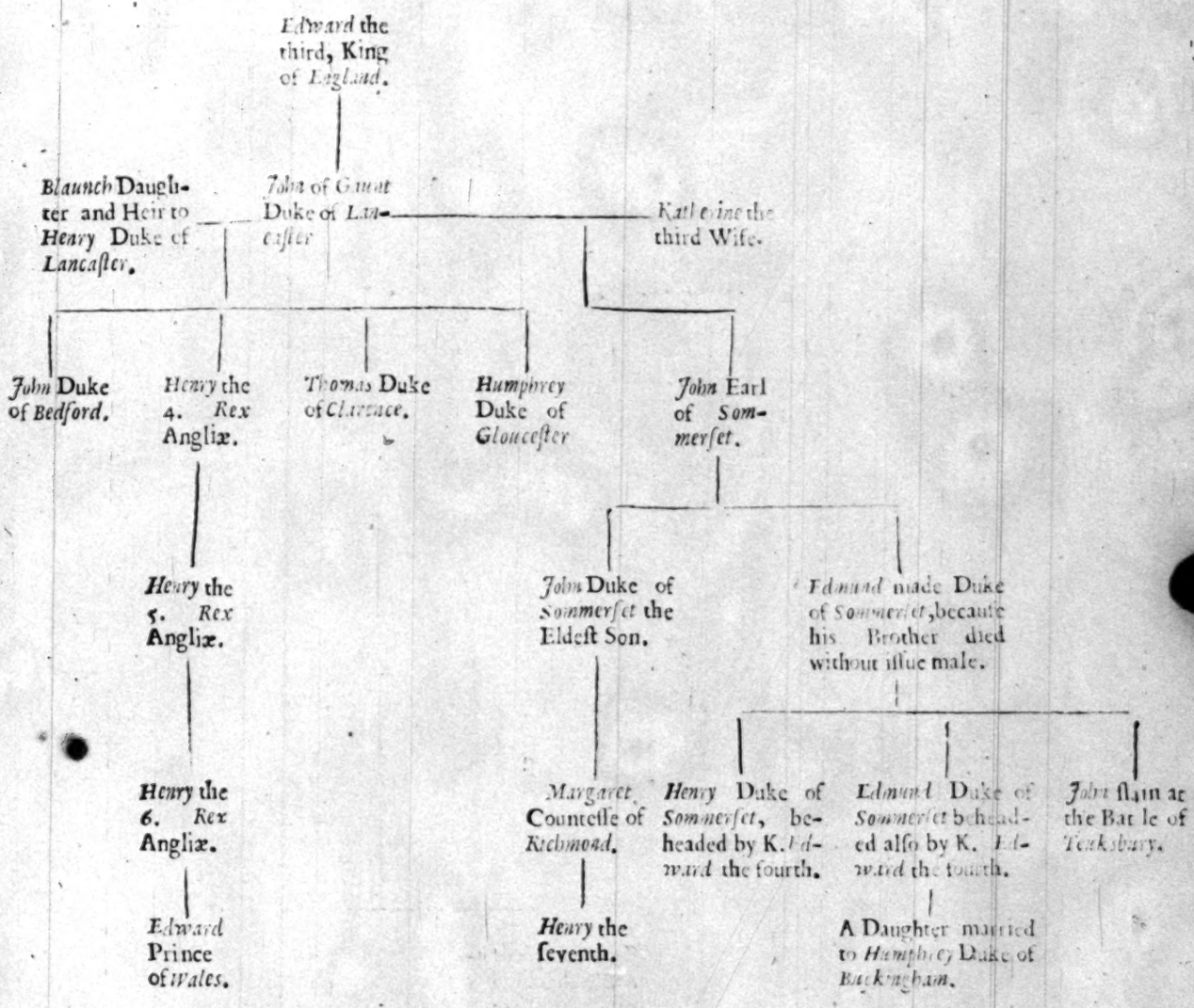
How

How the Duke of *Cleves* was the Lady of *Burgundyes* neareſt Kinſman by his mother, as is mentioned *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 16.



How

How King *Henry* the 7 was right heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, contrary to *Commines*, who affirmeth the contrary, *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 18. together with the excuſe of *Commines* error.

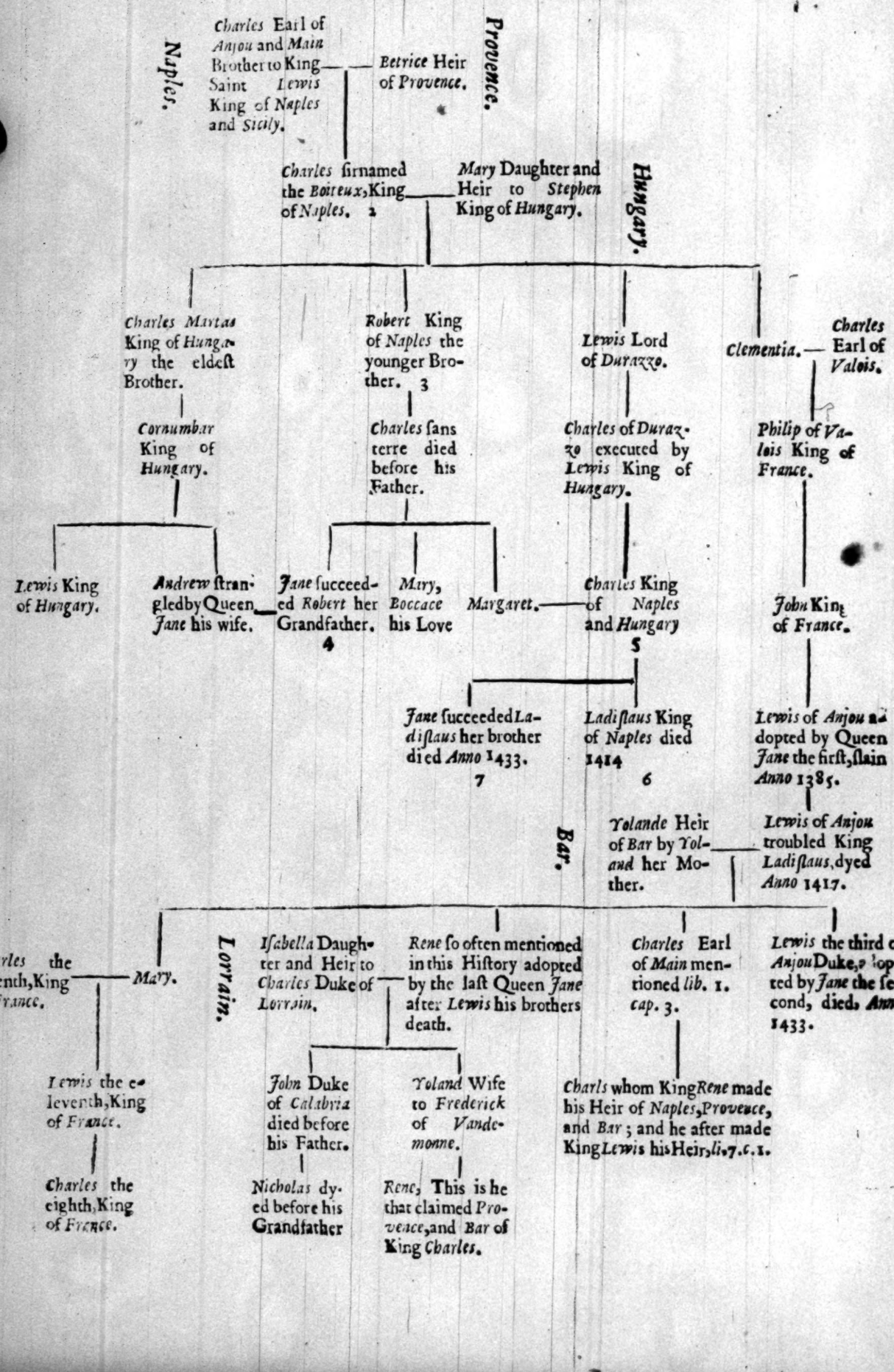


The Excuſe of *Commines* errour.

The Line of *Henry* the fourth being failed in Prince *Edward*, the right of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* came to the Houſe of *Sommerſet*, as here is ſet forth: but after the death of *John* Duke of *Sommerſet*, who died without Heir male, *Edmund* his Brother was made Duke of *Sommerſet*. Wherefore *Commines* knowing *Henry* the ſeventh to claim the right of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, as heir of the Houſe of *Sommerſet*, and ſeeing others to be Dukes of *Sommerſet* and not him: ſuppoſed them to be the elder Houſe to him; yet notwithſtanding was *Henry* the ſeventh nearer Heir than they, being by his Mother deſcended of the elder Brother, though they being of the male line obtained the title of *Sommerſet* before him. But this in my fanſie bred *Commines* error: and thus much in his excuſe

The

The title the Duke of *Lorrain* had to the Realm of *Sicily*, County of *Provence*, and Dutchy of *Bar*, mentioned by *Commines* *Lib.* 7. *cap.* 1 and the Kings title thereto: together with the whole quarrell between the House of *Arragon* and *Anjou*: and why the House of *Anjou* had the best title, as mentioneth *Commines*, *Lib.* 8. *Cap.* 16.



Hereby appeareth that the Duke of *Lorrain*, had the beſt title to *Provence*, as heir to *Lewis* the firſt of that name Duke of *Anjou*, to whom Queen *Jane* gave it: to *Naples* likewiſe, as heir to the Houſe of *Anjou*, by being Daughters Son to *Rene*, to whom Queen *Jane* the ſecond left it by her laſt Will and Teſtament; of *Bar* he was Heir, as Heir to *Yolland* his great Grandmother: and as touching the Teſtaments of the two firſt *Charles*, Kings of *Naples*; who, as it is alledged, ſo united *Provence*, that it could not be ſevered from the Realm of *Naples*, nor deſcend to the Heir Female, as long as a Male was living. Firſt, the example of Queen *Jane*, who ſucceeded *Robert* her Grandfather, divers Males living, proved there was never any ſuch Teſtament: Beſides, that King *Charles* was no more heir Male to thoſe Kings, than the Duke of *Lorrain*, for they both deſcended of them by a woman, namely *Clemence*, wife to *Charls* of *Valois*. So that the King had no colour to *Naples* or *Provence*, but at this day the whole title of the Houſe of *Anjou* thereto, reſteth in the now Duke of *Lorrain*, who is lineally deſcended of King *Rene*. Laſtly, the Reaſons whereupon *Comines* groundeth the Houſe of *Anjous* title to the Realm of *Naples* to be beſt, is onely becauſe *Lewis* of *Anjou* was made Heir thereof by Queen *Jane*'s laſt Teſtament, which revoketh all former Teſtaments.

The Story of this Pedegree of *Naples* and *Sicily*.

1. *Charles* Brother to Saint *Lewis* King of *France* obtained *Provence*, by marriage of *Beatrice* Daughter to *Raymond*, or *Robert*, or *Berengarius* Earl of *Provence*, who made her his Heir, though ſhe were his younger Daughter: after *Urbanus* the fourth, Pope of *Rome*, called him into *Italy* againſt *Manfridus*, King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, whom *Charls* ſlew in Battell, and after beheaded *Conradinus* alſo, who quarrelled the Realms of *Naples* and *Scicily*: But ſoon after *Peter* King of *Arragon*, who had married King *Manfridus* Daughter revolted *Sicily* from him and ſlew all the Frenchmen in an evening, and poſſeſſed *Sicily*, as his poſterity namely King *Philip* doth yet at this day. *Charles* was crowned King of *Naples* by *Urban* the fourth, *Anno* 1255, and after confirmed by *Clement* the fourth, and died *Anno* 1274.

2 *Charles* his Son, in his Fathers time ſeeking to recover *Sicily*, was taken priſoner by King *Peters* forces, and carried into *Arragon*, where he ſhould have been executed in revenge of *Conradinus* death (as two hundred Gentlemen, and Nobles taken with him were) had not *Conſtance* King *Peters* wife ſaved his life: after he was reſtored to *Naples*, paying for his ranſome 30000 Markes, and married the Daughter and Heir of *Stephen* King of *Hungary*, by whom he had nine Sons and five Daughters, whoſe offspring look in *Ocalanus*, pag. 309. he died *Anno* 1319. Theſe two Kings were they that our Author mentioneth *lib.* 7. *cap.* 1. that were ſaid to have made Teſtaments, that *Provence* could not be ſevered from the Realm of *Naples*, nor deſcend to the Female as long as there was an Heir male living, which appeareth to be falſe in the example of Queen *Jane*.

3. *Robert* King of *Naples* crowned by *Clement* the fifth, died without iſſue male *Anno* 1342; and left his Realm to *Jane* his Sons Daughter, under condition that ſhe ſhould marry *Andrew* younger Son to *Cornumbert* King of *Hungary* her coſin germain removed: Here is to be obſerved, that this *Robert* was younger Son to King *Charles*; but the ſaid King gave to *Charles* his eldeſt Son his Realm of *Hungary*, and *Naples* to this *Robert*. In his time lived *Petrarcha* and *Boccace*.

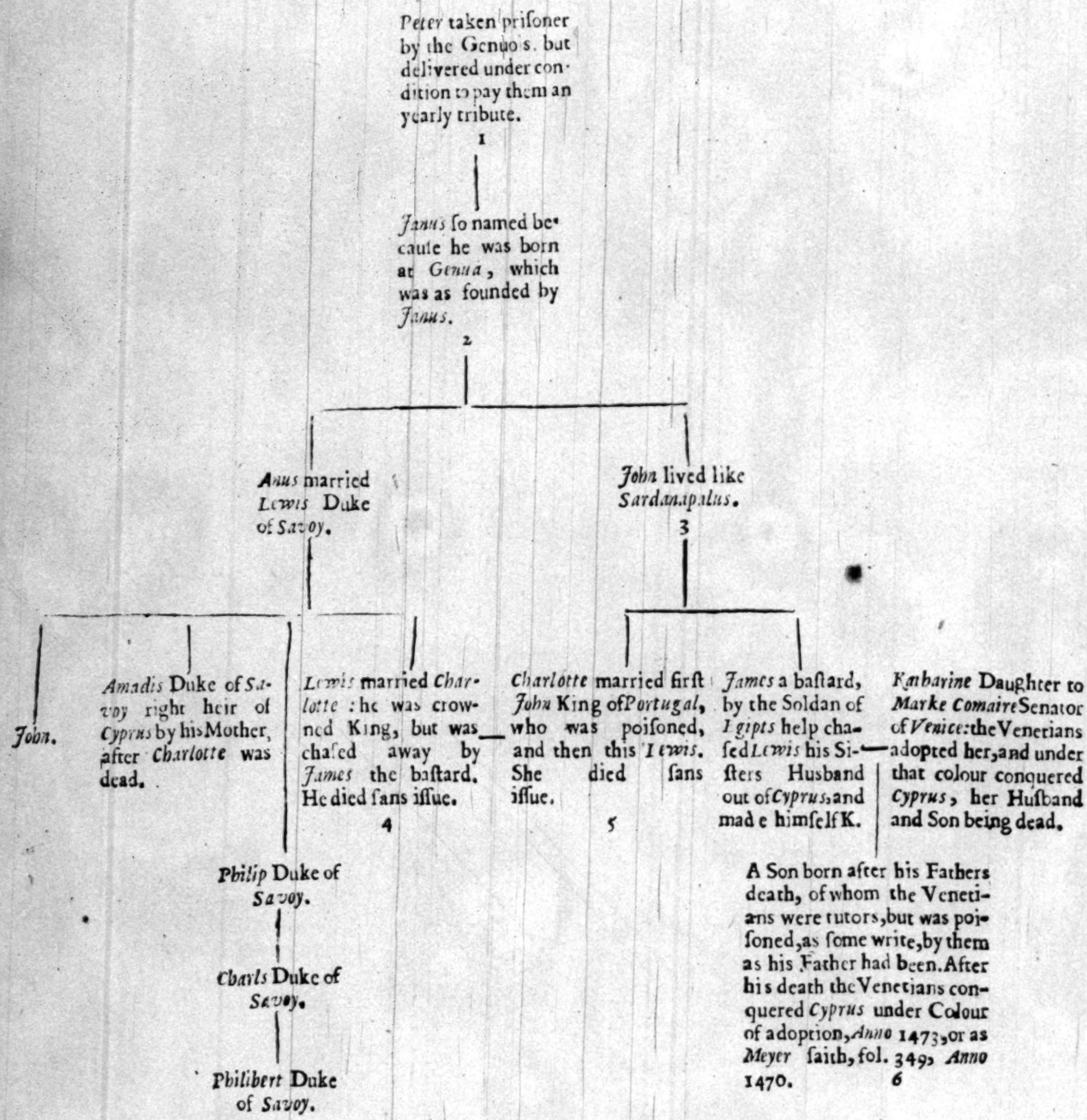
4. *Jane* Daughter of *Charles* ſans terre ſucceeded her Grandfather *Robert*, and married *Andrew* Son to the King of *Hungary*; as her ſaid Grandfather had appointed, whom within three years ſhe ſtrangled: whereupon *Lewis* King of *Hungary* his Brother came into *Italy*, chaſed Queen *Jane* out of *Naples*, executed *Charles* of *Durazzo*, as conſenting to his Brothers death, and carried *Charles* his Son with him into *Hungary*; after whoſe departure *Jane*, by the help of Pope *Clement*, returned and recovered *Naple*: but after ſhe fell out with Pope *Urbanus* the ſixth, who chaſed her into *Provence*, where ſhe adopted *Lewis* of *Anjou* Son to King *John* of *France*, and ſo returned to *Naples*, againſt whom the Pope called out of *Hungary Charles* Son to *Charles* of *Durazzo*, who recovered *Naples*, but *Provence* *Lewis* enjoyed: ſhe was Hanged *Anno* 1381.

5. *Charles* (Son to *Charles* of *Durazzo* beheaded) was led priſoner into *Hungary* by King *Lewis*, as before is mentioned, after whoſe death, he ſucceeded him in *Hungary*, as his next heir male: he was inveſted King of *Naples* by *Urbane* the ſixt againſt Queen *Jane*, whom he took priſoner *Anno* 1381, and hung at the ſame window that ſhe had hung her Huſband, and beheaded alſo *Mary*, Queen *Janes* Siſter (whom *Boccace* was enamoured of) as conſenting to her Siſters Huſbands death: He ſlew in Battle, *Anno* 1385 *Lewis* of *Anjou* adopted by Queen *Jane*, after he fell at variance with Pope *Urbane*. He was ſlain in *Hungary* by the treaſon of the old Queen King *Lewis* his wife, and her Daughter at a feaſt, *Anno* 1386. His wife was *Margaret* Queen *Janes* ſiſter.

6. *Ladiſlaus* loſt *Hungary*, by his Fathers murther but was at length received and crowned King of *Naples* by Pope *Boniface* the ninth *Anno* 1390, and then he chaſed *Lewis* the ſecond out of *Italy*; who, after his Fathers death, was come thither and got ſome part of the Realm. After *Ladiſlaus* fell out with *Alexander* the fifth, and tooke *Rome*, whereupon the Pope gave the Realm of *Naples* to *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who returned and vanquiſhed *Ladiſlaus*, and recovered *Rome*, but not knowing how to uſe the victory *Ladiſlaus* recovered himſelf, forced *Lewis* to retire into *France*, and then again took *Rome*, and died *Anno* 1414.

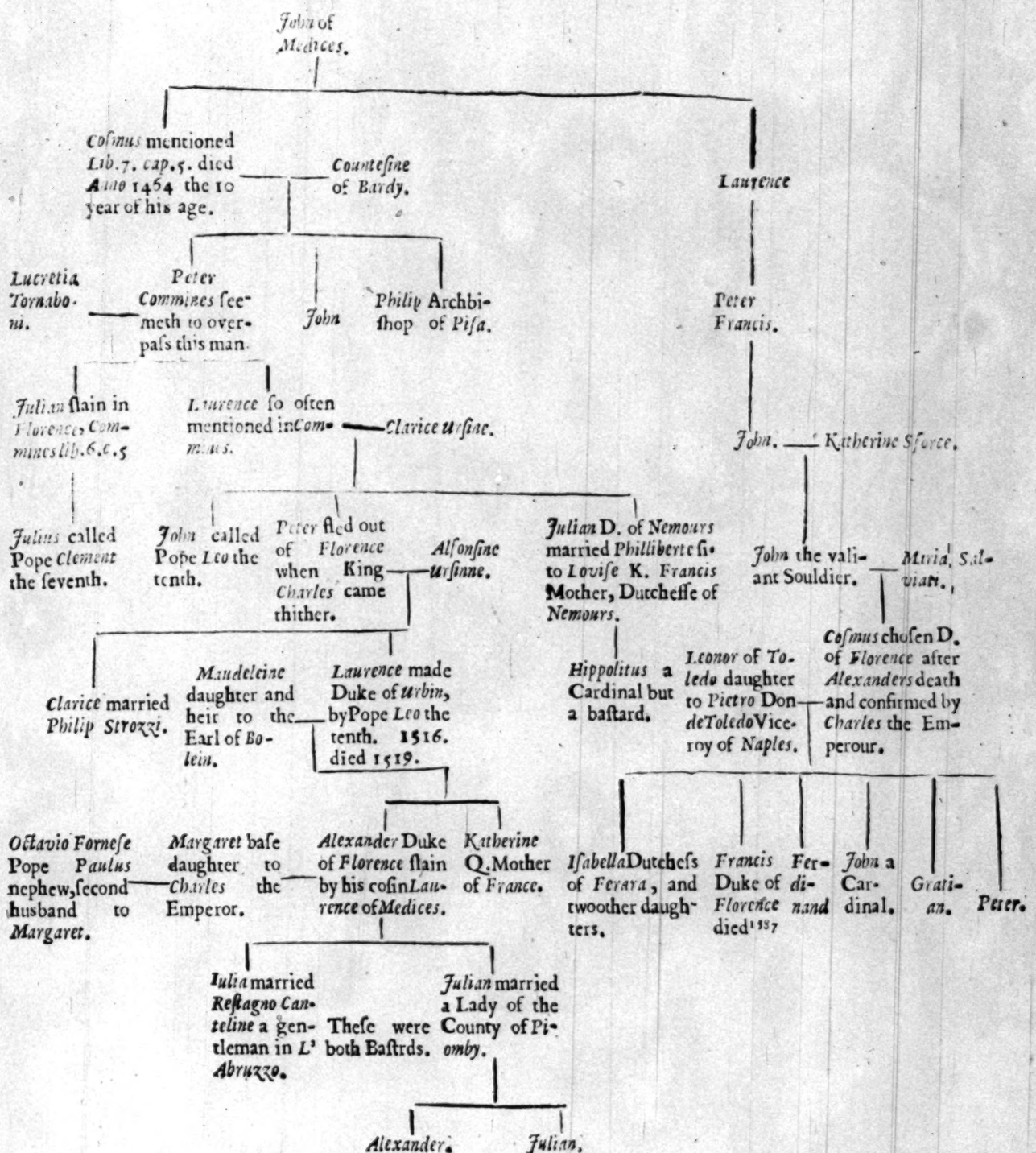
7. *Jane* the ſecond ſucceeded her brother *Ladiſlaus*: after ſhe fell out with the Pope, who called *Lewis* of *Anjou* the third of that name againſt her, then ſhe adopted *Alfonſe* of *Arragon*, who chaſed *Lewis* out of *Italy*: but *Alphonſe* and ſhe falling at variance, ſhe adopted *Lewis* of *Anjou*, her enemy, who recovered *Naples*, *Anno* 1424, and raigned with her till *Anno* 1432, or 1433, when they both died: and then ſhe made *Rene*, brother to *Lewis* his Heir: but he being then priſoner with *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* could not come to *Naples*; and then *Alphonſe* being diſmiſſed out of priſon by *Philip Maria* Duke of *Milan*, where he was alſo priſoner at the ſame time, prevailed and conquered *Naples* and was inveſted by Pope *Eugenius*. Since the which time the Anjouins have but quarrelled *Naples*, and as for the ſucceſſion of this *Alfonſe*, you ſhall ſee it in the laſt pedegree in the end of this Work.

Why the Venetians had no right to the Realm of *Cyprus*, as *Commines* writeth, *Lib.* 7 *cap.* 4.

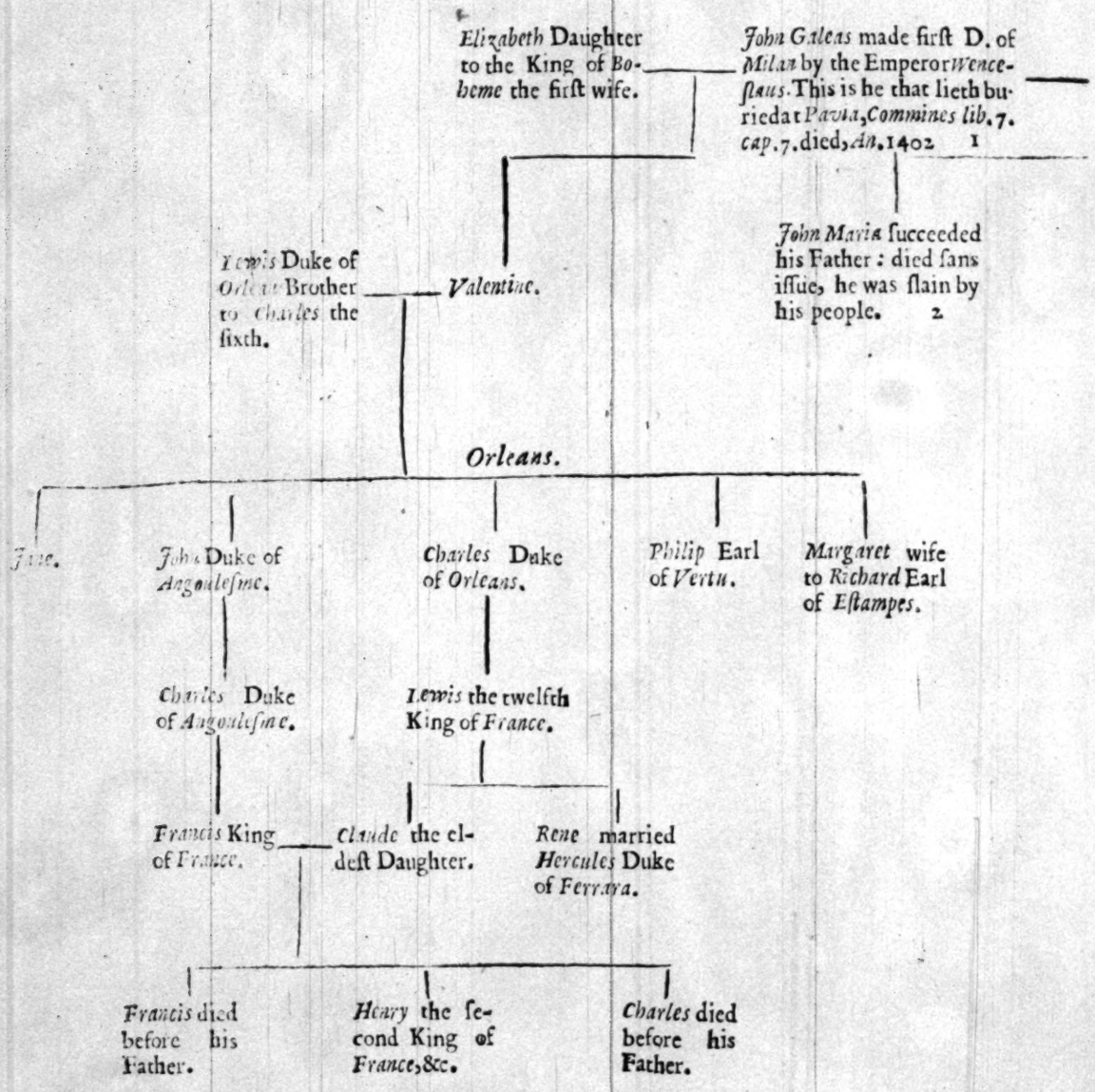


Hereby appeareth that the Duke of *Savoy* hath the right to *Cyprus*, not the Venetians: for *James* Husband to their adopted Daughter was a Bastard and an Usurper, and their adopted Daughter was a stranger to the Crown, and could pretend no title to it, *Sed male parta, malè dilabuntur.*

The Houſe of *Medices*, whereof ſo ample mention is made *Lib. 7. Cap. 5.*



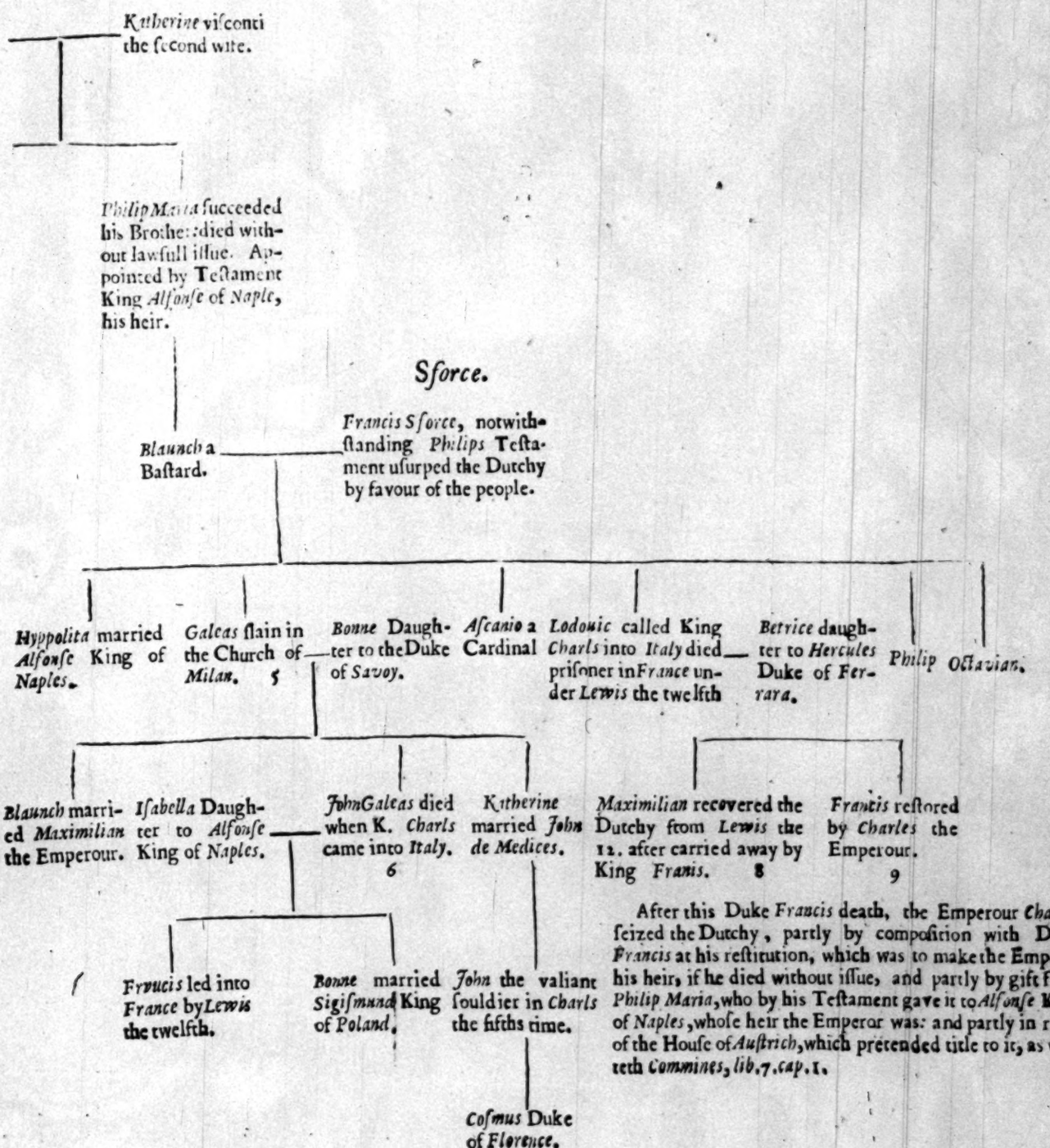
How *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, called after of *Milan*, as *Commines* mentioneth



The French King claimeth from *Valentine*, who ought to have succeeded her Brother *Philip Maria*, before *Blaunch* being his base Daughter.

Katherine

King *Lewis* the 12 pretended title to the Dutchy *Lib 7. cap. 6.* and in divers other places.



After this Duke *Francis* death, the Emperour *Charles* ſeized the Dutchy, partly by compoſition with Duke *Francis* at his reſtitution, which was to make the Emperor his heir, if he died without iſſue, and partly by gift from *Philip Maria*, who by his Teſtament gave it to *Alfonſe* King of *Naples*, whoſe heir the Emperor was: and partly in right of the Houſe of *Auſtrich*, which pretended title to it, as writeth *Commines*, *lib.7.cap.1.*

The pedegree of *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*, of whom ſo often mention is made in this Hiſtory.

The Family of Eſte Anceſtours of this *Nicholas* governed *Ferrara* from the year 1202, or not long after, it is held of the Pope.

Nicholas Lord or Marqueſs, as ſome call him, of *Ferrara*.

Obizome was made Generall of the Church and had therefore a penſion of ten thouſand ducats.

Nicholas vanquiſhed *Bernabo* Viſconti, ſucceeded his Father.

Albertus ſucceeded his Brother

Nicholas a Baſtard, under him was a council at *Ferrara*, vvhereat the Emperor of *Greece* vvas preſent.

Lionello a Baſtard ſucceeded his Father.

Borſo a Baſtard ſucceeded his Brother, becauſe his Brothers Son was young, he vvas created the firſt Duke of *Ferrara* by the Emperor *Frederick*. 1

Hercules expelled *Nicholas* his Nephew, he vvas Generall to the Florentines, Venetians, and Milainois. This is he ſo often mentioned in this Hiſtory, 3

Sigiſmundus.

Daughter to *John Franciſco Gonzaga*.

Nicholas ſucceeded *Borſo*, but his Unkle *Hercules* right Heir expelled him, and ſeeking to recover the ſtate, he vvas taken and beheaded by *Sigiſmundus* his other Unkle. 2

Beatrice married *Lodovick Sforce* Duke of *Milan*.

Lucretia Daughter to *Alexander* the ſixth Biſhop of *Rome*.

Alfonſe. 4

Laura.

Leonora Daughter to *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*.

Elizabeth married *Francis Gonzaga* the Marqueſs of *Mantua* mentioned in this Hiſtory.

Franciſcus.

Hippolitus a Cardinall.

Hercules. 5

Renee daughter to *Lewis* the 12. King of *France*

Alfonſus.

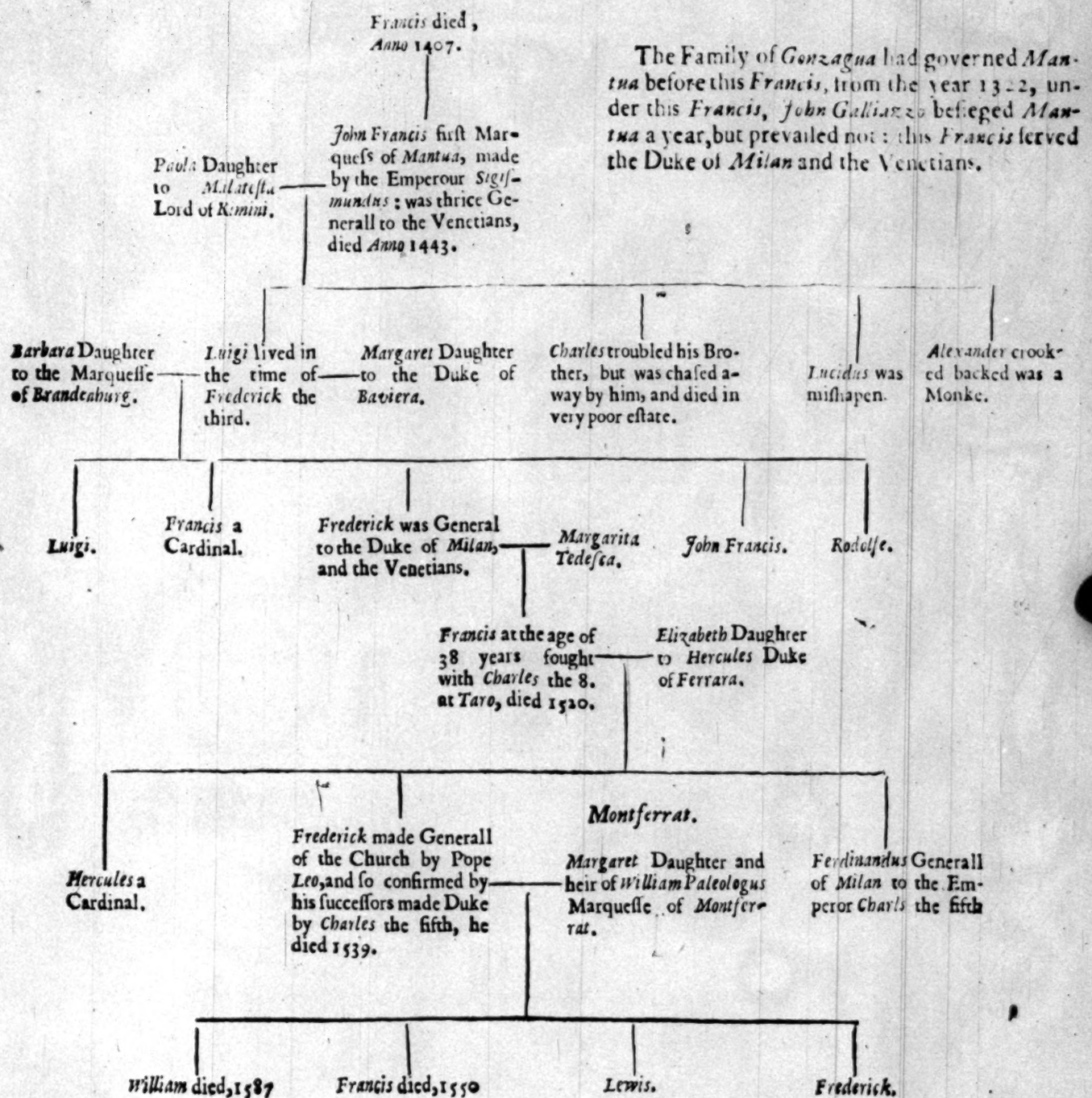
Alfonſinus.

Alfonſus Duke of *Ferrara*. 6

Luigi Cardinall of *Eſte*.

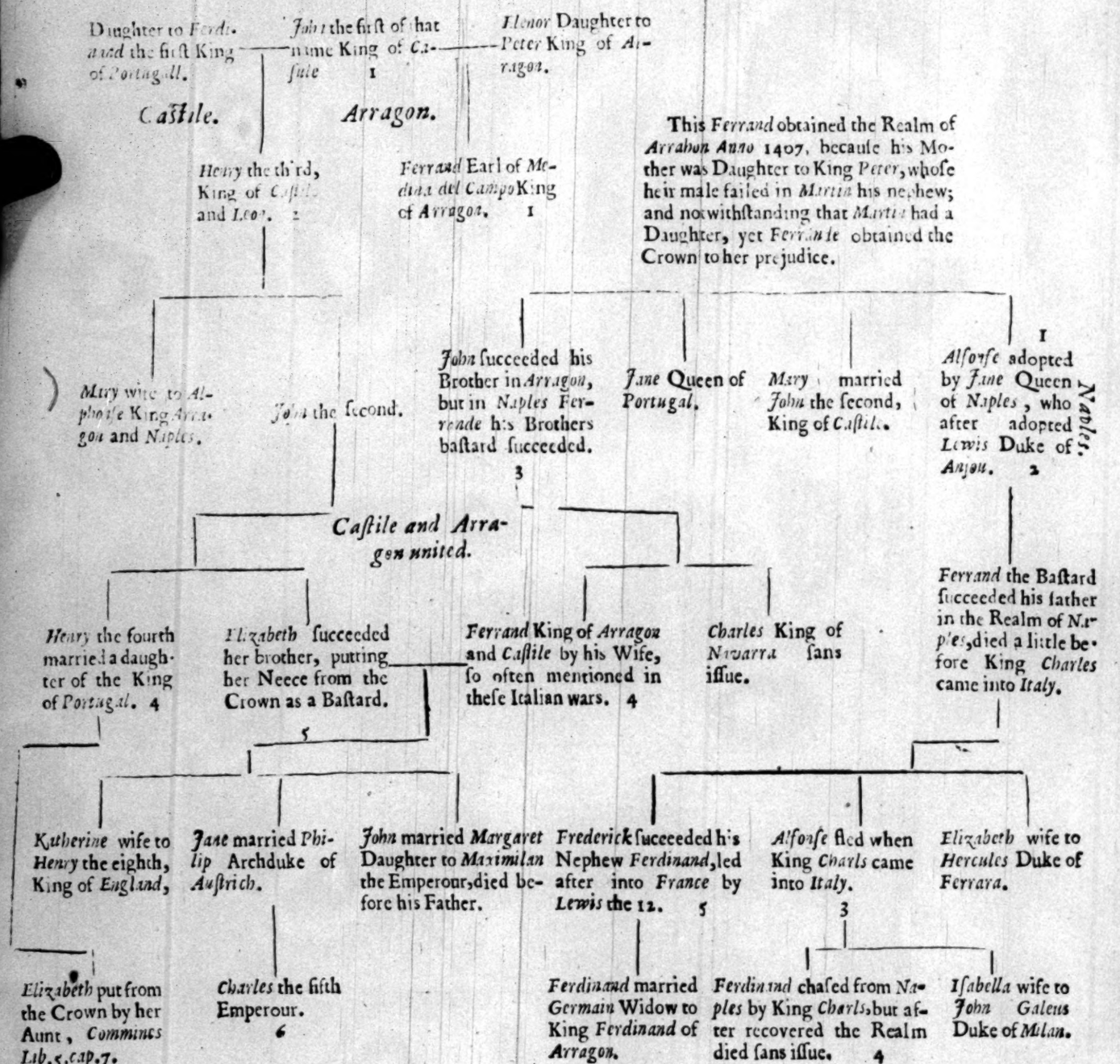
The

The Pedegree of *Francis* Marquess of *Mantua*, so often mentioned in this History.



How

How *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* had more right to the Realm of *Naples*, than the Kings of the House of *Arragon*, that possessed it, as writeth *Commines Lib. 8. cap. 17.*



The King of *Spain* had better right to *Naples*, than *Alfonse* that possessed it when King *Charles* came into *Italy*, because *Alfonses* father was a Bastard, and King *Ferrands* Father being the first *Alfonses* Brother, ought to have succeeded him, before his base Son. Further, you shall understand that after *Frederick* was led into *France* by *Lewis*, the 12. the said K *Lewis* enjoyed *Naples*, but within four years *Ferrand* King of *Arragon* by the great Captain *Consaluo* chased King *Lewis* out of the Realm, and left it to his Nephew *Charls* the Emperor, from whom the French King could never recover it; but at this day it is in the possession of the King of *Spain* Son to the Emperor *Charles*.

FINIS.

A SHORT DECLARATION,

Of some things which seem difficult in the History of *Philip de Commines* touching the War in *Italy*, under *Charles* the eighth.

JOHN SLEIDEN to the *READER* wisheth health.

WE purpose in a few words to explain some seeming difficulties, which are obvious in this History, And first, Touching the Vicounts, and the house of *Sforza*, which had possess'd it self of the Dutchy of *Milan*. It is about a thousand years since, that those who are now called *Lombards*, changing the place of their habitation, forsook *Panonia*, and came to inhabite a certain portion of *Italy*, named *Insubria* from the former Conquerors. About two hundred years after their settling in *Lombardy*, *Charles* the Great, took their Kingdom, together with all their Power.

The Country being thus reduced under the power of the *Roman* Empire obtained a Governour, who was commonly termed the Vicount, and in this manner was it governed, untill, that in the time of the Emperour *Wincestaus*, *Milan* was erected into a Dutchy, the occasion whereof was thus. The then Vicount *Galeazzo* being a man of equall wealth and cruelty, had assisted the Emperour at a pinch with a considerable summe of money, as was thereupon created Duke of *Milan*, upon condition, nevertheless, that he should do homage for it to the *Roman* Empire.

This *Galeazzo* had two Sons, *John* and *Philip*. The former a man so very wicked, that his Servants at length kill'd him; his Brother *Philip* succeeded him, he dying without heirs. *Philip* married *Bona* the Daughter of *France*, but dyed without issue. Her Sister *Valentine* married with *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, Son to the King of *France*, *Charles* the fifth, which said Duke was kil'd at *Paris* in the night, treacherously by certain men procured thereunto by *John* Duke of *Bourgongne*, and left three Sons, *Charles*, *Philip*, and *John*; *Charles* had one Son, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, of which often mention is made in this History: when he attained the Crown he was called *Lewis* the twelfth.

Philip Count *de Vertus*, dyed without heirs: *John* Count of *Angoulesm* had one only Son, *viz.* *Charles*, Father to *Francis* King of *France*, of that name the first, who died not long since. So that from the time of this *Valentine Lewis* the twelth, and after him, the succeeding Kings of *France* have maintained that *Milan* belongeth unto them.

As for the house of *Sforza*, it ought to be understood, That although *Philip* the third Duke of *Milan* had no lawful issue, yet he had a natural Daughter, married to *Francis Sforza*, of whom frequent mention is made in these Commentaries. This man being very vertuous, and active in feates of War, seized on the Dutchy of *Milan* after his Father in-laws death, a thing not difficult to be atchieved, if you reflect on the mortal War and great Broils, wherewith *France* was at that time perplex'd, both on the

 side

ſide of *Bourgongne*, and of *England*, which were then Confederated. *Sforza* had five Sons, *Galeazzo*, *John*, *Philip*, *Aſcanius*, and *Lewis*, of whom the Author maketh mention at large, and declareth the manner of his attaining the Dutchy.

Lewis the twelfth, King of *France*, having obtained a great Victory againſt him, ſeized on the Dutchy and carried him Priſoner into *France*; the ſaid Duke had two Sons, *Maximilian* and *Francis*, the former ſeized on the Dutchy, at ſuch time as Pope *Julius* troubled *France*; whereupon *Francis* the firſt, ſucceſſor to *Lewis* the twelfth, marched againſt *Milan*, diſcomfited the Switzers at *Marignan*, took him Priſoner, and carried him into *France*, where he dyed, as his Father alſo did.

His brother *Francis*, after many troubleſome affairs, being at length aſſiſted by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, waged War a long time againſt the French, until that in concluſion, he obtained a Victory, together with his Fathers Dukedom: He was the ſecond Duke of *Milan* of that name, and married the Neece to the Emperour, by his Siſter *Iſabella*. This *Francis* likewiſe dyed without iſſue, whereupon the Emperour ſeized all *Lombardy* into his own hands, and hath held it now about twelve years. It remaineth now, that we ſay ſomething concerning the Kingdom of *Naples*.

After the death of the Emperour *Frederick* the ſecond, this Kingdom was embroiled with long Wars, between the Arragonois and the Dukes of *Anjou*. At laſt *Jane* Queen of *Naples*, having by her laſt Will and Teſtament layed by *Alphonſus* King of *Arragon*, whom ſhe had formerly adopted, conſtituted *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou* her heir. After many reciprocal Victories on either ſide, the *Arragonians* obtained a very ſignal one, in conſequence of which, they held the Kingdom, untill ſuch time as *Charles* the eighth King of *France*, diſpoſſeſſed them, in ſuch manner as *Philip de Commines* hath here related. Howbeit the French held it but a little while, yet making an expedition into *Italy* under *Francis* the firſt, it was his misfortune to be taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Pavie*, after which, a treaty of Peace being concluded, it was agreed amongſt other Articles, that the ſaid King ſhould releaſe and quit claim to the Emperour *Charles* that Kingdom.

The Faction of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, began at ſuch time as *Frederick* the ſecond was Emperour, It took its firſt riſe in *Tuſcanie*, and from thence diſperſed it ſelf over all *Italy*. The *Guelphs* ſided with the Pope and the *Gibellines* with the Emperour. *Bajazet* was then Grand Signior, Grandfather to *Solyman* which now reigneth. He had an elder Brother named *Zizim*, who not being able to endure that *Bajazet* ſhould ſucceed in the Empire, which he acquired through the help of the *Janiſaries*, applied himſelf to the King of *Ægypt*, and being aſſiſted by him, made War on his Brother, but being unfortunate, and overcome in two ſeveral encounters, he retired himſelf to *Rhodes*, whereupon, *Bajazet* ſent Ambaſſadors with very rich preſents to the Great Maſter of the Order, praying him to ſecure the ſaid *Zizim* his Brother in ſome ſtrong Priſon, promiſing him, for ſo doing, an Annual penſion of forty thouſand Crowns, and that he would never make any War upon the Chriſtians. To the end therefore, that *Zizim* might not make any eſcape, he was ſent to *France*, and afterwards to *Rome* to the Pope *Innocent* the eighth: And when *Charles* the eighth went to *Italy*, Pope *Alexander* the ſixth reſtored him by the treaty of Peace. But foraſmuch as *Zizim* dyed very ſuddenly after the redelivery of him to the French, ſome reported that the Pope had cauſed him to be poyſon'd, before he parted with him. And ſince we have mention'd the *Janiſaries*, it will not be amiſs that we ſpeak a little of them.

It is reported that the Great Turk, every fourth year, doth take the Chriſtians Children of *Greece*, and *Aſia* the leſſe: The moſt likely, and promiſing of them, he breedeth up in his Court at *Conſtantinople*, the reſt he diſpoſeth into ſeverall other ſeminaries and places, to be employed in husbandry and hard labours, there they learn the Language of the Grand Signior, and are afterwards tranſlated unto *Conſtantinople*, to be further educated under ſeveral Maſters of Handicrafts. Their next remove is, amongſt the men of War, and after they ſhall have ſome time well behaved themſelves, they are inrolled *Janiſaries*; whileſt they remain in the Country, the Maſters of the Families where they live, do nouriſh them with hard fare; But when they are removed to *Conſtantinople*, they are then entertained at the Grand Signiors expence.

The Grand Signior continually hath about five hundred of the moſt beautiful, ingenious, and active of them in his *Seraglio*, whom he breedeth up in Arts and Arms, whom he after preſers to great Governments and Commands, according to their capacities and his occaſions. *Amurath* Grand-father to *Bajazet*, the ſame which conquered the *Morea*, was the firſt founder of this Order.

The Author maketh mention of a certain Grecian named *Conſtantine*, which governed *Montſerrat*: now it came to paſſe, that the Venetians having deprived the Turk of the *Morea*, built a Wall from the Port of *Corinth* unto that of *Megara*, where there is an Intermiſſion of the Sea. But *Mahomet* the ſecond, Son to *Amurath*, he who afterward took *Conſtantinople*, coming thither, obtained a ſignal Victory, the conſequence whereof was the conqueſt of *Greece*, together with the Iſlands of *Eubœa*, *Lemnos*, *Mytiline*, *Morita*, *Zacinthus*, *Samos*, and *Croya*, and withall he took the Town of *Scodra* from *Commenes* Father to this *Conſtantine*, of whom we are now treating. He called in *Charles* the eighth, Couſin to *John Galeazzo*, Duke of *Milan*; for *Lewis* the eleventh had married *Charlotta*, Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*: And *Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan*, Father of the ſaid *John*, of whom we now ſpeak, married *Bona*, the other Daughter of the Duke of *Savoy*.

Renald King of *Sicily*, Duke of *Anjou*, and Earl of *Provence*, was Brother to *Lewis*, whom *Jane* Queen of *Naples* made her heir, as we have declared: He had one only Son, viz. *John* Duke of *Calabria*, who dying before his Father, he bequeathed the Government of *Naples* unto *Charles* Son of his Brother *Charles*. He dyed without heirs, and gave the Kingdom by his laſt Will unto *Lewis* the eleventh. The ſaid *Renald* had a Daughter, *viz.* the Mother of *Renald* Duke of *Lorain*, whom the Author mentioneth in the beginning of his Book. He had alſo one Siſter, Mother to *Lewis* the eleventh.

This *Renald* Duke of *Lorain* was the ſame, who being aſſiſted by the Swiſſers, obtained the Victory at *Nancy*, againſt *Charles* Duke of *Bourgongne*.

Where the Author commendeth the rare vertue of the Duke of *Venice*, it is to be underſtood that his name was *Auguſtinus Barbarini*, who was the ſeventy ſeventh Duke of *Venice*: There were three between the ſaid *Barbarini*, and the preſent Duke of *Pietro Landi*, viz. *Leonard Loredani*, *Antonio Grimani*, and *Andrea Griſti*.

In thoſe dayes, *Francis Gonzage* Marqueſs of *Mantua* was General of the Venetian Army, and *Hercules d' Eſte*, was Duke of *Ferrara*, he gave *Elizabeth* one of his Daughters, in marriage to the ſaid Marqueſs of *Mantua*: and *Beatrice* his other Daughter to *Lewis Sforza*, for the Author calleth them both Sons-in-Law of *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*. His Son named *Alphonſus* had a Son named *Hercules*, who at preſent governeth *Ferrara*, and is Son-in-Law to *Lewis* the twelfth, King of *France*.

Jerome the *Jacobine*, is that learned man *Savanarola*, who hath compoſed many excellent Books, which are well eſteemed to this day.

What he hath written concerning Barded horſes, and men at Arms, muſt be underſtood of ſuch men as entertain four hourſmen, according to the cuſtome of *France*. The Cardinal *d' Oſtia* whom he doth ſo often mention, was afterwards Pope *Julius* the ſecond. *Coſimo*, which dyed in the eightieth year of his age, in *Anno* 1464. was the firſt that advanced the houſe of *Medici*: He had two Sons, *Peter* and *John*: *Peter* had two Sons, *Laurence* and *Julian*: *Laurence*, whom the Author doth highly extol, had three Sons, *Peter*, *John*, and *Julian*: *John* was the Cardinal, afterwards Pope, by the name of *Leo* the tenth, and ſucceeded *Julian*. *Virgilio Urſini* was reconciled to *Charles* the eighth, after the defection of the houſe of *Colonna*: and being detained Priſoner a little while, was at length ſet at liberty upon ſecurity. I thought good to obſerve this, to the end the Author might not be thought to contradict himſelf.

A word or two concerning the Author, He was by Nation a *German*, of a Noble Family, and allyed in Conſanguinity and Friendſhip with the chief of the Country. He was a man of great poſſeſſions, both in *Flaunders* and *Heynault*, a comely Perſon, tall and well made. He ſpake *Italian*, *Dutch*, and *Spaniſh*, but *French* exactly, having been very various in reading all manner of Hiſtories in that Language: He delighted much in the converſation of ſtrangers, to the end he might thereby improve his knowledge. He was very careful of employing his time well, inſomuch, that 't was impoſſible to find him idle. He had a prodigious memory in ſomuch that he often uſed to dictate at the ſame time to four ſeveral perſons, that wrote under him, and this he did with ſo much eaſe, ſolidity, and promptneſſe, as if he had only diſcourſed of one ſingle affair. When he grew into age, he

often lamented, that he had never been instructed in Latine during his youth. *Lewis* the eleventh loved him exceedingly : So that during his life and reign, he was a man of great esteem an vogue in the Court of *France :* he married *Helen* of the House of *Montsoreau*, which is on the confines of the Province of *Anjou*.

After the death of King *Lewis*, he ran many hazards and attaques, for being a Stranger, he was much envied, in so much, and by such powerfull enemies, that he was clap'd up a Prisoner, at *Loches* in *Berry*, a place were none but Traytors where usually kept. His treatment there was very rude, as himself testifieth : His Wife in the mean while solicited his affairs with such Prudence and successe, that he was removed to *Paris*, and soon after was convented before the Court of Parliament. He soon found his enemies to be very many and of great credit, in so much, that he could not get any Advocate or Procurator to undertake the pleading and defending of his Cause, so that he was forced to make a vertue of necessity, and speak in his own behalf, which he did for two full hours, with such clearnesse and satisfaction to the whole audience, that he was acquitted of the things laid to his charge. Amongst other things, he insisted strongly on the troubles and cares he had undergone for the King and Kingdom, on the great affection and bounty which King *Lewis* had always carried towards him, and at length convinced them how he had not done any thing either out of Ambition or Avarice, seeing he had such opportunities of advancing himself, but had altogether declined the making use of them on such occasions. He was near three years a Prisoner, and the year after his deliverance he had a Daughter born to him named *Joan*, who was married to *Renald* Count of *Pontieure*, of the House of the Dukes of *Bretagne*. The said *Renald* had by her amongst others one Son, named *John*, Knight of the Kings Order, Duke *d' Estampes*, and Governour of *Bretagne*. The Seignieur *d' Commines*, being about sixty four years old, dyed in *Anno* 1519, at his House called *Argenton*, upon the 17th. of *October*. His Body was carried to *Paris*, and buried amongst the *Augustines*. In his prosperity he had often this saying in his mouth, against such idle Gentlemen, as would not betake themselves to any employment; *He that will not labour, let him not eat* : And in his adversity he used to say, *I am come into the Sea, and a tempest drowneth me.*

Some one peradventure may demand of me, how I being a high-German, come to the knowledge of these things of *Philip de Commines*; I shall answer, that *Matthew de Arras*, a man of great Learning and Honesty, dwelling at *Chartres* in *France*, was intimately known to the Author and served him : He was likewise Tutor to his Daughters Son the Duke *d' Estampes*, whom I named a little before, he having perused my Translation of this his History into Latine, and having taken great pleasure in perusing it, out of gratitude and honour to his Masters memory, did communicate these things to me, by the hands of an intimate friend of mine, and I suffered my self to believe them for truth, because I found him delivering many things in commendation of his Master with a remarkeable sobriety and modesty, besides all *France* hath assured me of the integrity of the relation, and of the opportunity he had to know these things. And this is it, Friendly Reader, which I have to communicate to thee, to the end thou mayest be throughly informed of some passages, which are a little obscure, Farewell.

From Strasbourg *May* 26th
in the year, 1548.

A BRIEF

RELATION

Of the Life of *Angelo Cattho*, Arch-Bishop of *Vienna* : fit to be added to the History of *Philip De Commines*.

SIR Philip de Commines *Knight, Lord of* Argenton, *Author of this present History containing the memorials of the Life of* Lewis *the* XI. *saith in his Preface, that he collected those things at the request of a certain Arch-Bishop of* Vienna, *and whom he frequently mentioneth in his Memorials, yet without naming him particularly, or telling us what manner of Personnage he was. Now because it cannot be imagin'd, but that he was a worthy and venerable man, I shall here take upon me to make a short narrative of him, being such things, as I have collected from three Persons of eminent Truth, Prudence, and Authority, One of them was named* John Francis de Cardonna, *Knight, Lord of* Folain, *and* du Plessis, *and* Ver *in* Bretagne, *Counsellour, and* Maistre de Hostel *of* Charles *the eighth,* Lewis *the twelfth, and* Francis *the first. The second was named* John Briconet, *Knight, Lord of* Plessis Ridean, *Counsellor, and second President of Accompts. The third was called* Renaldo d'Albiano, *a Neopolitane, one that took part with the House of* Anjou, *and died under the Reign of* Francis *the first. They were all three intimately acquainted with the said Arch-Bishop, whose name was* Angelo Cattho, *Native of* Tarento *in the Kingdome of* Naples, *and one that took part with the House of* Anjou, *and stook close to* John *and* Nicholas de Calabria, *Sonnes and heirs of the said House, who had great right to the Kingdome, and who are often mentioned in this History: The said Arch-Bishop was a man of a good life, of great learning and modesty, withall he was an excellent Mathamatician. The said Dukes* John *and* Nicholas, *pretended each after the other, to have married the only Daughter of* Charles *Duke of* Bourgongne, *who was at that time one of the greatest matches of* Christendome, *and for the better obtaining that end, they alwayes employed* Angelo Cattho *at the Court of the said Duke, but the said marriage was never accomplished both the Brothers dying soon after one another. The Duke of* Bourgongne *had by this meanes, a perfect knowledge of the great parts and vertue of our Arch-Bishop, so that he retained him in his Court and Service, giving him a fair Pension for his support. Our Author, the Lord of* Argenton, *was likewise entertained in the service of the said Duke, during which, he contracted a great friendship and familiarity with him : during*

his abode with him, he foretold him many accidents and events, both prosperous and adverse, which accordingly befell him, particularly the battles of Granson and Morat. After the said battle of Morat, he knowing the obstinacy of the said Duke, and possibly prudently foreseeing the ill successes which attended him, tooke his leave of him, as he might honestly and well do, without any blemish to his reputation, for that he was no Subject to the said Duke. He was no sooner retired from the said Duke, but King Lewis the eleventh, whose Subject he now was, entertained him; for you are to know, that Renald Duke of Anjou, and King of Naples and Sicily had constituted and appointed Lewis the eleventh to be heir of his said Kingdoms and Estate. Whilest he was in the service of the said King Lewis he made him Arch Bishop of Vienna, and then happened the third battle of Nancy, wherein the said Duke was slain, in the year 1476. At the very hour and time of the said battle King Lewis, was hearing Masse, in the Church of Saint Martins at Tours, which is distant from the place of Fight ten great dayes journey, at the least: The Arch-Bishop served as Almner, and coming to give him the Benediction, said to him, The Lord God give you peace and repose, you may have it if you please, for it is finished. Your enemy the Duke of Bourgnongne is dead and his Army discomfited. There was exact notice taken of the hour when the Arch-Bishop uttered these words, and it was found to agree precisely with the time, when they were spoken; wherein the Duke was slain, and the battle won. The King no sooner heard the words but he was astonished at them, and demanded of the Arch-Bishop, if what he said were true, and how he came to know it, whereunto the Arch-Bishop replyed, that he knew it in the same manner, as our Lord permitted him to foretell many things, both to his Majesty and the late Duke of Bourgnongne: The King immediately made a Vow to the Lord and Saint Martin, that if the things foretold proved to be true (as soon after they were) he would then make the Grates of Saint Martins shrine all of silver, which he forthwith performed to his charge of a hundred thousand franks, whereas before, they were made of iron. At another time, The Arch-Bishop happened one morning to meet very betimes with William Briconet, Father of the President, whom I have mentioned before (and who was afterwards made Cardinall, as I purpose to relate) a Man of singular Vertue, Prudence, and Conduct, who at that time was Generall of Languedoc. The King at that time had sent the said General, to go towards Tours, the Arch-Bishop meeting of him, as hath been said cast his eyes on him, and anon lifted them up towards the skie, and continuing sometime without speaking a word he at length said to him, Master Generall, I have often told you, that Passing by water would be very dangerous for you, and that you will one day be in great hazard of your life thereby, I came lately from Plessis, whether you are now going, the waters are great, and much out at Saint Anns Bridge, the Bridge it self is broken, and there is but a scurvey little Boat, to accommodate Passengers, Be advised by me, and do not go this journey: The Generall regarded it not, but went on; howbeit, he was in extream danger of his life, for he fell into the water and had doubtlesse been quite lost had it not been for an Alder-pole, which with much a do preserved him: he fell into a long sickness, occasioned through the fear, wherein he was, accompanied with the great quantity of water which he took inwards at his Mouth, Nose, Eyes, and Ears. The Arch-Bishop visited him often during his sickness, there being great familiarity between them: The Generall was at that time married to a young Lady named Raouletta de Baune, of singular Beauty, Piety, and Vertue, by whom he had severall children, and among the rest him, that was afterwards President, he then foretold him one day, that he should arrive to great preferments in the Church, and should go near to obtain the Popedome. The Generall little

regarded

regarded it at that time, it being a thing ſo very improbable: His Wife however obſerved them, with much delight and joy, but living a conſiderable time afterwards, and not finding it to come to paſs, ſhe would often ſay, that the Arch-Biſhop did not always foretell aright, at length ſhe hapned to die, her husband continuing a widdower ſeverall years, and after the death of King Lewis *the eleventh entred into the Service of his Son* Charls *the eighth, the Father having particularly reccommended him to the Son, who made him one of his privy Counſell, and held him in great eſteem. He ſerved the ſaid King very induſtriouſly and faithfully in his expedition againſt* Naples, *as well in regard of his judgment, which convinced him of the right of his Maſter to that Crown, as alſo to comply with the earneſt ſolicitations of Pope* Alexander, *and* Lodowic *Duke of* Milan, *both which were very active in promoting that deſigne, more out of hatred to* Alphonſus *and* Ferdinand *Kings of* Naples, *than out of any good will to the juſtice of King* Charls *his cauſe, or to his Perſon, or State: although they concealed their thoughts at the beginning of the Enterpriſe, deſigning then belike to make uſe of the French to ruine the Neapolitane Kings, and then to ruine the French likewiſe: nor had the King of* France *any ſooner finiſhed that Conqueſt, but the Pope and Duke of* Milan, *combined themſelves with the Venetian, and fought him at* Fornove. *Mounſieur* William Briconet *was perſonally attendant on the King in this war, doing many memorable ſervices: At* Rome *he was made a Churchman, Biſhop of Saint* Malo, *and Abbot of Saint* Germaine *near* Paris. *The ſame Pope* Alexander *made him afterwards a Cardinal, then Arch-Biſhop of* Reimes, *and* Narbonne; *He had a voyce in the Election of the Pope, which was to ſucceed* Alexander. *He attained great preferments, under* Lewis *the twelfth, which ſucceeded* Charles *the eighth being promoted by him to the government of* Languedoc. *To conclude with our Arch-Biſhop* Angelo Cattho, *He lived and dyed in great Sobriety and Auſterity, having predicted many ſtrange things, which came to paſſe; and lieth buried in his Church of* Vienna.

THE

THE EPISTLE of *John Sleiden* TO THE High and Mighty Prince

EDWARD Duke of *Somerſet*, Earl of *Hertford*, Protector of *ENGLAND*, &c.

Præfixed to his Tranſlation of the Hiſtory of Commines *into Latine.*

THey who write Prefaces to the Books of Hiſtoriographers, moſt Excellent Prince, have accuſtomed themſelves to deliver many things in commendation of *Hiſtory*. But foraſmuch as *Cicero* hath given us ſo great and fair a Teſtimony thereof, it will be needleſſe to enquire after any others: eſpecially, if it be conſidered, that at this day, there is ſcarce any one, who doth not very well underſtand, that the knowledge of Hiſtory is very pleaſant and profitable, nay neceſſary too: now the chief things, which are requiſite in Hiſtory, is, not onely that there be nothing of falſhood contained therein, but likewiſe, that that Author be not byaſſed by any particular Intereſt or Paſſion: In the next place, that the Counſells and Deſigns of thoſe who menage affairs be clearly demonſtrated in their true colours.

There are but few, indeed very few, who are able to diſcharge themſelves aright touching theſe three particulars, which however are eſſentially neceſſary in the compoſing a true Hiſtory: The truth is, there are ſome things, which are requiſite to the attaining this perfection: The Hiſtoriographer ought to be of ſingular parts and abilities, and that he have had a hand in the Actions and deſignes concerning which he treateth or that he was in being or on the place, as we ſay, whileſt they were in agitation, or at leaſt, that he be thoroughly acquainted and informed of them, by ſome other, who did truely relate them unto him. As for thoſe who have written their own proper actions, as *Julius Cæſar*; they ought to deliver them in

a fair method, unleſſe they have a mind to render themſelves ridiculous to all mankind: It being exceedingly difficult, for ſuch to gain the credit of not having aſſumed too much praiſe to themſelves, or of not having robb'd their enemies of the praiſes due to them: They who have attended in perſon on Armies, Expeditions, Emperors, and Generals, ſeem to run as great a hazard, ſeeing if any thing ſucceed well, they then imploy their utmoſt Art and Rhetoric, to ſet forth the glory and renown of the Perſons and things, ſo that they often exceed in their commendations, becoming rather Orators than Hiſtorians. They on the otherſide, who treat of affairs in which themſelves were neither Actors nor Spectators, but takes up things on the truſt and credit of thoſe who relate them, though rationly one cannot accuſe them of *Partiality*, in what they deliver, yet the *Truth* of what they write may well be ſuſpected. *Cicero* doth highly commend *Cæſars* Commentaries chiefly becauſe the Authour makes his Relation in ſo plain a dreſs, in ſuch a becoming natural ſtile and without any affectations of Praiſe: For whoſoever ſhall attempt to write his own Actions, ſhould be very well adviſed, that he deliver his mind in ſuch a Preface, as may not give the world occaſion to ſuſpect, that he hath ſaid too much in his own, and too little in the praiſe of his enemies, whom he hath overcome. And this may ſerve for a Caveat, as well as an Example, for ſuch as attempt to be the Compilers of their own Actions. As touching *Saluſt*, it is not amiſſe that ſuch as treat concerning the Actions of other men, do follow his Copy, who though he were no friend to *Cicero*, yet hath he faithfully related his ſingular vertue, the induſtry and diligence which he uſed to extinguiſh the fire of that Conſpiriacy which deſign'd the ruin of the Commonwealth: If a man read *Saluſt*, he ſhould not finde the leaſt cauſe to ſuſpect, there had ever been any unkindneſſe between him and *Cicero*. But it is eaſie to diſcern and moſt books do ſufficiently evidence, that few Hiſtorians have obſerved this ſobriety and modeſty, by ſtripping themſelves out of their paſſions and affections. But paſſing by thoſe, who have treated concerning great affairs, with the ſame confidence, as if they had been chieft Secretaries or Agents in them, though in truth they write on the credit of others; yet how many are there extant, who are repleted with *Paſſion* and *Prejudice*? they who offend herein commit many errours and wilfull miſtakes, which once detected, reaſon prompts a man not to believe them, or not to have them in any great eſteem. And if a lye ought at all times to be had in reproach, yet eſpecially in this caſe. To conclude, I ſhall take the liberty to ſay. There is hardly one that takes upon him to write a Hiſtory, who doth declare the deſigns and counſels of thoſe concerning whom he treateth in ſuch terms and clearneſſe as he ought to do: and indeed it is a difficult thing, for any one to diſcharge his part aright, unleſſe happily he hath been perſonally preſent and active in the deſigning or executing of them. Such a one, I confeſſe, may write exactly and truely, provided he be maſter of a good judgement, and a ſtrong reſolution, void of fear or affection: He, who deſireth to render himſelf remarkeable for compiling a Hiſtory, ought then to be free from all manner of Ambition; his chief deſign being to relate Truth, whereby his Reader may be improved in his Knowledge and Affections, Few have hit this point; amongſt thoſe few, we ſhall not ſtick to give a chief place unto *Philip de Commines* and indeed he well deſerves it, a man not very well vers'd in the Latine tongue, but however of great abilities and of an excellent Spirit. He hath written the

Actions

Actions of *Lewis* the eleventh, and his Son *Charles* the eighth King of *France*, and he composed the work in his own native language, but in such a method and stile, as may well invite all others to imitate him, who pretend to acquire praise and honour by writing any History whatsoever. He wanted no helps to capacitate him for such a work, seeing he was often employed by those Kings in Embassies to severall great States and Princes, and menaged most of their affairs, which he hath comprised in his History, so that he wanted no assistances of others, in point of relating or compiling. Besides, he was a man of great wisdom and prudence, as well as of an excellent naturall temper: and for as much as that Kingdome was in his time infested with many great troubles, he was desirous to communicate to posterity such things as fell under his knowledge and experience, but especially to such, as were to succeed him in the administration of affairs, for his design was to render himself usefull to such, by laying before their eyes the truth of the Counsels and Enterprises of those great and important affairs, which had pass'd in his time, all which he hath related without regard of Fear or Favour, of Affection or Aversion: He doth not suffer himself to be transported in commending those of his own Country or Alliance; no nor of the two Kings his Masters, though they advanced him to great honour, any further then the truth will bear them out, nay he frequently discovereth their oversights, and when and how they neglected to discharge their duties. In a word he is throughout the whole like himself Entire and True, and which is very pleasant and profitable, you shall finde his relations imbellished with excellent Apothegmes and wise sayings. When at any time he falleth on some particular passage, which is more remarkable then others, he admonisheth the Reader, especially young Princes to consider and observe, that Actions little honest have been little profitable to others, and then exhorting them freely and honestly to the discharge of their duties with justice and sincerity. I would not have it imagin'd, that I insist too much on his commendations: for the truth is, the excellency of the Man, cannot be better discovered, then by the reading of his work. The reason most Illustrious Prince, which hath induced me to turn him into Latine, is the single consideration of the grandieur of that State and Dignity, wherein you are, and although he treat onely of such things as pass'd in *France* and *Italy*, yet I hold it expedient for him, who sustaineth so great a charge and burthen, to understand not only that which hath been transacted in his own Country, but in those of his neighbours likewise. And as the recital of those things, which approach neerest our own times, have more force and efficacy both to inform our Judgements and delight our Fancies, so it is most certain, that through the excellent disposure of Temper, you may learn most exquisite and remarkeable things, from the reading of *Commines*: I have therefore been the more confident in recommending him to you, for as much as there are but few, who can well imitate or represent him. There is this likewise which speaks in his behalf, that when occasion offers it self, he doth not conceal the glory and honour of your Nation; for these and other Reasons, I am perswaded that at your leasure, you will read and peruse this History, nay that you will borrow from, or make this your Recreation, as well as advise and counsell the King to do the like: who although he be at this time but of tender age, yet by the prudent directions of his Father, your Conduct and holy exhortations, together with his own natural propensity to letters, this History

may

may serve him for a prospective, as well as a Pattern of Royall vertue.

The prudence of King *Henry* was in all things very conspicuous, but he shewed a great height of judgement in making choice of you amongst a many others, before his death, to be his Sons Guardian, as it were, and to be Governour and Protector of so flourishing a Kingdom both in Arts and Arms; where however, though I find many advanced to great honour and preferments; yet there are few, who, like you, are delighted with the study of Letters, not to say, they are too many, who think it an honour not to be read in them at all: some also there are, who regarding nothing but their ambition and profit, do obstinately adhere to their accustomed way of living and acting, so that though they see many things, which are fit to be amended, such indeed as cannot be dissembled nor endured, they however forbear to trouble their thoughts with such things, being wholly addicted to the encreasing their particular possessions or Pleasures. It is all one to them, what the people do, or how they are instructed, provided they be obedient; and according to their worldly wisdom, they esteem it a great piece of folly, to attempt any Alteration or Reformation, as if it were a piece of great wisdome, and a desirable thing to command a people involved in a bruitish ignorance of things necessary, and especially of their Salvation. If the Kingdome of *England* and the King, who, if you consider his age, is but an Infant, since the decease of his Father a man of great wisdome and experience, should have pitch'd upon any worldly minded man, for its Governour, who could have denied such a thing to have befallen them, as a just vengeance from God? But since such a one is established not by chance, but by choice, which loveth Letters, and to excite the King to every honest and just thing, designing a holy Reformation, of those many corruptions, which are at this day, to the end the glory of God might be advanced, and every thing done in order, who seeth not that the Lord is unfolding and powring out the rich treasures of his Grace upon the Kingdome of *England*.

It is but reasonable then, that you resolve to receive from the hand of God, so great a Benefit, with such acknowledgement, as it deserveth. 'Tis true you are to undergo terrible storms and Tempests, and you are to passe in this sea of the Commonwealth, amongst many dangerous Rocks, seeing the Devil the common enemy of Mankind, useth many polices and devices to secure his prey and to prevent the pulling of any thing out of his hands, to the end he may establish his Kingdom of darkness. But however if you persevere constantly to govern the people with good Order and in the Fear of God, be you most assured, that you shall overcome all those difficulties and dangers, and in due time arrive at a secure Haven. And this is a thing, most Noble Prince, which will require and deserve the greatest care and labour, the utmost diligence and industrie. For as the charge, wherein King *Henry* hath entrusted you and since his death, the Nobility of the Kingdom hath confirmed you, is very great; so most certain it is that God will blesse and prosper all your enterprises, if (as *I* am confident you will endeavour with your utmost to do) you continue to work the tender and pliant Spirit of the King to the fear of God, to the minding the true safety, and welfare of the People, committed to his care. You see, how the Lord God hath given you the Assistance of great Persons, who not onely are well enclined, but enabled to advise and ease you in a great measure by their Knowledge, Counsell, Fidelity, Constancy, and Authority,

thority; one of which I shall presume to name, and but one, at this Time; The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, a man of so great repute in these parts, that the Prelates wheresoever, if they would render themselves worthy of the honour of their Calling, by vertue of which they enjoy such large Revenues, ought to propose him for a Copy of true vertue, and worthy their imitation. To conclude, I most humbly beseech you, to take in good part this Preface and Inscription, which I have presumed to make and send to you.

From Strasbourg *in*
May, Anno 1548.

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